THE PHILIPPINES

PAST AND PRESENT

DEAN C. WORCESTER

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PAST AND PRESENT

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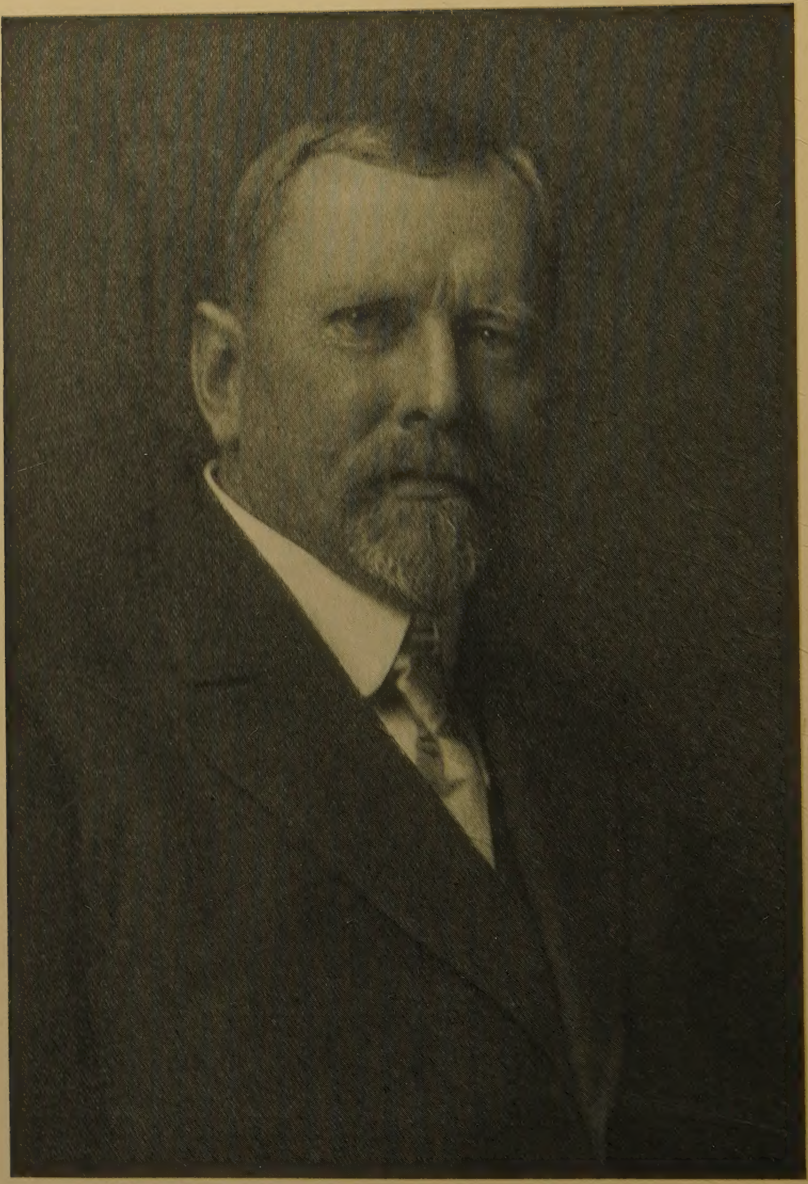

DEAN CONANT WORCESTER

THE PHILIPPINES PAST AND PRESENT

BY

DEAN C. WORCESTER

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
1901-1913; MEMBER OF THE PHILIPPINE
COMMISSION, 1900-1913

WITH 144 PLATES AND TWO MAPS

NEW EDITION IN ONE VOLUME

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND
FOUR ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS

BY

RALSTON HAYDEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

NEW YORK
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1930

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PREFACE

The Philippines, Past and Present tells the story, expresses the convictions, and reveals the personality of a highly placed public official who for fifteen years was a storm center in the Philippines and in Philippine-American relations, and who played a vital part in the great constructive work which Americans and Filipinos performed in the Islands between 1898 and 1913. Dean C. Worcester's book is, therefore, an historical source of the first importance, and in preparing this revision of the work the editor has sought to avoid making any changes that would impair its value as an historical document. In a number of instances lengthy quotations in Worcester's opening chapters have been summarized or transferred from the text to the footnotes. A small amount of material repetitious or personal in character has been excised. Certain mechanical changes in the arrangement of the text have been effected. Care has been exercised, however, that none of these modifications should alter the author's meaning or detract from the force and vigor with which he wrote.

Although Worcester's book gives a frank and striking picture of its author, it is believed that a supplementary, and more objective, survey of his life will contribute to a better understanding, both of his views upon the Philippines and of the problems of the United States in its distant dependency. Such a survey has been attempted in the biographical sketch which comprises the first nine chapters of this volume. When the passage of years has made available documentary material which cannot yet be used with propriety, Secretary Worcester will be a fascinating subject for a full-length biography. He is the only American who has achieved a secure and important place in history solely as a colonial administrator and statesman.

Manifestly, it is impossible, within the limits of this volume, to carry Worcester's account of Philippine affairs down to date upon a scale comparable with that upon which he wrote. In two ways, however, the editor has sought to project the story of *The Philippines, Past and Present* from 1913 to the summer of 1929. To the original text he has appended numerous footnotes in which are traced, statistically and otherwise, the subsequent development of many of the institutions and situations whose origin and early growth Worcester described. He has also embodied in footnotes the views of other participants in Philippine affairs, or the conclusions of more recent scholars, upon many of the subjects that Worcester discussed. In addition to tracing thus the progress made since 1913 in many phases of Philippine life, the editor, in Chapters XXXVIII-XL, has presented a brief survey of the chief political and constitutional developments which occurred in the Islands between 1913 and 1929. A number of appendices embodying material of use to the student of Philippine affairs have been added to those of previous editions.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance and counsel which many persons have given to the editor in the preparation of this work. Thanks are also due to the officials of the Bureau of Insular Affairs for their courtesy in making available material in the War Department files; to the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly* for permission to republish portions of an article by the editor which appeared in the March, 1926, issue of that magazine and to the Honorable John C. Early, Governor of the Mountain Province, for a manuscript copy of his annual report for 1925, excerpts from which appear as Appendix V of this volume. No more admirable supplement to Worcester's account of the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines could be found than this vivid and authoritative report of present conditions in the great province that Worcester established and in which Americans have performed the most wholly beneficent work in the history of the relations between the advanced and the backward races of mankind. Finally, the editor is indebted to Elizabeth O. Hayden for literary counsel and much other valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume.

RALSTON HAYDEN

Ann Arbor, 1929

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

CHAPTER I

The New England Heritage

The determining qualities of Dean C. Worcester's character are to be found in the Worcester line throughout almost the whole of American history. Hardly a family in all the northeastern states has more conspicuously and steadfastly run true to the New England type. From about 1638, when the Rev. William Worcester emigrated from England and settled as a pioneer at Salisbury, Massachusetts, there has never been a generation when his descendants have not been leaders in the vigorous town life of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. Plain living, high thinking New Englanders they were, men and women who feared God, put duty first, and were extraordinarily well able to take their own part. Some of them attained state-wide, even national prominence.[1] The unusually large proportion of clergymen among the family and the careers of a number of these individuals indicate that the Yankee sense of responsibility for the welfare of others was well developed in the line.

It is, indeed, among these ministers of the gospel that the Worcester qualities stand out most clearly. The career and character of one of them, the Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester, missionary to the Cherokees in 1827, are strangely suggestive of those of his nephew, Dean C. Worcester, bearer of American ideals to the Filipinos in 1899. The story of Samuel A. Worcester was indelibly written into American history by Chief Justice John Marshall in the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous case of Worcester *v.* Georgia.[2]

For years certain citizens of Georgia, and the state itself, had sought to dispossess the Cherokee Indians of lands which the latter had occupied from time immemorial in the northwestern part of the commonwealth. After the discovery of gold in this territory in 1829 Georgia prepared to drive out the Indians by legal persecution or by force. An act of the legislature passed in 1830 made it unlawful for white persons to reside in the Cherokee territory in Georgia without having taken an oath of allegiance to the state and obtained a license from the state authorities. Since 1827 Samuel A. Worcester had been living among the Georgia Cherokees as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, with the consent of the Cherokee nation, and under authority of the President of the United States. Along with other missionaries, he had become an ardent champion of his Indian charges against the Georgians. Deliberately refusing to recognize the authority of the state by taking the oath of allegiance, applying for the required license, or leaving the forbidden district, he was arrested and, after brutal mistreatment by state guards, tried and convicted. In September, 1831, he was sentenced to four years in the penitentiary at hard labor.

---

[1] Joseph E. Worcester, compiler of gazeteers and dictionaries and editor of the *American Almanac;* Samuel W. Worcester, first secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, "a distinguished agent in exciting and aiding the missionary enterprise of the American churches;" and Samuel A. Worcester, another missionary whose career will be further noted, were among the national figures in the family.

[2] 6 Peters, 515. A discussion of the case in its historical setting will be found in U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights,* Ch. III, Washington, 1902.

Worcester was offered a pardon upon the condition of his taking the oath or leaving the Cherokee territory. The dauntless missionary, however, chose to go to prison in order that his case might be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. This course was not merely Quixotic, for in his appeal he relied upon his rights under treaties between the United States and the Indians which, if sustained, would substantially protect the Cherokees against the encroachment of the whites. As will be recalled, Worcester won his case. But when President Jackson, who had the frontiersman's attitude toward the Indian, intimated that now that John Marshall had rendered his decision, he might enforce it, the Cherokee cause was doomed. Realizing that further martyrdom would effect no practical end, the missionary finally accepted pardon and was released from the state penitentiary in January, 1833. He then returned to New Echota, joined the Cherokees in their banishment to Arkansas, and spent the remainder of his life in their service.

In seeking to protect a helpless people from tyranny and spoliation, and to maintain his own legal rights, Samuel A. Worcester withstood relentless persecution and endured severe hardships. He defied the organized "interests" of Georgia, challenged the authority of the state itself, and carried his cause to the highest legal tribunal in the land. Certain that he was right, morally and legally, he was ready to fight to the finish rather than to abandon his friends or his principles. Perhaps most characteristic of all, his course was a thoroughly practical one. It would have been justified by success had not a President of the United States refused to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court.[1] The parallel between the career of this truly heroic missionary and that of Secretary Dean C. Worcester, and the similarity of their characters, is strikingly apparent.

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[1] U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights,* Ch. III; and J. F. Worcester, *Descendants of Rev. Wm. Worcester,* p. 114 *et seq.,* Boston, 1914. The Rev. Samuel A. Worcester was a missionary among the Cherokees for 33 years and to his work they owed their Bible and hymn book. He was 18 years older than his brother, Dr. Erza Carter Worcester, the father of Dean C. Worcester.

In the direct line between the founder of the family in America and Dean C. Worcester, Captain Noah Worcester, the latter's great-grandfather, was chairman of the Hollis, New Hampshire, Committee of Correspondence during the fateful years of 1777, 1778 and 1779, aided Washington with reinforcements at Cambridge, and was a member of the New Hampshire constitutional convention of 1778. His son, the Rev. Leonard Worcester, gave up a prosperous business for arduous service as the minister of a small Vermont parish. The next in the line, Dr. Ezra Carter Worcester, was a hard-working country doctor, renowned locally for his skill as a diagnostician and surgeon and for his knowledge of chemistry and botany.

To his son, born and reared in the typical Vermont town of Thetford,[1] schooled in the Thetford Academy and the Newton, Massachusetts, High School, came the full New England heritage. It is, therefore, not surprising that the character of Dean C. Worcester should have shown the granite of his native hills. Perhaps because of inborn qualities, perhaps because he wielded greater authority upon a wider field of action, the characteristics of his forebears and of their kind were intensified and magnified in him. Most of all, he reproduced the spirit of his uncle, the indomitable missionary to the Cherokees. That such an American should have been the foremost apostle of the United States to a backward Malay nation in the Far Eastern tropics was a stroke of destiny which heightens the drama of Worcester's career in the Philippines.

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[1] The Worcester homestead in Thetford commands a widespread view of the valley of the Connecticut River and the Green Mountains. To one born and bred there, the mountains of northern Luzon, the region of the Philippines which Dean C. Worcester loved best, must have been strangely suggestive of home. Even the Filipino hill men, for all mountaineers are brothers, under the skin, must have seemed akin to him, as compared with the lowland Filipinos.

CHAPTER II

THE MAN OF SCIENCE

IF Dean C. Worcester was born and schooled in the land of his New England ancestors, he came to maturity in a different environment. Perhaps the most fateful moment in his life was that in which he turned from the rock-bound colleges which had nurtured generations of his forebears to seek his advanced education at the University of Michigan.[1] Michigan was then foremost among the state universities. The German tradition of scientific scholarship and intellectual freedom was strong on its campus. The personality of James Burrill Angell, diplomat and man of the world as well as university president, was impressing itself upon both students and faculty. The atmosphere and outlook of the institution were cosmopolitan, not provincial.

Michigan, however, did more for the young New Englander than to afford him a new and broader outlook upon life. The University made a scientist of him and interested him in work that led him to spend three years and six months in the Philippine Islands as a zoological collector half a decade before that Archipelago passed from the possession of Spain to that of the United States. The unique knowledge of the Philippines which he thus obtained placed him on the governing body of the Islands when they became American territory, while his scientific training enabled him later to make his most valuable contributions to their development under American leadership.

Of his two collecting trips in the Philippines, begun in 1887 and 1890, Worcester has related enough in the first chapter of *The Philippines, Past and Present,* to show that they gave to him and his companion, Doctor Frank S. Bourns, the most extensive knowledge of the Archipelago possessed by any Americans in 1898. After the capture of Manila by Admiral Dewey had directed American attention to the Philippines, Worcester secured leave from his ordinary work, retired to a cottage near Ann Arbor, and in a few weeks turned the letters which he had written home from the Islands into an interesting account of his adventures and observations there.[1] The book was written primarily to obtain funds to finance further scientific study in Europe and its popular success was great enough to have acomplished this purpose. The volume, however, came to the attention of President McKinley and led to a conference at the White House that turned its author's footsteps, and life, in an entirely different direction.[2]

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[1] The young Worcester turned westward for his college training because it was believed that his expenses there would be lower than at Dartmouth College, which was within twelve miles of his home, or at one of the other first rate New England institutions. The University of Michigan was selected because of its standing and because one of his relatives, Mrs. Martin Luther D'Ooge, wife of the distinguished professor of Greek in that institution, was a resident of Ann Arbor. (Statement of Miss Jane S. Worcester to the author.) Worcester was graduated from the University in 1889, with the degree of A. B.

It is not without significance that practically all of Worcester's extensive travels during those earlier years were south of the great island of Luzon. The Visayans he knew intimately. With the Tagalogs, a very different people between whom and the inhabitants of the central islands little sympathy then existed, he had enjoyed but slight contact prior to 1898. This circumstance can hardly have failed to have affected his attitude towards the essentially Tagalog insurrection against the United States, and toward the Tagalog and Ilocano leaders who dominated it.[3] His whole experience in the Philippines while the Islands were still a Spanish colony gave him a background and a viewpoint which set him apart from the American officials whose entire residence in the Islands occurred after the advent of American sovereignty and the early period of the Filipino Insurrection.

The immediate result of Worcester's collecting expeditions was to launch him successfully upon the career of a zoologist. The preliminary report upon the birds and mammals collected in the Philippines which he and Dr. Bourns published in 1894 attracted wide attention as a record of pioneer investigation in an almost unsurveyed ornithological and zoölogical field.[4] Upon his return to Ann Arbor in the autumn of 1893 he was appointed instructor in animal morphology, and in 1895 was promoted to an assistant professorship of zoology and made curator of the University Museum. After four more years of study, research, and teaching, he was about to carry on his scientific studies in Europe when, in January, 1899, President McKinley appointed him to the first Philippine Commission.[1]

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[1] Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People,* New York, 1898.

[2] In the last paragraph of this book, penned only a few months before he returned to Manila as a member of the Schurman Commission, Worcester said: "At ten o'clock that evening the lights of Manila sank into the bay as we steamed toward Corregidor, and when I awoke the next day nothing was visible save gray mist and the ever-restless waters of the China Sea. I had seen my last of the Philippine Islands and their people."

[3] This influence is plainly shown in the letters which passed between Worcester and Dr. Bourns during the period of the Schurman Commission, and is acknowledged on page 87 of *The Philippines, Past and Present,* and elsewhere. After Worcester retired from the government in 1913 and settled down permanently as a private resident of the Philippines, he built his home not in Manila, but near Cebu, the metropolis of the Visayan Islands.

[4] "Preliminary Notes on the Birds and Mammals Collected by the Menage Scientific Expedition to the Philippine Islands." *Minnesota Academy of Natural Science, Occasional Papers,* Vol. I, No. 1, Dec. 8, 1894. Letters in *Ibis* during 1895 (pp. 403 and 405) concerning a question raised by a German ornithologist who disagreed with one of Bourns's and Worcester's conclusions indicate the interest aroused by the report.

The expedition of 1890 went out under the auspices of the Minnesota Acadamy of Natural Science, and was financed by Mr. Louis Menage, a wealthy citizen of Minneapolis. When Worcester and Dr. Bourns returned to the United States in the summer of 1893 they expected to spend a year in preparing the results of their work for publication. The financial panic of 1893, however, left the Minnesota Academy without resources to finance this undertaking. During the summer of 1894 the two collectors spent three months in sorting, classifying, and describing the new birds which had been obtained, and in getting together such other scientific information about the material as was possible in that limited time. The "Preliminary Notes" was the result of this work. (Dr. Frank S. Bourns to the author, September 1, 1928.)

Although Worcester's entrance into official life cut short his professional career as a zoologist, it did not diminish his passion for scientific achievement. During his years of public service in the Philippines he published a number of scientific monographs of value. The most important of these contributions was, *A Hand-List of the Birds of the Philippine Islands* (with Richard C. McGregor),[2] which is still the standard ornithological work on the Archipelago.[3] As a member of the Philippine Commission and Secretary of the Interior, however, Worcester had scant time for personal research. That he should have continued to carry it on at all during those crowded, trying years when he was pressed to the limit of human endurance by administrative and political burdens reveals the genuineness and intensity of his scientific spirit. The first decade of his manhood, devoted to science, marked him, indeed, for the rest of his life. At thirty-two he became the scientist in government; at forty-seven, the scientist in business. It was as a scientist with a genius for administration that he performed his greatest services for humanity in the Philippines.

Worcester was married in 1893 to Nanon Fay Leas.[4] For nine years their home was in Ann Arbor, where their two children [5] were born, and where a number of their most enduring friendships were formed. These circumstances, combined with Worcester's deep-seated instinct for loyalty, bound him closely to the University of Michigan throughout his life. His children returned to Ann Arbor and were graduated from his Alma Mater. For many years he supplied the University Library with public documents concerning the Philippines, and later bequeathed to the University a large portion of his valuable collection of books, photographs, papers and ceramics. In 1922 he procured financial support for a University of Michigan expedition to conduct anthropological explorations in the Philippines, and actively coöperated with its field work, conducted under the direction of Dr.

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[1] "Dean Conant Worcester, 1866-1924." *Report of the Director of the Museum of Zoology, 1925. University Bulletin,* New Series, Vol. XXVII, No. 18, Ann Arbor, 1925.

[2] Publication No. 36, Department of the Interior, Philippine Islands, Manila, 1906.

[3] Other scientific articles of importance written during this period were: "On a Nesting Specimen of Caprimulgus Griseatrus Walden," *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. II, No. 5, Section A, Oct., 1907; "On a Nesting Place of Sula Sula (Linneaus) and Sterna Anaestheta Scopoli," *Ibid.;* "Newly Discovered Breeding Places of Philippine Sea Birds," *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, No. 4 D, Aug., 1911; "Hybridism Among Boobies," *Ibid.;* "A Nesting Place of Microphus Subfurcatus in Mindoro," *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, pp. 533-4, Dec., 1919; "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," *Ibid.,* Vol. I, No. 8, Oct., 1906; "The Ifugaos of Quiangan and Vicinity." (Father Juan Villaverde's article, translated from the Spanish, edited and illustrated by Dean C. Worcester.) *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, No. 4 A, July, 1909; "Note on the Occurrence of a Flying Crustacean in the Philippines," *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, No. 1 D, Feb., 1914.

[4] The marriage occurred at Pasadena, California. Mrs. Worcester's parents were Augustus Spangler and Electa Fay Leas, of Waterloo, Indiana.

[5] Alice Electa, wife of Kenneth B. Day; and Frederick Leas Worcester.

Carl E. Guthe, of the University faculty.[1] Recognizing Worcester's distinguished services as a statesman and a scientist, the University in 1916 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. This connection with his Alma Mater and with his Ann Arbor friends, enduring throughout his long residence in a remote part of the world, was probably one of the most satisfying relationships of Worcester's life.

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[1] "Because of Mr. Worcester's hospitality, the headquarters of the expedition were located at the Opon mill of the Philippine Refining corporation, on the island of Mactan. . . . An entire house was given as a laboratory for the work, to which collections were brought, and where they were sorted, catalogued and packed. Mr. Worcester placed his yacht, the *Anne W. Day,* a seventy-five foot schooner with auxiliary engines, at the disposal of the expedition, thus giving it control of its own means of transportation." The expedition gathered, "a tremendous collection of material, totaling 4500 catalogue numbers from 542 sites, about seventy-five per cent of which constitute unbroken ceramic specimens and sherds." (Carl E. Guthe, "The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition," *The American Anthropologist,* January-March, 1927, pp. 69-76.)

CHAPTER III

THE POWER TO LEAD

WORCESTER'S service on the first Philippine Commission determined that thenceforth he was to be pioneer, colonial administrator, statesman, rather than scientist and college professor. It also gave definite direction to the whole of his public career in the Philippines. Out of his experiences in 1898 grew convictions concerning America's duty in the Philippines in which he never afterward wavered. During his activities as commissioner he developed methods of action which he followed throughout his life. Even his subsequent friends and enemies among Filipinos and among those Americans who were actively interested in the Philippines were largely pre-determined by his associations and course of action while a member of the Schurman Commission.

In the activities of the Commission in the Philippines, in the determination of its conclusions, and in the preparation of its voluminous report Worchester demonstrated a capacity for leadership which marked him at once as a man of power in public affairs. His influence during this period is the more remarkable because of the conditions under which it was exercised. Passing almost instantaneously from the relative obscurity of academic life to a position of national prominence, he found himself associated on the Philippine Commission with men whose reputations and personalities might well have proven overpowering to an assistant professor of zoology, aged thirty-two.[1] Admiral Dewey, the national hero of the hour; Major General Elwell S. Otis, commanding officer of the American troops in the Philippines, a soldier of the old army who was accustomed to dominate those about him; Colonel Charles Denby, a distinguished diplomat with long experience in the Orient: these three were not only national figures, but Dewey was almost twice as old as Worcester, while Otis and Denby were more than twice his age. Jacob Gould Schurman, the President of the Commission, was 45 at that time, and as president of Cornell University was accustomed to public life and to the exercise of authority.[2]

[1] On May 6, 1899, Worcester wrote home from Manila: "Senator Beveridge, recently elected from Indiana, and the youngest man ever elected to the United States Senate, arrived here day before yesterday. He is thirty-six and I am told felt quite put out on learning that I was not yet thirty-three. However, that is my misfortune, and not my fault." (Letter in Worcester Philippine Collection, University of Michigan, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI.) Mr. Beveridge was not, however, the youngest Senator in American history.

[2] President Schurman's account of the work of the Commission may be found in J. G. Schurman, *Philippine Affairs: A Retrospect and Outlook*, New York, 1902; see also, *Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy*, New York, 1913.

Yet when these five men were thrown together in the complicated situation which existed in Manila in 1899 it was the young scientist who became the dominant member of the group. Singleness of purpose and a vastly superior knowledge of the Philippines gave Worcester an initial advantage over his colleagues. Genius for leadership, now exercised for the first time in a place of power, brought him to the fore as the Commission struggled with internal dissensions and external difficulties.

During this period, moreover, Worcester's position was materially strengthened by an intimate working partnership with his old comrade Dr. Frank S. Bourns, who had preceded him to the Philippines as a major in the Medical Corps of the army. Long before Worcester's arrival in Manila, Dr. Bourns had become Otis's trusted adviser in all matters which concerned the political relations between the American forces and the Filipinos.[1] Upon the arrival of the President's Commission, the two friends found themselves completely in accord as to the direction and the difficulties of the long road which lay before America in the Philippines.[2] They were in agreement, also, upon the measures which would have to be taken to meet the existing situation. Both were in closer and more intelligent contact with the Filipinos than any other American in Manila. At first through Dr. Bourns, and later on his own account, Worcester established excellent working relations with Otis. He and Bourns were thus in a position to bring their knowledge of the situation, and their views as to what ought to be done to bear upon both the military authorities and the Commission in the Philippines, and upon the government in Washington. Their influence was increased by differences which arose between General Otis and Admiral Dewey, between Mr. Schurman and General Otis, and, indeed, between Otis and all three of the civilian commissioners. At times only the diplomacy of the two friends kept the dissension from reaching an open break.

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[1] From the day upon which the troops had landed Dr. Bourns had been an important instrument of contact between the army commanders and the Filipino leaders. Later, while accomplishing remarkable results as chief health officer of Manila, he handled Otis's spy system and made himself indispensable to that badly overworked officer. At that time he was the only American officer in Manila, or anywhere else, who spoke the languages of the Filipinos and possessed wide, first-hand knowledge of the country which the army had been sent to conquer and govern. Through his letters, Worcester was kept in touch with the situation in Manila from the earliest days of the American occupation. (Worcester, I, p. 7.) Dr. Bourns, whose every instinct was for the *suaviter in modo,* was an excellent complement to Worcester, who was distinctly a man of the *fortiter in re.*

[2] In response to a cabled request from Yokohama, Worcester received in Hong Kong a long letter written by Bourns on Feb. 13, 1899, giving him an account of the situation in the Philippines and a remarkably accurate forecast of future developments. Both men believed that the United States could not turn the Philippines over to the Filipinos then in power, and would have to govern the country, probably by force, for some time to come. "More fighting has got to be done," Bourns wrote. . . . *"Justice and firmness* are the two words I have always been preaching and am still. We always managed to handle them on that principle and I have had no difficulty with my dept. since my arrival here. . . . When you get here I can give you the whole history, as I have been mixed up in it from the start. I know plenty of Philippinos (sic) and so keep posted. . . . Don't mix up too much in the matter until you get here and we can talk it over. . . . Lots of your old friends on hand." (Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI.)

The Commission had been created before the war which Aguinaldo's forces had begun. It had been directed by President McKinley to aid, "in the most humane, pacific, and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants." It was instructed, further, to investigate the governmental and other problems of the Islands and to recommend to the President such executive action as the situation seemed to demand. It was explicitly directed not to interfere with the military authorities.

The outbreak of the insurrection a month before the arrival of Messrs. Schurman, Denby and Worcester in Manila on March 4, 1899, put the civilian members of the Commission in a most delicate position. In the opinion of General Otis, there was nothing for them to do, and they could "possess no status" until peace should have been established by the army. The Commission met, however, held hearings, collected information and issued a proclamation which had an excellent effect upon Filipino opinion. Its civilian members also sought to carry out the President's instructions through personal investigations and contacts, so far as this could be done in the altered situation.[1]

Despite their anomalous position, the three civilians dealt with one matter which was of crucial importance to the future of the Philippines: the plan of government to be established in the Islands when peace should have been obtained. On April 17 Worcester wrote home: "Monday Schurman, Denby and I spent most of the day in working toward an agreement as to some general scheme for governing this archipelago when peace was restored. The other two civil commissioners are inclined to draw their ideas as to the Philippine native from the specimens they see hereabouts, and I am anxious that they should broaden their horizon by a little trip to the provinces, where they may see the native as he is." [2]

Two days later he wrote: "In the afternoon Frank (Dr. Bourns) and I got together and quietly outlined our ideas as to a system of government for these islands. Last evening, here at the house, I sprung it on the other two civilian members, and it apparently met with their approval. This morning we are to discuss the first part of it, which deals with the *general government*, in a full session of the Commission." [3]

At the end of April the Insurgents, influenced by the Commission's proclamation, sent in an emissary [4] to seek an armistice. The civil members of the Commission informed him that they had nothing to do with military questions and could not discuss the possibility of an armistice. Upon being assured, however, that the Insurgents "now granted the sovereignty of the United States and were only fighting to save the honor of their army," the three commissioners "suggested that we were at work upon a form of government which would, we believed, satisfy their wants, and told them that we would outline what we proposed to recommend to them so that if it was satisfactory they could report it back to their people, and the army might get out of its fix by saying that satisfactory terms had been offered, and that they had secured what they were fighting for."[1]

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[1] Letter of transmittal, *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, I, pp. 1-2. The proclamation was issued on April 4, 1899. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[2] Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, I, pp. 6-7. This emissary was Col. Manuel Agruelles.

The proposed plan of temporary government having seemed acceptable to the Filipino emissaries, the Commission, General Otis being absent, cabled it to Washington on May 4. On the following day Secretary Hay authorized the Commission to propose their plan to the Insurgents.[2] When Otis learned what had happened his resentment found free expression.

> "Otis was a little late, and came in pale as a ghost," wrote Worcester, describing the next session of the Commission. "He has been overworking terribly, and is in a very nervous state most of the time, but it was evident that he was worked up on this occasion, and there was plenty of electricity in the air. Our cablegram to the President was read. You will remember that it was not submitted to General Otis before being sent, Admiral Dewey objecting on the ground that Otis was a member of the commission, and it was his business to come to meetings if he wanted to know what we were doing. The President's reply was read, and then came silence for what seemed a long time. At last Otis cut loose, attacking the President for sending such an order, the commission for having recommended it, and Admiral Dewey for having recommended that the commission be appointed in the first place. He calmly announced that the commission had 'no status' whatever; that it was a peace commission, and that the outbreak of war had changed conditions so completely that we were simply spectators, useful enough in hearing what people had to say, and in keeping them entertained, but utterly powerless to act. He said that if we attempted to do anything that would bind him he would resign from the commission, and added that he knew an immense amount which was hidden from us, and that we did not understand the situation. Admiral Dewey interrupted him with, 'Hell! I understood it a year before you came out here!' . . ."

In the end, however,

> "Otis apparently rather came around to our view as to what ought to be done in connection with the President's communication, and ex-

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[1] Letter of May 2, 1899. *Ibid.*

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, I, p. 9. For Secretary Hay's cablegram see p. 263, *infra*.

pressed his willingness to coöperate with us if we did not attempt to bind him to some definite course of action, insisting, however, that as commander of the army he would be held responsible for results, and must be free to act in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment. He ended by assuring the Admiral that he was convinced the latter had always intended to support him, and adding that he had always meant to support the Admiral. Dewey said that was all he wanted."[1]

Worcester's comment on the situation that this incident created expresses his view as to the proper functions of the Commission, and his determination that it should perform them. Referring to Otis, he wrote: "personally, I feel unwilling to bring on an open break with him just at this critical time in the military operations here, but it seems to me a matter of vital importance that we should soon establish civil government in the towns and provinces which are ready and waiting for it, and if the commission is to play the part in this matter which the President undoubtedly intended that we should play it will soon be necessary to take steps to convince the Major General Commanding that we HAVE a status and let him know very definitely what it is."[2]

But although strained relations between General Otis and the other members of the Commission, especially Admiral Dewey and President Schurman, continued, an open break was avoided.[3] "The rest of the week," Worcester wrote home, was "spent in arriving at an understanding as to the policy to be pursued in dealing with the Filipino commission. We decided to go ahead, under the President's instructions, and tell them that *when* they had given up their arms they *would have* the form of government outlined in his message to us. This would, of course, put the question of our status to a very practical test. Between us, Frank and I got Otis to come to a commission meeting and agree that we should do this, although he had been furious at the very idea when the message came. The conditions of surrender of course lay with him, but the question of a future government was left with us."[4]

The new Insurgent commission came into Manila to request an armistice and discuss the plan of government proposed in case it should be secured.[5] Dealing only with the latter question, the Commission (the civilian members) "simply gave them the President's plan. This made our position with them very strong." Although the ensuing negotiations failed to secure peace, because Apolinario Mabini, General

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[1] Letter of May 12. *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] On May 26 Worcester wrote home: "Early in the week following the occasion which I mentioned, Bourns and I were more than busy keeping the peace."

[4] Letter of May 26. *Ibid.*

[5] Aguinaldo's agents were Gracio Gonzago, Captain Zialcita, Alberto Barretto, and Gregorio del Pilar. *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1900, I, p. 9.

Luna and the other radicals were in the saddle at Filipino headquarters, the Commission felt that the conference had demonstrated that they were a real factor in the situation.[1] "The Filipino commission came in to see *us*, and the authority to make them a definite proposition in regard to a form of government was given not to General Otis, but to *us*. In other words, we have quietly demonstrated the fact that we have authority *by using it*."[2]

Soon after the civilian members of the Commission had asserted their status by dealing authoritatively with the Filipino mission, Worcester's habit of reacting promptly and positively to any situation which required action led him to take a step which greatly strengthened his position both in Manila and in Washington. On June 3 he wrote home: "The last mail brought me a clipping from the *Springfield Republican* containing all manner of lies about the way things are being done out here,—women and children killed and what not! A *New York Post* received at the same time had a still more false and dirty article in it. I thought these statements ought to be answered, and as I was able personally to controvert most of the assertions, felt like taking hold of the job. I first spoke to General Wheaton, who approved highly, then to General Hughes, who also approved. Meanwhile, Frank had spoken to General Otis, who was much pleased at the idea of my taking the thing up. Wednesday morning I took the paper and went to see Otis. He told me to write my answer, bring it down, *and he would have it cabled at government expense!* I asked him how many words he would allow me and he told me to say my say—it was an important matter, and he did not care *what* it cost."[3]

Worcester's dispatch was published in the *Chicago Times-Herald*. It was the first authoritative and convincing answer to the calumnies about the army in the Philippines which were being circulated in the

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[1] A scholarly account of the negotiations between the Philippine government and the Schurman Commission will be found in M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics, 1872-1920*, p. 184, *et seq.*, Manila, 1926.

[2] Letter of May 26, Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI. Commenting on the events of this trying week, Worcester wrote: "I have been writing very hastily, and you will get no idea how Frank and I worked to prevent a serious quarrel. . . . Much less can you understand how hard we worked to get Otis to consent to the commission's doing what it had a perfect right to do, namely, lay the President's proposition before the Filipino delegation. But we have done it, and I will tell you that strange as it may seem, the two people that are running the political, and influencing the war end of this thing are Frank and myself. We pull absolutely together. The correctness of Frank's prognostications has been demonstrated time and again. . . . We fill [Otis] full of good ideas, and he communicates them to others as though they were his own. I can't help liking the old gentleman in many ways and he is in many ways a great man. I hope we shall now pull together and do a lot of *good*."

In this same letter Worcester gives a vivid glimpse of General Gregorio del Pilar, the gallant young Filipino who soon afterwards won immortality in the hearts of his countrymen by giving up his life while protecting the rear guard of Aguinaldo's retreating forces in the heroic fight at Tila Pass. "General Gregorio del Pilar is a very fine young fellow, who has really been opposed to the war" . . . He "is only a boy, twenty-two years of age, and I had him in my room looking at my firearms and playing with my typewriter about half the afternoon!"

[3] Letter of June 3. *Ibid.* When Worcester took the cablegram to Otis, "before breakfast," the latter "approved most highly, and called it a 'strong document,' adding, 'if I had written that everyone would have called me a liar.'" *Ibid.*

United States, and it was deemed by the administration to have produced beneficial political results of the first importance. On June 17, Secretary Hay wrote to its author: "I want to express my profound appreciation of your admirable dispatch to the *Times-Herald* of Chicago. It is the best thing that has been published from anybody since the trouble out there began. It has been reprinted all over the United States, and has done good everywhere it has been read. We are all delighted with it."[1] President McKinley later said to Worcester that if there had been no other result from the visit of the first Philippine Commission to the Islands than the sending of that cablegram, he would have considered the expense involved more than justified.[2]

The *Times-Herald* cablegram was the first of many effective appeals to the public that Worcester was to make during the next fifteen years. Written in trenchant style, based upon incontrovertable facts, and springing from profound conviction, these documents rarely failed to accomplish their purpose. The ability to deliver such telling, and usually decisive blows at the crisis of a contest was one of the things which made Worcester such a dangerous antagonist. But although he rarely failed to obtain public support for the causes for which he strove, the frankness with which he wrote, and the skill and ruthlessness with which he exposed dishonesty, selfishness or inefficiency gained for him the enmity of many opponents, both Filipino and American.

Within three months of the arrival of the Commission in Manila[3] its youngest member had indubitably established himself as a force to be reckoned with in Philippine affairs. During the first week in June he decisively exercised his growing power in a crisis which marked one of the turning points in the relations between the United States and the Islands. President Schurman had joined with his colleagues in recommending to the President that after the Insurgents had laid down their arms there should be established in the Philippines a central government essentially controlled by Americans, in which Filipinos should play only an advisory part, and McKinley had authorized the Commission to offer Aguinaldo peace upon the basis of such an arrangement.[4] On June 1, however, Mr. Schurman suggested that the Commission send to Washington a dispatch reversing itself with reference both to peace terms and to the government subsequently to be established. Denby and Worcester "quietly refused to endorse his message." On June 3, however, he made his recommendations in the form of a 1,000 word "secret and confidential" cablegram to Secretary Hay.

As Mr. Schurman very clearly stated in this message, there were at this time only two courses open to the United States in dealing with the Filipinos who were forcibly resisting American sovereignty in the Islands. The first possibility was for the United States Army to demand and obtain the unconditional surrender of the Insurgent forces. The second course, as President Schurman put it, was, "by negotiations with Aguinaldo to adjust U. S. sovereignty and responsibility with reasonable aspirations [of the] Filipinos, governing and garrisoning mainly through themselves."

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[1] John Hay to Dean C. Worcester, June 17, 1899. *Ibid.*

[2] *Infra*, p. 258.

[3] The Commission arrived in Manila on March 4, 1899.

[4] Secretary Hay's cablegram of May 5, referred to, p. 13, *supra*.

Mr. Schurman was now opposed to the first course, and in favor of the second. He believed that the Filipinos would not surrender their arms, and foresaw that to destroy their military forces would require either a considerable increase of the American army in the Philippines, or protracted war with the troops already there. Subdued by force, he declared, the Filipinos would probably require a considerable army for garrison duty.

As to the "reasonable aspirations" of the Insurgents, the President of the Commission predicted that Aguinaldo would demand autonomy of the Canadian type, accepting an American governor-general and other "chiefs," but requiring the government to be responsible to a popular representative body. He realized that the Filipinos would insist that their soldiers be taken by the United States, in whole or in part, for a Philippine militia or army. He did not think, however, that these "initial demands" should be considered a bar to negotiations. He felt that Aguinaldo himself should be reached, and that the United States was in a false position because its benevolent purposes were not understood by the Insurgents. Mr. Schurman therefore recommended that the President should authorize the Commission to confer with Aguinaldo with a view to terminating the war.[1]

The reply of the President to Mr. Schurman's communication was prompt and incisive. Through Secretary Hay, McKinley stated that there "is no excuse for further resistance by the Filipinos, and if it is continued the President will send all the force necessary to suppress the insurrection and establish the authority of the United States in the islands." He said that he had relied upon the Commission to remove any misunderstanding as to the generous purpose and just and benevolent proposals of the government and thus prevent our resting in a "false position"; and added, "It is to be feared that those of the leaders who have skillfully and for their own purposes placed us in a false position before their deluded followers cannot be relied upon to set us right." Finally, the dispatch declared: "The President wants peace and means to have it, preferably by kindness and conciliation, but through force if need be."[2]

President McKinley also requested the opinion of the other members of the Commission upon the Schurman proposals. Denby and Worcester at once wrote out their views. The latter then "went up to see General Otis and made an appointment with him for the evening, in order that we might try to get him to sign with us. . . . Otis was very kind to me, read me his own dispatches, and said that if we would get up something that was not too radical he would sign it. . . . After dinner the good Colonel and I drove up to the palace and found the General feeling cheerful. He signed our message with only one small change, which greatly improved it."[1]

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[1] Jacob Gould Schurman to John Hay, June 3, 1899. Copy in Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVII.

[2] John Hay to Jacob Gould Schurman, June 4, 1899. *Ibid.*

The cablegram thus prepared, and signed by Commissioners Otis, Denby and Worcester,[2] advocated immediate action and a future policy based upon the principles which were to be followed by the United States in dealing with the Philippines between that date and 1913, and from 1921 to the present moment. It ran as follows:

> "Undersigned recommend prosecution of war until Insurgents submit; after submission or some great military success, establishment of civil government as outlined in the President's instructions; establishment of municipal government in Manila, with public schools teaching English, as contemplated by General; continuation of efforts of the commission to ascertain views of Insurgents and to conciliate the natives; assurances that when arms are laid down, if done soon, as free a government as people can safely administer will be inaugurated within a reasonable time; leave to commanding general the treatment of insurgent soldiers, by no means agreeing to take them in mass into our service; the commission in no wise to interfere with conduct of war; not to send envoys to Insurgents, but commission will patiently hear them should they present themselves.
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> "Indecision now would be fatal. As war continued, and Congress must determine form of government, no promise covering more than telegram of May 5 should be made. The government therein outlined is generally approved by natives and foreigners. The Insurgents should be made to understand that as a temporary government it will be insisted upon, subject to modifications as may be approved by the President, and in accordance with his orders to the commanding general."[3]

The Schurman proposals of June 3 and those embodied in this message and in the Commission's original suggestions to the President express the two fundamentally different viewpoints which Americans have held as to the policy which the United States should pursue in the Philippines. Mr. Schurman later joined with his colleagues in the preliminary report and the final recommendations of the Commission, which embodied the principles insisted upon in June, 1899, by Otis, Denby and Worcester.[4] These principles rested upon conclusions which

[1] Letter of June 8, 1899. Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI.
[2] Admiral Dewey had sailed for home.
[3] Original copy of cablegram. Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVII.
[4] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900. I, p. 97, *et seq.*; p. 169, *et seq.*

Worcester and Bourns had reached soon after their arrival in Manila, and to which, as has been seen, they sought to lead Messrs. Schurman and Denby. General Otis seems to have shared the same views, and so, to a certain extent and less definitely, did Admiral Dewey. During the June crisis, however, it was Worcester who took the lead in securing a definite recommendation from all of the commissioners then in Manila, except Mr. Schurman, that the United States should insist upon Filipino recognition of American sovereignty in the Islands, establish there a government in which American control was adequate to meet American responsibilities, and refuse to make any promises for the future which would make it difficult to give the Islands the kind of government which Congress, at any given time, might deem best adapted to meet our obligations and serve the best interests of the Filipino people.

After a month's trip to the central and southern islands, Mr. Schurman departed for home early in July. Denby and Worcester remained in the Islands until September 15, continuing to perform the duties assigned by President McKinley to the civilian members of the Commission. Their most important work during this period was done in connection with the installation of municipal governments in more than a dozen towns in the provinces of Cavite, Laguna and Bulacan. These districts had been the heart and soul of the rebellion against American authority. When the Insurgent troops had been pushed back some distance from Manila, however, two prominent Filipinos, Srs. Felipe G. Calderon and Angel Fabié, presented themselves to the Commission, Worcester records, "with a proposal to make a trip among Cavite towns and start a pro-American propaganda."[1] Denby and Worcester approved the plan, and obtaining the necessary passes from General Otis, Worcester set out with the two Filipinos on a trip through the territory which had just been conquered by General Lawton's troops.

At Imus, "the headmen had been ordered to meet after church, and they assembled in goodly numbers. Calderon and Fabié did great work, and I also had my say. The priest helped us. We managed to get Baldomero Aguinaldo's secretary to come through the lines and attend the session, and there were several active and ex-insurgent officers in the crowd. We distributed copies of the commission proclamation, recent newspapers, etc. You can hardly realize how difficult it is to get in touch with these people under existing conditions. . . . The results of our work were very evident even before we left."

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[1] Worcester wrote concerning Calderon: He "is a native of Cavite province and a very shrewd and able fellow. He claims to be the real author of the Malolos constitution, is a lawyer by profession, and knows half the population of his province. He was originally educated for a priest, and is on good terms with all the *clerigos* (native priests), while he lacked very little of completing yet two other courses at the University, so that he is, for this country, a very well educated man. Add the fact that he speaks Tagalog perfectly, and the additional fact that until quite recently he held the rank of Captain in the Insurgent army, but is now a thoroughgoing 'Americanista,' and you will see that he is a man of somewhat unusual qualifications." Letter of July 9, Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVII.

After several days of this sort of investigation and propaganda, Worcester reported to General Lawton. "We had found strong desire for and much need of some local organization in each of the cities visited," he wrote home, and added that, "Lawton was strongly in favor of putting it into force at once." He also made the same report to Otis, who immediately advised Lawton to "go ahead and set up a government of some sort in the towns."

"Lawton came straight back to me," Worcester wrote a few days later. "I got Calderon to make a preliminary draft of a suitable scheme, and then took it to Arellano, the President of the Supreme Court, and all in all the greatest living Filipino. With the changes suggested by him I turned it over to Lawton, who promptly put it in the form of an order. Then he wanted me to go out with him and help him put his order into effect."[1]

Within a few days Worcester, Calderon, Fabié and Sr. Benito Legarda,[2] another distinguished Filipino, did accompany General Lawton to the towns which had previously been visited, and were of the greatest assistance in winning the confidence of their Filipino inhabitants and securing their coöperation in the establishment, and later in the operation of Filipino-manned municipal governments.[3] So successful was the experiment in Cavite that the commissioner was requested by General Otis to assist General Kobbé in carrying through the same program in Bulacan. Worcester was, indeed, the moving spirit in the organization of all of these municipalities. Thus in the most practical manner he carried out President McKinley's instructions to the Commission. It is significant that he did so in close coöperation with prominent Filipinos who, with him, assumed the leadership in establishing local self-government, the basis of all successful self-government, in the Philippines.[4]

[1] Letter of July 9, 1899, *ibid.*, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI. A formal report of the organization of municipal governments in the towns of Cavite and Bulacan is given in *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, I, pp. 177-178.

[2] Sr. Legarda later served as a member of the Philippine Commission and in the Congress of the United States as Resident Commissioner from the Philippines. Worcester described him at that time as, "a man who has studied law but is now in business. He is a fellow of splendid ability and is absolutely fearless." (Letter of April 17, 1899. *Ibid.*)

[3] Worcester thus described the gathering at Parañaque: "The General and I shook hands with them all round, and then the General made them a very timely speech, which I translated in Spanish,—Calderon then put it in Tagalog. They were assured that we were there to help and protect them and to aid them in resuming their ordinary occupations; told them that their local affairs were to be turned over to themselves, and then explained the form of municipal government offered them, an especial point being that they assessed and expended their own taxes, not one cent of which would leave their town. We told them that the scheme was drawn up by Filipinos and they grew more and more enthusiastic. We allowed them to elect a 'Presidente Local,' and the chief of the headmen, and promptly congratulated and installed the men chosen, who were both good men, one belonging to one faction and the other to the opposite party. When we left the crowd cheered General Lawton, the United States and everything in sight." (Letter of July 9, 1899. *Ibid.*)

[4] The extent to which Worcester established himself as a personal force in the Philippines by his activities while a member of the Schurman Commission is illustrated by an incident which occurred immediately after the Cavite towns had been organized. On

Returning to the United States with Colonel Denby in September, 1899, Worcester remained in Washington until the following March working on the final report of the Commission. This document, a remarkable treatise of 1,621 pages, accompanied by an excellent atlas,[1] contained more accurate information about the Philippines than had ever before been published in English, or under one title in any language. In its descriptive sections, which comprise the greater part of the work, the report is a monument to the genius of Worcester in the collection and organization of facts. In addition to gathering a large amount of information himself, he obtained the coöperation of the Jesuits, the scholars and scientists of the Philippines, in the preparation of a series of monographs which embodied the best and most complete knowledge then extant concerning the Archipelago. The translation of these studies and their adaptation for the purposes of the report was in his charge and much of the work he did personally.[2] His scientific and scholarly training peculiarly fitted him for this task, and are evident in subsequent reports which he made as Commissioner, and later as Secretary of the Interior. All of these documents are of inestimable value as a record of American achievement in the Philippines, and stand high in the literature of colonial administration.

Worcester's work on the first Philippine Commission made almost inevitable his reappointment to the Taft Commission of five civilians which President McKinley named in the spring of 1900 to establish civil government in the Islands. In accepting this assignment Worcester cast his lot permanently with the Philippines. As has already been intimated, he did so with convictions, purposes, and associations which had grown very naturally out of his earlier experiences in the Islands and his service on the Schurman Commission. Together with Dr. Bourns, he had early become convinced that even under the most favorable conditions the Filipinos would not be able to govern themselves successfully for a long time to come. The rebellion against the United States he regarded, and rightly so, as primarily a Tagalog

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July 9 he wrote home: "I got in a good dig on the old man (General Otis) all right enough the day we went up to report to him. He was feeling mighty good over our news, and so got off a few of his elephantine jokes! He said to me, 'Why don't you take hold of something worth while, and not bother around with little towns of fifteen thousand inhabitants?' I replied, 'What do you expect, General, of a man who has no *status?* I have to be content to pick up anything I can get, and am thankful even for small towns.' The old man looked at me for a minute and then grunted out, 'Hump, *you* have status here all right enough, I only said that the *commission* had none.' Lawton and Bates were there to take in the fun, and they both saw the point, I think. The old man certainly did." (Letter of July 9. *Ibid.*)

[1] The atlas consists of thirty maps prepared at the observatory at Manila under the immediate direction of the Jesuit fathers in charge of that institution. The volume embodied all of the then existing geographical information about the Philippines and formed a very important contribution to knowledge of the Archipelago. Worcester was primarily responsible for the preparation of this atlas. (Letter of August 24, 1899. *Ibid.*)

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, I, pp. v-viii. In a bibliography of Worcester's published writings prepared by himself it is stated that he "wrote or edited the scientific portion of the report (of 1900) and proof-read the Atlas accompanying it"; also that the report of the Commission for 1901, a supplementary treatise on the Islands, was chiefly written by him.

movement. He was aware, furthermore, that a very large majority of the best educated and most substantial Filipinos, even among the Tagalogs, realized that their people were utterly unprepared to assume the responsibilities of an independent political existence, or, unaided, to lead their country from the archaic and chaotic condition in which Spain had left it, into the current of modern life.

Worcester's intimate relations with the most distinguished of these conservative Filipino leaders were of vital consequence in determining his permanent attitude toward the problems of their country. These men abandoned the revolutionary government of Aguinaldo when it became evident that the "irreconcilables" had definitely gained control of it and irrevokably decided not to accept the very liberal system of government which President McKinley offered through the Schurman Commission. The more influential of them, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Cayetano Arellano, Benito Legarda, Felipe G. Calderon, and others, coöperated with the Americans in efforts to persuade the politically active Filipinos to accept American guidance and coöperation under the only terms upon which they could be obtained: the recognition of American sovereignty and the acceptance of American direction and control during an indefinite period of preparation for complete Filipino self-government.

The radicals and not the conservatives among the Filipino leaders prevailed, however, and the Insurgents continued the armed struggle until their forces were utterly crushed. The masses of the people within the territory under Insurgent control were held in line by savage terrorization and the fantastic misrepresentation of the character and purposes of the Americans.[1] Pardo de Tavera, Arellano, and the other Filipinos who coöperated with the invaders were denounced as traitors. Like all other "Americanistas" these gentlemen risked their lives, their property, and their standing among their own people by acting upon the conviction that further armed resistance to the United States could result only in the ruin of their country.

With these men, Filipinos whose patriotism and high motives are unquestioned today by their compatriots, Worcester was closely associated. He worked with them in repeated efforts to convince the radicals of the futility of their course, and in laying the foundations of local self-government in Manila and the surrounding towns. His conviction that the Filipinos were not ready for immediate independence, or even complete autonomy under American protection, therefore, was not only shared by the majority of the foremost Filipinos of that period, but was, in part, derived from them. On March 14, 1899, for instance, he wrote home: "The whole of Sunday morning was spent in conference

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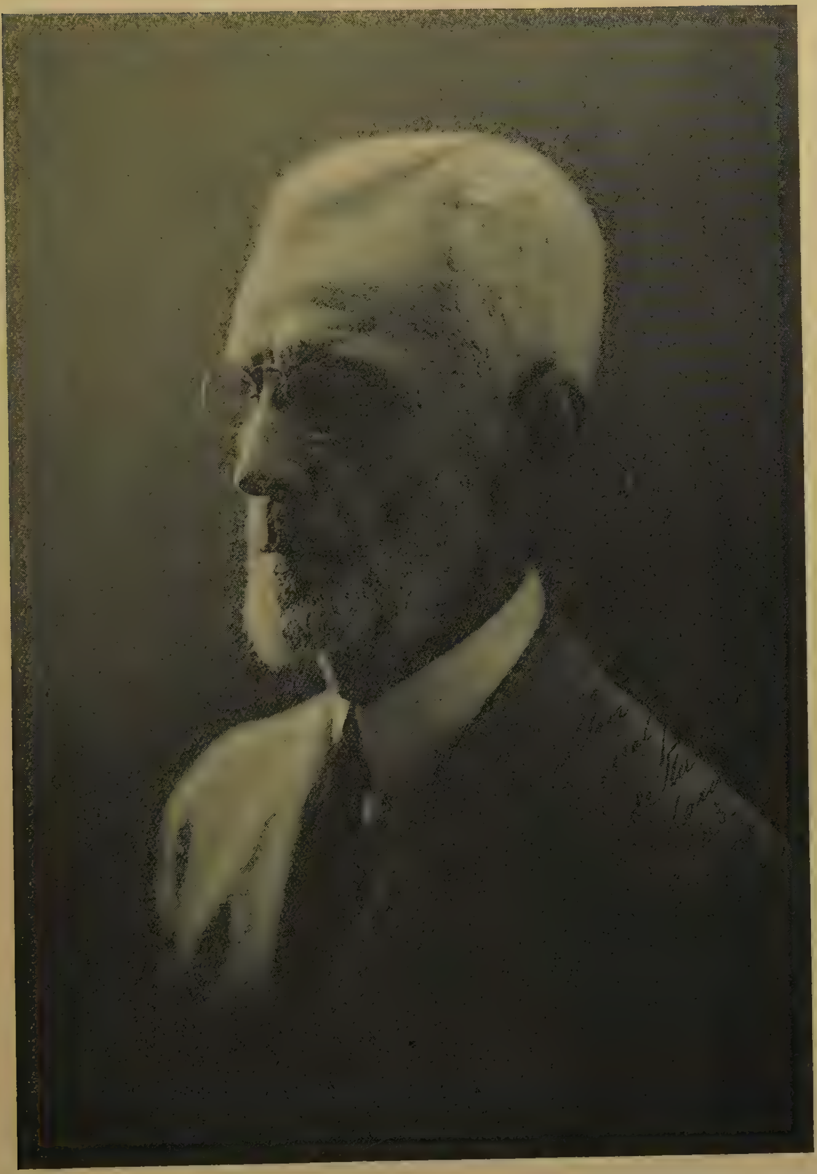
[1] In Chapters V to IX of this book Worcester seems to have proven the truth of these statements conclusively by evidence taken, in the main, from the official Insurgent records.



Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera

with Arellano, a Filipino lawyer, who is absolutely honest, and is universally admitted to be the brightest native or mestizo in the islands. He insists that nothing but a *strong colonial government* will do for his people, and I think he is right."[1]

The growing excesses of the Insurgents against their own people confirmed the soundness of these views. Yet in competition with the radicals the conservative Filipinos never had a chance to win the support of the masses of the people, once peace opened the door to political agitation for ever greater self-government and speedy independence.[2] These words exercise the same magic in the Philippines as elsewhere. The *Federalistas,* the pro-American political party engineered by Dr. Bourns and founded in 1901 by Pardo de Tavera and others of the old conservative group, failed to gain any semblance of popular support.[3] The "intellectuals" became a steadily decreasing and more bitterly proscribed political minority.

With the creation of the popular Assembly in 1907, new men attained the places of national leadership held during the revolution by Aguinaldo, Mabini, Paterno and others. They rode to power on that tide of nationalism which sweeps over every people worthy of the name at some period of its existence. With the deadliest weapons of political warfare they ruthlessly attacked all who resisted them. Among their own people the members of the old "Federalista" group, reduced in numbers and political influence but still a power to be reckoned with, continued to oppose the extreme demands of these eager nationalists.

With his old allies stood Worcester, both because he never would abandon friends who had staked their all upon the belief that the United States would steadfastly carry through her program for the regeneration of the Philippines, and because he felt in every fiber of his being that for his country to abandon or falter in that task would be disastrous to the Filipinos and dishonorable and dangerous for her. This conviction did not spring from any arrogant sense of racial or personal superiority. Still less was it grounded upon any trace of self-interest. It was the inevitable product of Worcester's unique experience in the Philippines. Holding this conviction, he would not have been true to the blood that was in him had he not fought for it with every power which he possessed so long as he bore any share of responsibility for the government of the Islands.

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[1] Letter of March 14, 1899. Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. XVI.

[2] This statement expresses the opinion of the writer. A number of the prominent participants in Philippine affairs during the first decade of American sovereignty, however, believe that had the American authorities afforded greater support and given more power to the "Americanistas" the latter might have prevailed among the body of their fellow-countrymen.

[3] T. H. Pardo de Tavera, "A History of the Federal Party." *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1901, I, App. A, p. 161; M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics,* 1872-1920, p. 269, *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV

Statesman and Administrator

The work which Worcester did between 1900 and 1913 as Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior falls within several categories. Fundamentally, he was a legislator, and a most active one, during the whole of this period. From 1900 until 1907 the Philippine Commission was the sole law-making authority for the entire Archipelago,[1] and thereafter it formed the upper chamber of a bi-cameral insular legislature. During the first period it passed 1,800[2] acts which established the legal basis for the reorganization of the insular, provincial and municipal governments, and for the development of modern systems of sanitation, education, transportation, communications, public finance, police, and public and private law in a backward, Oriental country. Its legislation, in brief, laid the foundations for a new society in the Philippine Islands.

With the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, the Commission shared its general legislative power with that body, although it remained the sole legislature for the non-Christian territory. This change of status made more difficult, complicated and tedious the law-making duties of the Commissioners. By 1907, however, the legislative foundations for the new Philippines had, for the most part, been laid.

No commissioner worked harder at the legislative task than did Worcester.[3] None was more willing and able to expound and defend his views, or was a closer student of the issues involved. Most important of all, no other member of the Commission knew as much as he did concerning the people for whom laws were being passed, or held such definite views upon such a wide range of subjects concerning them.

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[1] The United States Congress, of course, possesses legislative authority over the Philippines, and occasionally exercises it.

[2] The last law enacted by the Philippine Commission exercising exclusively the legislative function of government was Act No. 1800, passed October 12, 1907. The Philippine Assembly, until 1916 one of the two houses which together composed the Philippine Legislature, convened for the first time on October 16, 1907.

[3] In 1908 he was made chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee composed of seven members of each House. "This committee was charged with the duty of preparing legislation for consideration by the Legislature at the regular session. The committee was divided into subcommittees to deal with legislation dealing with the different departments of the government and other matters, and finally, on the day on which the Legislature convened, it ended its term by presenting carefully prepared reports on all petitions and all suggested laws which had been submitted to it, including an agreement between the representatives of the two houses for a joint recommendation for the annual appropriation bill." (*Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1909, p. 35.)

Worcester's long tenure of office inevitably strengthened his hand as a legislator as well as an administrator, and it is doubtful if any one man exercised greater influence over legislation in the Philippines during the great constructive period between 1900 and 1913 than he did.

If the new national structure in the Philippines rested upon a foundation of sound legislation, the superstructure was built by the hardest kind of administrative work. In that tropical, Oriental country the tendency is even greater than in the United States to "pass a law" upon some subject and then settle back with the virtuous feeling that a problem has been solved. The transformation of a nation, however, especially in the tropics, is accomplished only when wise legislation is actually carried into effect by vigorous, sustained, unflinching executive and administrative action.

The relative rarity of the qualities which produce such action is the defect of some of the most pleasing qualities of the Filipino people. The inflexible will to achieve, without which the revolutionary changes and tremendous accomplishments of the constructive period in Philippine history would have been impossible, came from the American element in the Philippine government. Certain necessary channels to national progress could be cut only by human dynamite. In an extraordinary number of instances the dynamite was Dean C. Worcester.

When the executive branch of the Philippine government was organized in 1901 [1] the Secretary of the Interior was given executive control over the bureaus of public health, public lands, forestry, mining, agriculture, fisheries, the pagan and Mohammedan tribes, government laboratories, patents and copyrights, the weather bureau, and the quarantine service. Later the responsibility for the enforcement of the pure food and drug act was laid upon the same official.[2]

If the Taft Commission had deliberately sought to concentrate in one department all of the sure-fire trouble makers among the duties which lay before them they could not have made a more perfect selection.[3] To perform their functions properly Worcester's agents had to interfere, often drastically and arbitrarily, with the personal habits of vast numbers of the Filipino people. Nothing more certainly arouses resentment, especially among the masses of an ignorant population, than such interference. Wholesale vaccination eliminated smallpox and saved hundreds of thousands of Filipino lives. It was never popular. The rigid control and often the destruction of private property in fighting cholera, the bubonic plague, rinderpest and surra was of incalculable benefit to the Filipino people. It was inevitable that it should have been misunderstood and resented. Furthermore, the enforcement of the laws in question often abruptly terminated the profits of individuals, great and small, who had long battened upon the ignorance and misfortunes of their fellows with the connivance of inefficient, indifferent, and dishonest government officials. To the natural resentment of the masses, therefore, was added the active antipathy of certain classes of Filipinos.[1]

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[1] Act No. 222 of the Philippine Commission, enacted September 6, 1901, cited and explained in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, I, p. 261.

[2] Control over the greater part of the services mentioned, with some changes in designation and grouping, was vested in the Department of the Interior throughout Worcester's tenure of office. The most important changes were made in 1903, when the Moro Province was created and placed under the immediate direction of the army; and in 1910 when, at the instance of Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes and Secretary Worcester, the Bureau of Agriculture was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction. (Act No. 1972, cited and explained in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, p. 83.)

[3] In 1913, Worcester related to his Manila friends an incident which throws some light upon contemporary opinion concerning the duties which fell to his lot. "Congress passed the Pure Food and Drugs Act and made it applicable to the Philippines, but provided no machinery for its enforcement. The Commission sought to remedy this difficulty and the question arose as to the allotment of the duty of enforcing the Act. I argued that it was a customs measure and should fall under the control of the Secretary of Finance and Justice. That official was equally certain that it was a health measure and should go to me. His opinion prevailed. After the meeting I was detained a moment and when I left the session hall saw one of my American and one of my Filipino colleagues engaged in earnest and excited conversation. The latter had his back toward me. The former, fixing me with a steady gaze, remarked, 'If we do not get that son-of-a-

It has often been declared that in dealing with some problems, especially those requiring public coöperation and understanding, better results would have been obtained in the long run by methods more tactful and less forceful than those adopted by Worcester and some of his immediate subordinates. He himself recognized this probability in a number of instances. Yet, when the cholera death rate of a great city is increasing daily by geometrical progression,[2] or the essential work animals of a nation are threatened with destruction, the first duty of the responsible administrative official is to avert the threatened disaster. In a land where no effective public opinion has ever existed to exact respect for the public weal from ordinary citizens and to secure inflexible, even-handed observance and enforcement of the law by public officials, the responsible head of a great department has no alternative but to substitute the compelling power of his own personality for the missing force of the general will. Undeniably, persuasion and agreement are better than force and submission. But in situations where persuasion is futile, and the need for action immediate and great, authority must sometimes be used.

One need not go beyond the pages of his own writings to learn that Dean C. Worcester was often ruthless in dealing with subordinates who were unfaithful or negligent in positions of trust, and in crushing

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gun now it will be our own fault.' For a moment I thought him cheeky, but then I realized that he was looking at me with his glass eye." (Dean C. Worcester, *Conditions in the Philippines*, p. 7, Manila, 1913.)

[1] In 1908, Worcester wrote to a friend who was thoroughly acquainted with the Philippines, half lamenting his position. He said that what he had been compelled to do in dealing with "rinderpest, the bubonic plague, cholera, small-pox, the concentration of lepers, the exercise of watchful care over the Sampaloc ladies, the necessity of constant intervention between the provincial and municipal officials and the caciques on the one hand, and the wild peoples on the other, and, last but by no means least, ultimate responsibility for the enforcement of the Pure Food and Drugs Act," made him feel like that most useful of animals among the ancient Hebrews,—the Scapegoat.

[2] Worcester's anti-cholera campaigns are described in D. C. Worcester, *A History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1909.

opposition to his well-considered plans for the public welfare. The explanation of such methods is to be found in part, but only in part, in his dominating personality. The basic reason that his actions were often stern and uncompromising was that the tasks which were assigned to him, and the time and place in which he served, frequently required the use of such methods. The work of his department could have been accomplished within his generation only through Napoleonic leadership. He gave such leadership, and his victories constitute the achievements of which Americans are most unanimously and justly proud as they review their record in the Philippine Islands.

On a bronze scroll in the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila the more lasting and beneficent of these accomplishments have been set forth. The scroll bears the name of Dean C. Worcester, and proclaims that:

> The following American achievements in the Philippines were especially due to his efforts while a member of the Philippine Commission and Secretary of the Interior, 1899 to 1913—
>
> Baguio
> Just and enlightened administration of Moro and pagan tribe affairs and the system of trails and roads through Mountain Province and Mindanao
> Bureau of Science
> Public Health System
> College of Medicine and Surgery
> Philippine General Hospital
> Sanitation of Manila and provinces
> Isolation and Treatment of Lepers
> General Vaccination, Once Ridding the Islands of Smallpox

As receding mountains rise more majestically to the sky, these achievements loom the greater when viewed through the passing years. The task which was given to Worcester was an heroic one. It could only have been accomplished by heroic means.

Without question, the most distinctive and most completely successful work of Worcester's career was accomplished with the wild, pagan peoples of the Philippine hills and mountains. America's record in bringing these primitive groups into beneficent contact with modern civilization is hardly to be matched in the entire history of the relations between the advanced and the backward races of mankind.[1] No other phase of our national effort in the Philippines has been so universally recognized as being completely what the American people would wish it to be.

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[1] A background for the evaluation of this statement may be found in the Romanes Lecture, 1902, delivered by the late Viscount Bryce, *The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind,* Oxford, 1902. More recent discussions of the same subject will be found in R. L. Buell's monumental work, *The Native Problem in Africa,* New York, 1928; R. L. Buell, *International Relations,* New York, 1925; and T. P. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* New York, 1926.

The story of Worcester's work with the non-Christians is thrillingly told in *The Philippines, Past and Present,* and this narrative constitutes one of the fundamental sources from which this phase of Philippine and American history will eventually be written. The most casual reader of those chapters will realize that during the latter part of Worcester's governmental service his heart was first and foremost with the primitive, often oppressed, and always responsive pagan folk who had never been brought within the pale of Spanish civilization.[1] His happiest official relations were with them and the extraordinary group of provincial officials through whom he governed them.

It was, perhaps, in the selection and utilization of these subordinates that Worcester's greatest genius was displayed. His task was to find men who, isolated for months in distant mountains among wild, and often hostile tribes, could exercise unlimited authority with energy, wisdom, and loyalty to his own exacting standards and definite purposes. His governors, lieutenant-governors, treasurers, and other subordinates in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Nueva Viscaya, Mindoro, Agusan,[2] Bukidnon, Palawan and elsewhere bore alone the immediate responsibility for acts which often involved the lives and property of hundreds, or thousands, of people. Nor were these frontier, and beyond-the-frontier administrators, in most instances, supported by physical force adequate even for the protection of their lives in case their courage failed or their judgment erred in dealing with their untamed wards. They were given authority to command, but not the power to compel.

Their task was to lead primitive, virile hill men to abandon savage practices and modes of living which were supported by ancient tribal custom and religion. By sheer force of personality they were to compel the young warrior to discard his lance for the grub-hoe and to substitute ten days' labor on the trail, or participation in carefully supervised athletic competitions, for the head-hunting raids which traditionally would entitle him to be called a man. They were to effect the peaceful settlement of blood feuds between towns whose inhabitants were hereditary enemies.

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[1] In 1913, Worcester declared publicly in Manila: "I should have left the government service years ago had it not been for my special interest in the work for the wild tribes, and my desire to bring that work to the place where it would go of itself, for a time, at least, while my successor was gaining that personal acquaintance with men and conditions so indispensable to successful dealing with primitive peoples who know nothing of laws or policies, but understand individuals peculiarly well." (Dean C. Worcester, *Conditions in the Philippines,* p. 5.) The annual reports of the Secretary of the Interior, in the reports of the Philippine Commission, 1902-1913, present a view of the administration of affairs among the non-Christian population as it developed from year to year. They also throw much light on Worcester's personality and methods of work. Three interesting and profusely illustrated articles by Worcester dealing with the tribal peoples of the Philippines appeared in the *National Geographic Magazine,* as follows: "Field Sports Among the Wild Men of Luzon" (March, 1911); "Head-hunters of Northern Luzon" (September, 1912); and "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippine Islands" (November, 1913). Of a more technical character is Worcester's "The non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," in *The Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. I, No. 8, October, 1906.

[2] In Agusan and Bukidnon (in northern Mindanao) the pagan hill people were not fierce savages, but rather, primitive, timid folk who were subjected to abuse and exploitation by Christian Filipinos who had settled along the coast of their territory. In these provinces the problem of Worcester's lieutenants was to induce the pagans to adopt the ways of civilization, and protect them from their Christian neighbors.

Nor were their operations on a small scale. In the Mountain Province alone there lived more fighting men than ever were to be found among all of the American Indians between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, the area of a generation of "Indian Wars." Among the lieutenant-governors within this great region Hale dealt with 25,000 fierce Kalingas, and Gallman with 60,000 warlike Ifugaos.[1]

In selecting lieutenants to perform these almost superhuman tasks, Worcester was not able to draw highly educated men from the ranks of an established colonial service. A German, French, British, or Japanese administrator in his position would have found such human material provided for his use. The Secretary of the Interior in the Philippines chose his subordinates in this work from the chance assortment of adventurous young Americans who were to be found in the Islands during the insurrection and the "days of the empire." To those whom he selected he could offer little save a man's job and his own leadership.

Worcester was able to build up his marvelous organization under such conditions because he had an uncanny faculty for finding the right man for the right place; because he got out of each of his assistants the best that was in him; and because he dominated his entire force with his own personality. As the chief, he always knew very definitely what ought to be done and was able to make his plans perfectly clear to the men who were to carry them out. Any backing his lieutenants needed, whether in obtaining supplies from the distant central government, or in defending themselves from the political attacks of disturbed vested interests, Worcester gave to the limit of his power. As frequently as possible he made rigid inspections to ascertain what results were being obtained. When censure or punishment was required he dealt it out with relentless justice. On the other hand, his official reports, his public addresses, and the pages of this book are filled with the most enthusiastic acknowledgment of work well done by his subordinates. To them he gave full credit for what was accomplished. Public criticism of any unit in his department he was ready to shoulder himself.[2]

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[1] The non-Christian population of the sub-provinces of Ifuago and Kalinga are given in the 1918 census as 64,101, and 24,187, respectively. (*Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, II, Table No. 1, p. 99, Manila, 1921.) The total non-Christian population of all of the sub-provinces of the Mountain Province is given by the same census as 200,386. (*Ibid.*) A slightly different estimate is given in Table 37, pages 880-881, of the same volume. See also *ibid.*, I, p. 195 *et seq.*, for maps, historical sketches, and statistical information concerning the Mountain Province and its sub-provinces.

[2] For examples, see *infra*, pp. 506-507; *Conditions in the Philippines*, pp. 8, 13; *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, pp. 91-92.

In addition to inspecting the non-Christian provinces as frequently as possible, the Secretary of the Interior kept in close touch with their governors by correspondence of a personal, unofficial character. They laid their problems before him frankly, confident that his intimate knowledge of local conditions and his mature judgment would suggest the best methods of solution. The spirit which prevailed in his organization, and the methods by which he accomplished the seemingly impossible are well illustrated by a series of letters concerning Agusan and the sub-province of Bukidnon preserved in the Worcester Philippine Collection.

In October, 1907, Governor Frederick Johnson of Agusan wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Frederick W. Lewis of Bukidnon:

> "I was much pleased at your appointment as Lieut.-Gov. of Bukidnon. A good bit of work is cut out for us, and it would have been hard indeed had two men been appointed who would not go well in harness. . . . You know that Mr. Worcester put us in our places to make good, and that does not so much mean nice, flourishing reports that neither you nor I is capable of, as it does results to be shown from year to year, and I want you to feel that it is not an arm or a leg, but the whole Johnson that is with you and behind you." [1]

After returning from an inspection trip with Lieutenant-Governor Lewis through the latter's sub-province, Governor Johnson wrote to Worcester: "I didn't tell the people where we went, and don't intend to tell them, that I am the governor, so as not to make him seem smaller than the Lord himself in their eyes. I haven't given him any instructions and don't intend to give him any, as he will do better without them." [2]

Replying to this letter, Worcester wrote to Johnson:

"I think that your policy in allowing Lewis to be the whole thing in his own country is the wisest one. He ought to be supported wherever possible, and in the event that he should do anything which you could not approve, the matter should be handled quietly between the two of you so that he will not lose prestige." [3] This advice embodies the policy which Worcester himself followed whenever possible in dealing with his own subordinates.

The exchanges of letters between the Secretary of the Interior in Manila and Governor Johnson in distant Mindanao reveal also the intimate acquaintance that Worcester had with the people and the problems of the Philippines, especially of the non-Christian provinces. In one communication Johnson asked his chief for advice or assistance, or reported action, upon eighteen different matters, including: local politics, presents for primitive tribesmen, details concerning the management of a store, the planting of 50,000 trees, the best methods of exterminating crocodiles, two school problems of importance, inspections (expressing disagreement with Worcester's opinion that it was best to make them unannounced), a difficult boundary problem, the site of the capital, and a provincial launch.[1]

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[1] Governor Frederick Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor Frederick W. Lewis. October 12, 1907. Worcester Philippine Collection, Sec. 28, Vol. IV, item 17.

[2] Governor Frederick Johnson to Secretary D. C. Worcester, November 21, 1907, *ibid.*

[3] Secretary D. C. Worcester to Governor Frederick Johnson, December 20, 1907, *ibid.*

Worcester's reply shows that he took action upon every request and reported what he had done, and that he gave expert advice upon every problem which had been presented to him. It is doubtful whether a more complete, detailed and practical description of the best ways of killing crocodiles has ever been written than that which Governor Johnson received in answer to his inquiry on that subject. It was by such knowledge of the work to be done and such methods of administration that Worcester was able to project his own personality into every region of the vast and diverse non-Christian territory under his jurisdiction.

Worcester's contemporaries recognized his powers of leadership and the qualities which bound men to him. In 1913, after paying high tribute to the subordinates whose services the retiring Secretary of the Interior had praised at a great banquet given in his honor, the Manila *Times* declared, editorially:

> "There is—there must be—in the man who could command this loyalty, who could draw to him and lead these adventurous and eager spirits, a quality rare and compelling. Whatever that quality may be called—whether manliness or forthrightness, or by any other name—it served also to bring to their feet every one of the gathering when Dean C. Worcester rose last night to speak. This was their tribute to the power, the force, the rugged strength which have taken him through thirteen years of arduous service, which have shouldered him through clamor and dispute, and have left him at the last foursquare to all that may befall him. His qualities have their corresponding defects, but it was not of those that count was taken last night. Here was one who had never given an order that he feared himself to carry out, who had spent his strength with the same lavish disregard to consequences he exacted from others, who had been loyal to his subordinates—a hard task-master, driving his men to the limit of their endurance, but himself driven, himself enduring, himself tasked."[2]

Unfortunately, the approval of such a chief, and the consciousness of work well done were the only rewards which came to the devoted group of men who, under Worcester's leadership, made possible America's finest achievement in the Philippines. These officials demonstrated, however, what the individual American can do when engaged in a noble task under the leadership of a great man.

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[1] Governor Frederick Johnson to Secretary Dean C. Worcester, December 3, 1907, *ibid.*

[2] *The Times,* Manila, October 15, 1913.

In 1914, Worcester felt that there was grave doubt as to whether the work for the pagan peoples of the Philippines which he and his colleagues had begun so auspiciously would live. Indeed, one of his primary purposes in writing *The Philippines, Past and Present* and in laying his case before the American people in other ways was to protect the future of these primitive peoples.[1] Fifteen years after his official responsibilities passed to others it is possible to state with confidence that his accomplishments for the wild men will be permanent. The abrupt changes in policy and personnel which occurred during the Harrison administration did not destroy the organization which he had created or fundamentally alter its purpose. His work was sound enough to survive the uncertainties and the weaknesses of that transition period. It is now progressing along the lines which he laid down, especially in the Mountain Province and Bukidnon.[2] Unless the United States prematurely relinquishes her authority and abandons her responsibilities in the Philippines it will be a lasting monument to Worcester and the men who served under him in the special government provinces.

Worcester's activity on behalf of the non-Christians was one of the causes of the long feud between him and many of the political leaders of the Christian Filipinos. The Secretary of the Interior aroused the resentment of these gentlemen in two ways: he and his department systematically prevented or punished the exploitation of the wild man by his Christian neighbors; he gave world publicity to the existence and importance of the primitive non-Christian population of the Islands, and insisted that the inability of the partially Europeanized Christians to solve the problems presented by the pagan and Mohammedan tribes was a bar to immediate Philippine independence. The vigor and frankness with which Worcester expressed his views upon this subject put into the hands of his political opponents a weapon which they were not slow to use. For years they carried on a campaign of misrepresentation designed to play upon the nationalistic fervor and racial sensitiveness of the Filipino people and make Worcester's name anathema among them. Unfortunately, their efforts met with a considerable measure of success.

The misrepresentation which time has been the slowest in killing was that Worcester was responsible for the exhibition of non-Christians at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, and that he subsequently encouraged such exhibitions outside the Philippines in order to create the impression that the Filipinos were an uncivilized people wholly unfit to govern themselves. An examination of the records demonstrates beyond question that both of these allegations were false.

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[1] Chapter XXIV, *infra.*

[2] This statement is based upon personal study of conditions in these provinces made on the ground, and upon official and unofficial reports concerning them. The splendid spirit in which Worcester's work in the Mountain Province is being carried on by Gov. John C. Early is revealed in Governor Early's annual report for 1925, which is included as Appendix V of this book.

The Philippine exhibit at St. Louis was authorized by an act of the Philippine Commission.[1] This law provided that the exhibit should be prepared and managed by a board of three members to be appointed by the Civil Governor, with the consent of the Philippine Commission. The board was given complete authority over the exhibit, but was directed to render a monthly report to the Civil Governor.

Governor Taft appointed as members of the exposition board two experts from the United States and Señor Pedro A. Paterno, a distinguished Filipino who had been responsible, in part, for a Philippine exhibit at Madrid. Señor Leon M. Guerrero, a Filipino of high scientific attainments, was made secretary of the board. The non-Filipino members were Dr. William P. Wilson, Director of the Philadelphia Museum, and Dr. Gustavo Niederlein, an ethnologist who had acquired an international reputation among scientists and public officials as a museum and exhibition director.[2]

In its first annual report, the exposition board stated that upon his arrival in Manila Dr. Niederlein, the commissioner having chief charge of planning and gathering the exhibits, presented a plan of work to the Philippine Commission. The Civil Governor officially requested all of the agents of the government to coöperate in the execution of this plan.[3] In March, 1903, the report states, "a long and hot discussion in the Filipino, Spanish, and English press about the feasibility of sending non-Christian tribes to the world's fair brought the exposition board more prominently before the public."[4] The board decided, however, that "the sending of non-Christian tribes to the fair with the necessary houses, utensils, implements, etc., was considered necessary in order to make the Philippine display complete and particularly interesting."[5] Further on, it is stated that "Doctor Barrow's elaborate plans for a great ethnographic exhibit were approved,"[6] and that, "the board has planned to take to the United States, not only a large number of Igorotes, Tinguianes, and Moros, but also Negritos and several tribes of the so-called Indonesians who live in the eastern part of Mindanao, who, together with the type-casts mentioned above, will furnish the student of comparative anthropology with invaluable material for study."[7] Incidentally, the report also states that the directions to the bureaus of the Interior department requesting that they hasten the preparation of the exhibits were sent out by Vice-Governor Luke E. Wright, at that time in charge of the department, presumably in the absence of Secretary Worcester.[8]

[1] Act No. 514, Philippine Commission, November 11, 1902.

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 1, pp. 60-61, 406.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 406-407.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

The documents which have been quoted show very clearly the purpose of the exposition board in including non-Christians in the exhibit at St. Louis. They also prove beyond the possibility of question that the responsibility for the character of that exhibit rested immediately upon the board and the Civil Governor, ultimately upon the Philippine Commission as a whole, and only in small degree upon Dean C. Worcester, as one member of the Commission.[1] Worcester is, indeed, conspicuous for his absence from the official and contemporary accounts of the genesis and organization of this famous display. One reason that he does not appear is that he was absent from Manila, at first on a long exploration journey through the wilds of northern Luzon and later on leave, during practically all of the period in which the exhibit was prepared.

In later years Secretary Worcester vigorously opposed all efforts to send groups of primitive Filipinos out of the country for exhibition purposes. He did so, however, because, "apart from all other considerations, experience shows that the men and women thus taken away from their natural surroundings are apt to be pretty thoroughly spoiled and to be trouble makers upon their return." [2] Upon a number of occasions he sought to procure the passage of a law which would prohibit such exhibitions, but found it difficult to draft a measure which would not violate the right of contract guaranteed to individuals by the fundamental law of the Islands.

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[1] The other side of the exposition picture is that a board of 42 distinguished Filipinos were sent to America at government expense, not only to visit the world's fair at St. Louis, but also to travel extensively in the United States. This party was organized, Governor Taft declared, "with a view to bringing the two peoples nearer together and to showing the intelligent Filipinos what our country is and what our institutions mean. At the same time this delegation will be able, in the congresses at St. Louis, to represent with dignity the intellectual development of the islands and to speak with authority upon the needs of their people." (*Ibid.*, p. 62.) The honorary board of commissioners, as this body was called, was provided for by Acts of the Philippine Commission, No. 1030, December 22, 1903; and No. 1080, March 10, 1904. Brief biographies of the members of the party are given in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 1, pp. 356-359. The list reads like a bluebook of the Philippines.

[2] Worcester's active opposition to the exhibition of non-Christians and his reasons therefor are clearly set forth in the following official correspondence, which appears in earlier editions of this work on p. 645, Vol. II:

(Telegram.)

"PACK" [a] BONTOC, MANILA, Dec. 4, 1909.

"Schneiderwind is back with his Igorots some of whom have as much as two thousand pesos due them. Am trying to arrange to have this money put in postal savings bank to protect them from themselves. Schneiderwind is after another party of wild people to take to Europe. Has asked about Ifugaos and Apayaos. Have told him strongly opposed to taking these people to other countries for exhibition purposes and will place all possible obstacles in his way if he attempts to do so. If after this warning he enters Mountain Province to secure people for exhibition purposes give him no assistance but use every legitimate means to prevent his getting them. Give proper and seasonable instructions to your subordinates.

"WORCESTER."

On April 22, 1910, in returning to the Governor-General a petition dealing with the exhibition of wild people I placed upon it this indorsement:

"Respectfully returned to the Honourable, the Governor-General.

"The undersigned is strongly opposed to the sending of members of wild tribes to the United States or to other civilized countries for exhibition purposes. Apart from all other considerations experience shows that the men and women thus taken away from their natural surroundings are apt to be pretty thoroughly spoiled and to be trouble makers after their return.

"The undersigned has recently informed Mr. R. Schneiderwind that he would, if necessary, do everything in his power to prevent the latter gentleman from taking another set of Igorots away from the Philippines for exhibition purposes. This, too, in spite of the fact that Mr. Schneiderwind has apparently been very considerate in his treatment of the Igorots whom he has taken to the United States for exhibition purposes.

"The undersigned would assume the same attitude toward any other person endeavouring to obtain Igorots for exhibition purposes."

[a] William F. Pack, Governor of the Mountain Province. (Copies of originals in Worcester Philippine Collection.)

On the other hand, as the tribal peoples constitute one-ninth of the population of the Philippines and occupy nearly one-half of the territory of the Archipelago, Worcester objected, "to the attempt of certain Filipino politicians to conceal the fact of their existence, and the efforts of certain misguided Americans to minimize the importance of the problems which their existence presents." [1] Worcester was never a silent, nor was he always a tactful objector in matters concerning which he had responsibility. When the misrepresentations of his opponents are understood, however, it becomes evident that his policies in dealing with the problems of the non-Christian tribes were not only based upon high principles, but also upon what he regarded as the best interests of the Filipino people as a whole.[2]

Worcester's contributions to the causes of public health and of science in the Philippines were, perhaps, of even greater value to the Filipino people as a whole, and to humanity, than his more distinctive work with the non-Christians of the Archipelago. Broadly speaking, modern science, as applied to the service of humanity, was introduced into the Philippine Islands under his leadership and through agencies under his administrative control. Being both a scientist and an executive of rare genius, he saw to it that these agencies were soundly organized, properly correlated with each other and the government as a whole, adequately equipped, and staffed with men of the highest technical qualifications. To a surprising degree, he imbued each service and employee with a zeal and industry akin to his own. If an individual failed to come up to the mark, however, his way was a hard one, and eventually led to his separation from the service usually with a strongly felt and freely expressed resentment towards the Secretary of the Interior.

The direct results of Worcester's scientific and administrative leadership in the Philippines have long been recognized and lauded throughout the world. It is not so generally realized, however, that during the period between 1900 and 1913 the Filipino people became thoroughly indoctrinated with the idea that technical public services must be manned by men with technical training. The Philippine Legislature has freely appropriated public money to enable young Filipinos to obtain scientific training in Europe and America. In practically all of its branches, the Insular administration today is largely staffed in its upper ranges with Filipinos who have received professional training for their respective positions. Mature officials are now being sent abroad by the government for advanced study in their special fields of administration. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency among Filipinos to regard academic training, attested by an advanced degree, as in itself a guarantee of personal competence, especially when the possessor of the degree has happened to be one of themselves. This naïve, but entirely understandable, attitude is being rapidly modified by experience, however, and the Philippine Government is actually being administered by technically trained officials to an extent which is scarcely surpassed in any country in the world. Worcester was the great exponent of the application of science to the problems of society in the Philippines, and his work as secretary of the department in which most of the scientific services were grouped contributed very largely to the development of the present Filipino attitude upon this matter.

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[1] Statement of Dean C. Worcester in earlier editions of *The Philippines, Past and Present,* II, p. 643.

[2] On October 10, 1910, Worcester delivered a lecture at the Y. M. C. A. in Manila in which he stated in effect, among other things, that the government was forced to govern the non-Christian tribes directly in order to protect them from the Christian Filipinos. Four months later, on February 3, 1911, while Worcester was absent in the United States, the Philippine Assembly unanimously passed a resolution censuring him for statements "ascribed" to him after this address. Worcester later declared that every important statement made during the lecture in question is incorporated in his annual report for 1910. (*Cf.* earlier editions, *The Philippines, Past and Present,* II, p. 656, and the *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1910, pp. 74-83.)

CHAPTER V

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

A THIRD phase of Dean C. Worcester's career in the Philippines concerns his influence upon the Philippine policy of the United States, and his relations with the Filipino people. In the early pages of this sketch it was shown that of all of the members of the Schurman Commission he was the most active in urging upon the McKinley administration that no compromise be made with the Insurgent leaders which would reduce the power of the United States completely to direct and control the government of the Philippines. The political associations which he formed at that time with the more conservative Filipinos who later led the pro-American *Federalista* party became closer after he returned to the Islands in 1900 as a member of the Taft Commission. He was, indeed, soon recognized as the most powerful and the most bluntly outspoken opponent of the Filipino radicals who, after the military collapse of the Insurrection, carried on the struggle for early independence with the weapons of politics. This struggle as it was conducted by the Filipino irreconcilables during the first years of American sovereignty reflected the double bitterness of civil strife and the hatred of many individuals among a proud, conquered people for their alien masters.[1]

Besides being one of the most aggressive and uncompromising combatants in this bitter contest, and the chief of the department which was responsible for the enforcement of many laws which were odious to large numbers of Filipinos, Worcester came into serious conflict with the Filipino radical leaders because of his attitude toward the utilization of the natural resources of the Archipelago. As Secretary of the Interior he was charged with executive supervision and control over the Bureaus of Agriculture, Public Lands, Mines, and Forestry. There was thus laid upon him a peculiar responsibility for the policy of the government as to the extensive public lands and forests, and the valuable mines of the Islands,—a responsibility more direct than that of any other member of the Commission. In meeting this responsibility, Worcester threw his whole influence into an effort to make possible extensive and rapid development of these natural resources with the assistance of American or foreign capital. The Filipino popular leaders were unanimously opposed to such development.

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[1] Evidence of the bitter feeling which then existed is given by the act of the military authorities in exiling the patriot Mabini, a cripple, and thirty-one of his supporters to Guam (see Senate Document 135, 56th Congress, 2d Session), and by the passage of a sedition law which provided that: "Until it has been officially proclaimed that all war or insurrection against the United States no longer exists in the Philippine Islands it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate, orally or by writing or printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States, *whether by peaceable or forcible means* (italics supplied), or to print, publish, or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication advocating such independence or separation.

"Any person violating the provisions of this article shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding two thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding one year." (Act No. 262, Philippine Commission, November 4, 1901.) As late as 1907 a law was enacted prohibiting the display of the Filipino flag or any other emblem of the Insurrection. (Act No. 1696, Philippine Commission, August 23, 1907, Sec. 10.) This law was not repealed until 1919. (Act No. 2871, Philippine Legislature, October 22, 1919.)

In enacting its first great law for the Philippines, the Organic Act of 1902, Congress definitely attempted to protect the national wealth of the Islands from the selfish and wasteful exploitation which had dissipated so much of the national heritage of the American people. The Organic Act limited the amount of public land which could be granted or sold to any individual settler or occupant to 16 hectares (about 40 acres), or sold to any corporation, to 1,024 hectares (about 2,500 acres).[1] The same law authorized the Philippine Government to issue bonds for the purchase of a large amount of land which was owned by the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and other orders of the Roman Catholic Church.[2] A controversy which deeply involved Secretary Worcester later arose as to whether the limitations which Congress had placed upon the sale of the "public lands" also applied to the property thus purchased, and generally denominated as "friar lands."

From the outset, Worcester believed that the restrictions upon the sale of the public lands were too rigid. In his first annual report as Secretary of the Interior, dated November 1, 1902, he wrote: "I strongly urge that the Commission recommend to Congress that the provisions as to the amount of land which may be sold to an individual or a corporation or association of persons be made much more liberal." This recommendation he supported with facts and arguments which clearly reveal his position, and that of others who have agreed with him, upon the subject.

> "In discussing agricultural possibilities here," he wrote, "I have invited attention to the favorable opportunities afforded by the soil and climate of this archipelago to young men of limited means desirous of engaging in agriculture, but the success of such ventures is obviously dependent upon ability to secure sufficient land. In coconut growing, for instance, the trees thrive in sandy soil along the sea, barely above high-water mark, on land which, so far as we at present know, is absolutely useless for any other purpose than coconut growing, but not

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[1] Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, Sec. 15. Cited hereafter as "Organic Act, 1902."

[2] *Ibid.* Secs. 64-65. In December, 1903, the government purchased upward of 410,000 acres, at a price of $7,239,000. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, p. 43.) A full account of the transaction is given in the Report of the Governor-General for that year. (*Ibid.*, p. 38, *et seq.*)

more than 75 trees can be advantageously planted to an acre. If one were to take up the maximum of 16 hectares and were able to utilize all of it for planting coconut trees, he would be able to put out less than 1,900 trees—a number which would not justify him in engaging in the coconut business. If this is true of coconut growing, which does not necessitate the installation of any machinery, it is much more true of sugar growing. . . . If the present limitation upon the amount of public land which may be sold to an individual be not removed, the inevitable result will be that the sale of public lands to individuals desiring to cultivate upon a commercial scale sugar, hemp, tobacco, coffee, indigo, or cacao will be prevented, and those who wish to engage in any of those industries will be compelled to purchase land from persons who secured title under Spanish sovereignty, with the result that there will be little increase in the acreage which now is, or recently has been, under cultivation.

"I see no good reason for imposing a severer restriction upon an individual as to the amount of land which he may purchase and cultivate than is imposed upon a corporation.

"If the Filipino is ever to adopt modern agricultural machinery and to employ advanced methods of cultivation, it will only be as the result of practical demonstration of the advantages of such a course. Everyone who knows him fully realizes that it is useless to attempt to argue him into giving up the methods which his forefathers have followed for generations, but he is not slow to recognize a good thing if he can see it. The educational value to those islands of large estates under high cultivation would be very great. . . .

"The small landowner should certainly be protected, and Congress has done well to safeguard his interests; but in order to achieve this end it is by no means necessary to impose restrictions which can only result in leaving enormous areas of rich agricultural Government lands uncultivated in the future, as they are today. . . .

"If it is not deemed advisable for the Government to part with title to large tracts of public lands, the Commission might be authorized to lease such tracts for periods of fifty years, and that in that event the limit should be increased to 25,000 acres."[1]

In the same report Worcester recommended that the Commission urge upon Congress the modification or repeal of the section of the Organic Act which placed rigid limitations upon the development of the mineral wealth of the Archipelago.[2]

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[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1902, I., pp. 296-297. Worcester advocated that the sale limit should be raised to 15,000 acres, whether the purchaser were a corporation or an individual.

[2] The act prohibited any person or corporation from holding, either directly or indirectly, more than one mineral claim in the same vein or lode. (Organic Act, 1902, Sec. 33.) This provision, like the one limiting the amount of public land which could be bought or leased, had been inserted in the bill to protect the natural wealth of the Philippines from exploitation by a small number of individuals or corporations. Worcester pointed out, however, that there was no mining industry in the Philippines, and that practical miners maintained that under Philippine conditions the necessary capital to create one could not be secured if this limitation were to be maintained. "It is surely unnecessary to discuss the advantages which would result from the active development of the mineral wealth of these islands," he said, "and there would seem to be no good

These recommendations with reference to public lands and mineral resources were repeated by Worcester year after year, and year after year they were urged upon Congress by the Commission, including the Filipino members thereof.[1] Congress, however, refused to heed these repeated requests from the officials who were immediately responsible for the proper development of the distant American colony. Philippine lands and minerals were not to be "exploited" by American "trusts"; American beet sugar interests exerted their influence to prevent the growth of competitive sugar production in the Philippines; and the radical nationalist leaders who rapidly came into power in Manila were opposed to the investment of American capital in large scale enterprises in the Islands.[2] Between 1902 and 1913 these leaders and the members of the Philippine Commission, especially the Secretary of the Interior, were actively and continuously opposed to each other on this issue.

An incident of this long contest which was of the greatest importance in the career of Commissioner Worcester was the Congressional investigation of the Interior Department of the Philippine Government touching the administration of Philippine lands, conducted in 1910. During 1909 and 1910 the Philippine Government disposed of certain large, unoccupied, or virtually unoccupied, estates which it had purchased from the Spanish religious orders as a part of the "friar lands." The San Jose Estate, consisting of 58,465 acres of such land in Mindoro, was sold to persons closely connected with the "sugar trust" in the United States. The Tala Estate, situated near Manila but in a hilly district which was still infested with robbers and was considered unsafe by peaceful Filipino agriculturalists, was leased with the privilege of ultimate purchase by Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, Executive Secretary of the Insular Government.[3]

These transactions, and others, were based upon the belief that the limitations of the Organic Act upon the sale of public land of the United States in the Philippines did not apply to the friar lands, which were the property of the Philippine Government. In this belief the Commission had previously been fortified by opinions of the Attorneys-General of the Philippine Islands and of the United States.[4]

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reason why the miners here, who must create a new industry, should not be as liberally treated as are miners in the United States." (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, I, p. 288.)

[1] See especially the annual reports of the Secretary of the Interior in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, II, p. 55; and *Ibid*, 1911, p. 98.

[2] An able exposition of the official Filipino attitude upon this subject is to be found in speeches made in the American House of Representatives by Hon. Manuel E. Quezon on May 14, 1910, and May 1, 1912.

[3] Mr. Carpenter's statement concerning this transaction will be found in *Administration of Philippine Lands. Report by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives of Its Investigation of the Interior Department of the Philippine Government Touching the Administration of Philippine Lands and All Matters of Fact and Law Pertaining Thereto*, II, p. 1251, *et seq*. (Report No. 2289, House of Representatives, 61st Congress, 3d Session.) The report is cited hereafter as *Administration of Philippine Lands*.

[4] The opinion of Attorney-General Wickersham, together with an opinion of Mr. Moorfield Storey controverting it, are printed in *Administration of Philippine Lands*,

The purposes of the Commission in concluding these sales were twofold. They wished to relieve the Filipino people of the burden of interest on the friar lands bonds, and at the same time to secure the erection of one or two modern sugar centrales to demonstrate to the Filipinos what could be accomplished by modern methods of sugar production.[1]

On June 13, 1910, in a sensational speech entitled, "Exploiting the Philippines," Representative John A. Martin of Colorado, one of the leading beet sugar states of the Union, attacked these sales on the floor of the lower house of Congress as illegal and contrary to sound public policy. He charged that they had been made as a part of a conspiracy between the President of the United States, Mr. William Howard Taft, his brother, Mr. Henry W. Taft, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and others, to open up the friar lands and the enormously greater public lands of the Philippines for exploitation by the Sugar Trust. Martin particularly denounced the sale of the Tala Estate to Mr. Carpenter, and the lease of lands to Mr. E. L. Worcester, a nephew of Secretary Worcester.[2] "These transactions," he declared, were "so criminally corrupt and immoral as to constitute malfeasance in office on the part of all the officials of the Philippine Government concerned."

Finally, in a series of more or less definite allegations, he accused

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I, pp. 12-16. The Attorney-General's opinion also appears in the *Congressional Record*, March 25, 1910.

Furthermore, the Philippine Legislature had removed the restrictions upon sales of vacant Friar Lands, such as the estates in question, which had been imposed by the original land act of the Philippine Commission. (Act No. 1120, Philippine Commission, April 26, 1904, as amended by Act No. 1847, Philippine Legislature, June 3, 1908; and Act No. 1933, Philippine Legislature, May 20, 1909.) This law had passed the Philippine Assembly, composed entirely of Filipinos, without a single dissenting vote, had been duly reported to Congress as required by the Organic Act, and had not been disapproved by that body. (*Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, pp. 1111-1112.)

[1] Testifying before the Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in 1910, Secretary Worcester stated: "We have not today really anything approaching a modern sugar mill in the Philippine Islands. . . . We can continue to do what we do today—get the small amount of sugar which is used in trade among the people themselves to supply local needs, and ship a little sugar of comparatively inferior quality—but if this industry is to reach anything like its legitimate development we must have modern methods and modern appliances. I have myself in the past advocated the establishment of a modern sugar mill in the island of Negros at the expense of the Government, simply as a demonstration for the benefit of the people; and in his message to the legislature this year Gov. Forbes recommended the financing by the Government of sugar centrales, which would take the cane of the natives and grind it in order that they might see for themselves and be encouraged to engage in similar enterprise. It is my firm conviction that the establishment of one modern sugar estate anywhere in the Philippine Islands, to which the people will be brought as laborers from surrounding provinces, as is being done in the case of the San Jose Estate, will be worth more to the natives of the Philippines than all the agricultural colleges which you could put in a row a mile long. It is the practical kind of instruction which appeals to them and which they are willing to follow." (*Administration of Philippine Lands,* I, pp. 480-481.)

[2] Mr. Martin's speech will be found in the *Congressional Record,* Vol. 45, No. 8, pp. 7975-8007. His charge with reference to Mr. E. L. Worcester was so worded as to create the impression that Worcester had purchased a part of the friar lands. This was entirely false. No relative of Secretary Worcester ever leased or purchased a foot of land from any of the friar estates. Mr. Martin's accusation was due either to ignorance and carelessness or to a deliberate desire to misrepresent. E. L. Worcester did lease a tract of public land from the Philippine Government. (*Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, pp. xxv-xxvii, 1098, 1165-1170.) Mr. Martin also spoke on the sale of the friar lands on March 15, 1910. (*Congressional Record,* Vol. 45, No. 79, pp. 3844-3849.) Among other speeches on the subject in the House of Representatives which attracted wide attention was that of Edgar D. Crumpacker on June 13. (*Congressional Record,* Vol. 45, No. 156, pp. 8471-8477.)

these officials of deliberately seeking to prevent the sale of the friar lands to small tenants, and even of attempting to force poor Filipinos to give up their leases or purchases in order that their holdings might be bought up at trivial cost by wealthy individuals and corporations. In short, Representative Martin charged the highest officials of the American Government with conspiring to steal an empire, and the Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines and his associates with abetting the crime in order to pilfer a few acres on their own account.

Ten days after Mr. Martin's charges had been uttered the House of Representatives directed the House Committee on Insular Affairs to make "a complete and thorough investigation of the interior department of the Philippine Government touching the administration of Philippine lands and all matters of fact and law pertaining thereto." [1] The investigation was conducted in Washington during December, 1910, and January and February, 1911. Secretary Worcester, Captain Charles H. Sleeper, Director of Lands, Attorney-General Ignacio Villamor, Mr. Carpenter, Col. Frank McIntyre, Acting-Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Hon. Manuel E. Quezon, resident commissioner to the United States, a number of the sugar magnates concerned, and many other individuals were present. These witnesses were examined and cross examined not only by the members of the Committee, but by Mr. Martin and, indirectly, by an attorney for the Anti-Imperialist League. Between seven and eight tons of records from the Bureau of Lands were brought from Manila for the use of the committee.[2]

The inquiries of the committee were so directed as to reach conclusions upon three distinct, but related questions: the legality of the sales and leases of the friar lands and public lands; the wisdom of the governmental policy in pursuance of which certain unoccupied friar lands had been sold in large quantities to single purchasers; and the integrity of the officials responsible for the administration of Philippine lands. The report of the committee, signed by a majority of its members, and the views of the minority were submitted in separate documents.

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[1] *House Resolution No. 793,* 61st Congress, 2d Session. The resolution was passed June 23, 1910.

[2] *Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, pp. 690-691. Secretary Worcester, in a report to the Governor-General dated August 29, 1910, wrote: "The director of lands joins me in an earnest request that there be a most thorough investigation of the whole conduct of the affairs of the bureau of lands, and that this investigation be made on the ground. The records of the bureau of lands will be found complete, down to the hasty orders sometimes issued to field employees in the form of lead-pencil notes. . . .

"Were an investigating committee to come to these islands, its members could visit the friar estates, and, by actual conversation with the native occupants, ascertain whether or not they have been justly dealt with, and are now happy and contented. They could, moreover, familiarize themselves with the problem involved in disposing of the extensive unoccupied areas on a number of the estates. . . .

"In short, the visit of such a committee would go far toward breaking down that wall of ignorance of local conditions by which not only the people of the United States, but many of the Members of the Congress of the United States, are separated from this country of enormous, undeveloped resources." (*Ibid.,* II, p. 1188.)

Secretary Worcester in the Field

Upon only one of the three major issues, that of the integrity of the Philippine officials, were all of the members of the committee, without exception, in agreement.[1] In the summary of the majority report it was stated: "We find that the administration of lands in the Philippine Islands has been fairly and honestly conducted, and that the charges and insinuations to the contrary which have been made against the officials charged with the execution of the laws in relation thereto, whether officers of the Philippine government or of the United States, are unwarranted and unjust. W. Cameron Forbes, Governor General; Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior; Charles H. Sleeper, director of lands; and Frank W. Carpenter, executive secretary, are able, earnest, patriotic men honestly performing their duties under more or less trying circumstances."[2] All of the members of the majority concurred in this finding, although some dissented from other portions of the report.

In the "Views of the Minority" of the committee appear these statements: "Nothing that has been developed in this investigation goes to show that those charged with the responsibility of administering the land laws of the Philippine Islands have been guilty of any wrongdoing. Having, too, obtained and acted upon the advice of the highest law officers of the Philippine Government, they cannot be justly blamed for any mistakes of law on their part, if mistakes there were."[3]

Never was the probity of slandered public servants more completely vindicated than was that of Dean C. Worcester and the other Philippine officials by the friar lands investigation. The hearings not only proved the entire falsity of Representative Martin's charges of malfeasance in office; they also showed that in the transaction which had been branded as "criminally corrupt and immoral," the approval of the lease of land to his nephew, Worcester had performed an act which it was mandatory under the law for the Secretary of the Interior to perform, and that in the performance of this legal duty he had taken extraordinary precautions to protect both the interests of the government and his own good name. In concluding its remarks upon this subject, the committee declared: "While the sense of delicacy exhibited by the secretary of the interior is quite creditable, it was hardly called for. . . . We do not think that Dean C. Worcester, secretary of the interior, did anything but his plain duty in the matter of this lease, and adverse criticism is wholly uncalled for and unworthy."[1]

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[1] When he appeared before the committee Mr. Martin made no effort to substantiate his fantastic charges against President Taft and others associated with him in the United States.

[2] *Report of the Committee of Insular Affairs on the Administration of Friar Lands. Ibid.*, I, p. xxxii. The report of the Committee, without the record of the testimony heard by it, is printed in *Congressional Record*, Vol. 46, part 5, p. 4160 *et seq.* It was also noted that the members of the Philippine Commission had refrained from speculation in public lands. The committee declared that it saw no objection to the acquisition of homes by public officials or employees of the government.

[3] *Administration of Philippine Lands. Views of the Minority* (to accompany H. Res. 795), House Report 2289, part 2, March 2, 1911, p. 9. It should be added that the minority expressed disapproval of the sale of the Tala Estate to Mr. Carpenter, saying: "In our opinion it is most unfortunate that the bureau of public lands should have inaugurated a new policy in respect to the sale of friar lands, and that this new policy should have first been carried into effect in an agreement entered into with a prominent American, who holds the high and most important position of Executive Secretary." (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

The hearings also revealed Worcester to the members of the committee and to others who followed the proceedings as an official who was the complete master of the public affairs entrusted to his care and a powerful advocate of the policies in which he believed. No one can read the record of the testimony, even today, without being impressed with the intellectual strength and quickness and the indomitable will of the man, and with his complete devotion to what he conceived to be the best interests of the Filipino people.

Worcester's impatience with less vigorous minds, and the bitingly expressed abhorrence of insincerity and dishonesty which was characteristic of him are also plain upon the record. Years afterwards a member of the Committee on Insular Affairs, recalling the effect of his testimony, wrote: "Before our committee, in the investigation during which I first became acquainted with him, he was a very remarkable witness, —so clear, so ready, so thoroughly conversant with the whole subject, that he impressed all who heard him. But he was not always patient with dullness, or with what seemed to him a disposition on the part of his cross-examiner to twist what he had said in direct examination into something he had not said or meant,—and if the attempt were persisted in he would sometimes show his dissent very brusquely."[1]

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[1] *Administration of Philippine Lands,* I, xxvi. Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson, who made an official visit to the Philippine Islands after Mr. Martin's charges had been uttered and before the hearings were held, reported as follows upon the accusations against the integrity of Worcester and Mr. Carpenter: "I called upon Governor General Forbes, Mr. Carpenter, and Mr. Worcester for a statement of the facts, and sought in other ways, and especially by calling on Filipinos who were opposed to the sale of the Mindoro and Isabella estates, for information as to any official misconduct on the part of either Mr. Worcester or Mr. Carpenter.

"I learned nothing whatever detrimental to the character of either of these men. I found that there was considerable opposition to Mr. Worcester, growing mainly out of an abruptness of manner in official relations. In this way he had offended some people and aroused their opposition. Several of such people spoke to me of this, but upon being asked the direct question they said that they knew of nothing affecting the integrity of his action.

"Ordinarily it is invidious to single out some officials for commendation, but in view of the attack which has been made upon these men I feel that it is right to give the result of my inquiry.

"I refrained from any close association with, and reserved judgment as to them until I had exhausted all sources of information. Based on all that I could learn, my judgment is that they are honest, faithful, capable men, devoted to their work, and that it would be a loss for the Government if anything should withdraw them from the public service. Mr. Worcester has a more general and more exact knowledge of the Philippine Islands, their fauna, flora, resources, and inhabitants than any other man, without exception. He is a mine of useful and practical information, which he is constantly turning to account for the benefit of the islands. Having a liberal education and a technical education, he has applied himself with great industry and devotion to a study of the Philippine Islands. He has seriously impaired his health in this work. While he has cultivated the fortiter in re, rather than the suaviter in modo, and has thus made for himself opposition, the real good accomplished by him so far outweighs any objections which might be raised to his somewhat aggressive ways, that the latter are far outweighed in the general account." (*Special Report of J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines,* November 23, 1910, p. 107, Washington, 1919.)

Yet, considering all of the circumstances, the record of the hearings will convey to most readers the impression that Worcester was patient and self-controlled, rather than arrogant, or even brusque during that long ordeal. His attitude toward the examination, so far as it was conducted by members of the committee, and his consciousness that he at times seemed to be brusque or irritated when he was not, are revealed by a statement which he made at one point in the proceedings. He said to the committee: "I hope my manner in replying to these questions is not such as to lead you to think that I resent them at all. I do not in the least. I have never seen an examination conducted more fairly than this examination has been conducted. That was my reason for saying at the outset that I had not the slightest desire to employ legal assistance in connection with it. I believe that every member of the committee is desirous simply of getting at the truth. It is a fact that because I am rather direct in my manner of replying to questions I sometimes give the impression of being irritated when I am simply in earnest. . . ."[2]

Only during the final public session of the hearings did Worcester's resentment at the man who had slandered him on the floor of the House of Representatives and sought to employ the methods of the "shyster" lawyer against him during the hearings find direct expression. Upon that occasion, conscious, perhaps, of the moral position in which his utter failure to substantiate his reckless charges had placed him, Representative Martin offered to waive the constitutional privilege which protected him from prosecution for criminal libel in case Worcester should wish to seek redress in the courts.

Worcester at once sensed the crass insincerity of this offer, and seized the opportunity to put into the record a statement which would make clear the despicable nature of the attack which had been made upon his character.

"Can you waive that privilege?" he demanded.

"Mr. Martin. I will waive it.

"Mr. Worcester. Would the court hold that you could do it?

"Mr. Martin. Well, sir: I will waive it.

"Mr. Worcester. But can you?

"Mr. Martin. I think I can.

"Mr. Worcester. I think you can not; I think that the courts would hold that the constitution determined there, not the will of Mr. Martin; and I will say to you further in that connection, Mr. Martin, that as I am a public official of the Philippine Government, here on official business, and compelled to return to the Philippines at the earliest possible moment; and as witnesses, documents, and other things that would be necessary in bringing a libel suit are either in the Philippine Islands or are a part of our public records, which I cannot keep here indefinitely for my private convenience, it would be very difficult for me to bring an action in court against you. Yet, I assure you, sir, that if it were not for your constitutional privilege I should be strongly tempted to ask for my leave, or to resign from the Philippine Commission and bring an action against you. You have charged me with immoral, corrupt, and criminal conduct, and with malfeasance in office—

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[1] Hon. Albert Douglas to Mrs. Dean C. Worcester, Aug. 19, 1924.

[2] *Administration of Philippine Lands,* I, p. 538.

"Mr. Martin. Yes?

"Mr. Worcester (*continuing*). And if your statements are not true, it seems to me, with my limited knowledge of the law, that you have libeled me most grossly. The court would determine whether or not those charges were true." [1]

Character assassins who operate on the floor of Congress, however, are protected by a constitutional privilege which cannot be "waived," and Worcester had no legal remedy for the wrong which had been done him. The unanimous findings [2] of the committee "determined," perhaps even more conclusively than a judge and jury could have done, that Martin's charges were false. Unfortunately, however, as Worcester had declared in an exhaustive report which he had made to the Governor-General soon after the Congressman's charges had reached Manila, "It is axiomatic that the harm accomplished by such an attack . . . as that which Representative Martin has made can never be wholly undone." [3] Many people who still remember that Dean C. Worcester was "investigated by Congress for land frauds in the Philippines," have no recollection, if, indeed, they ever knew, that he and his associates were completely vindicated by the investigation.[4]

[1] *Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, pp. 1037-1038.

[2] It has been pointed out that upon this point the majority and the minority reports agreed.

[3] In that report Worcester continued: "His speech was delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States, a forum which is not open to me. Five weeks elapsed before I saw a copy of it. Circumstances with which you are familiar, connected with the visit of the Secretary of War to the Philippines, have prevented me from sooner presenting a reply. Other weeks must elapse before this reply can reach the United States, and still others before it can be made public there. In any event, less publicity will attach to it than was attracted by the original charges. It is unfortunately true that the public is more often interested in charges than in their refutation. . . ." (*Ibid.,* p. 129.)

[4] Certain members of the Anti-Imperialist League who joined in the charges of moral turpitude made against Worcester (notably Irving Winslow, the secretary of the organization, in a letter appearing in the *Springfield Republican* for Jan. 17, 1911; and Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, attorney for the League, in a "brief" filed with the Committee on Insular Affairs) may be regarded as seeking to serve the general public interest, however ignorant they may have been of the real significance of the acts which they criticized. They had established their disinterested motives by long advocacy of Philippine independence. There is nothing in Mr. Martin's record, however, to indicate that he felt any interest in the Philippine Islands except to prevent the development there of a sugar industry which might come into serious competition with the beet sugar produced in his own state. See José S. Reyes, *Legislative History of America's Economic Policy Toward the Philippines,* Ch. V. (New York, 1923), for a discussion of the efforts which were made by the beet sugar interests, especially through the representatives

If Representative Martin and the forces behind him failed utterly to show that the officials responsible for the administration of the land laws of the Philippines were either corrupt or inefficient, their attack, nevertheless, did accomplish its major purposes. It prevented the further sale of friar lands in large lots and effectively blocked the movement for a more liberal policy with reference to the sale and lease of Philippine public lands. The majority of the Committee on Insular Affairs reported that the sale of the unoccupied friar lands in large tracts was both legal and in consonance with sound public policy; the minority found that such sales were both illegal and unwise, and declared that they had been made for the purpose of "exploiting" the Philippines.[1] The view of the minority that any doubt as to the validity of the sale of friar lands in bulk should operate to prevent such sales apparently was accepted by the War Department, for shortly thereafter the Secretary of War issued an order that until Congress should more definitely express its will, sales of friar lands should be subject to the same limitations as to area prescribed by the Organic Act for public lands.[2]

Five years passed before Congress took any action in the matter. Then, in the Organic Act of 1916 (the Jones Law), both the public domain and the unsold friar lands were placed under the control of the Philippine government, which was authorized to legislate concerning this property as it might deem advisable, subject to the approval of the President of the United States.[3] Meanwhile, the Philippine Legis-

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in Congress from Michigan and Colorado, to prevent the admission of Philippine sugar into the United States duty free. After the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff act in 1909 had put Philippine sugar on the free list (up to 300,000 gross tons per annum), and the cane sugar producers had begun to show an interest in the rich, idle sugar lands of the Islands the motive of the beet sugar interests in blocking the development of large scale sugar production there was obvious.

Worcester was bitterly incensed by the attacks made upon him in connection with the Congressional investigation by Winslow and Mr. Ralston. Under date of Feb. 21, 1911, he issued *An Open Letter to the Officers and Members of the Anti-Imperialist League,* in which he accused these agents of the League with deliberate misrepresentation, and inquired whether the machinery of the League were not, "being used by unscrupulous corporate interests in a determined effort to strangle the sugar producing industry in the Philippine Islands." Obtaining the membership list of the League, it is said by a ruse, he mailed this document to all of its members. (See, Maria C. Lanzar, *The Anti-Imperialist League,* pp. 200-202 (Mss).)

[1] *Administration of Philippine Lands,* I, pp. xxxii-xxxiii; *Administration of Philippine Lands, Views of the Minority,* House Report, No. 2289, part 2, 61st Congress, 3d Session.

[2] In November, 1910, Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson stated in a special report published after his return from an inspection trip to the Philippines: "At the time the contracts were made for sales of large amounts of these friar lands it was not supposed that objection would be raised thereto. The idea was to handle this, in so far as the vacant lands were concerned, as a business proposition. In so much, however, as opposition has been declared and Congress has provided for an investigation of this matter, no more sales of these lands in large quantities will be authorized until the situation is cleared up." *Special Report of J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines,* November 23, 1910, p. 109. (Washington, 1919.)

[3] Organic Act for the Philippine Islands, 1916. Public, No. 240, 64th Congress, Sec. 9. (Referred to hereafter as Organic Act, 1916, or "Jones Law.") In 1912, Representative W. A. Jones of Virginia, "introduced a bill into Congress to extend to the friar lands the limitations of the public land laws as to the areas that might be acquired by individuals and corporations, the restriction that the lands might be purchased only by Filipinos, and also restrictions on corporations as to the areas of agricultural lands they might hold. The proposed law was defeated, although the Democrats then had a majority in the House." (W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippines,* II., p. 59n, Boston, 1928.) (Referred to hereafter as "Forbes.")

lature had embodied the original sale limitations of 16 hectares to an individual and 1,024 hectares to a corporation, along with other restrictions, in a Philippine public lands statute.[1]

The true significance of Worcester's position with reference to Philippine natural resources, especially in public lands, was obscured during his lifetime by the incidental features of the controversy which arose over the subject. The strategy of his opponents, indeed, seems to have been to prevent the discussion of the question on its merits by centering public and Congressional attention upon personal charges against himself and his associates, from President Taft, down. Looking beyond charges and counter-charges of this character, it is apparent that a fundamental, and ancient, question of public policy was at issue.

Worcester, as the executive officer responsible for the administration of Philippine land and mineral resources, and as a commissioner charged with the initiation and execution of American policy in the Philippines, believed that this national wealth should be brought into use in order that there might be laid in the Philippines that economic foundation upon which the social and political development of any backward people must rest. He was convinced that unaided by outside capital, initiative and technical skill, the Filipinos would not lay such a foundation within any calculable time. Because he was acquainted with the vast extent of unoccupied land in the Islands, as compared with the cultivated area and the population, and because he had faith in the fairness and honesty of the American government and people, he did not believe that the establishment of a reasonable number of large estates, supported by sugar and coconut-oil mills under American or foreign ownership would result either in the economic spoliation of the Filipino people or in their permanent political domination by the United States. On the other hand, he was sure that such a process would be to the economic, social, and political advantage of the Filipino masses and that it would, in time, produce those conditions of political and economic stability which are prerequisite to any genuine national independence.[2]

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[1] Act No. 2379, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914.

[2] The views which have been thus summarized were expressed by Secretary Worcester in public addresses, in his annual reports, in his testimony before the committee, and are to be found in this book. Worcester's opinion as to the results which would follow the development of a successful sugar estate on the San Jose property in Mindoro illustrate the benefits to the Filipinos which he thought would follow economic developments of this sort. Testifying before the Committee on Insular Affairs, he stated: "My opinion of what would happen is, briefly, as follows: In the first place, I think that the daily wage, not only in Mindoro, but in other parts of the islands, would increase. I justify that belief by the fact that it has about doubled already in the island of Mindoro. . . .

"I think, second, that the people who are now led to leave the islands and go as far as the Hawaiian Islands to get work on modern sugar plantations would remain at home, which, it seems to me would be a good thing.

"I think, third, that it will probably prove necessary to grow a considerable amount of cane under contracts; in other words, to take the people in as, in a way, small partners in the business on the sharing plan, and I think that is really a good thing for a great many Filipinos in their present state of development.

"I think, fourth, that it will provide employment for skilled labor, such as is now being used in railroad construction and in the construction of buildings; that it will

The popular leaders in the Philippines, the American Anti-Imperialists, and many other Americans held precisely opposite views. They felt that the introduction of American capital into the Philippines would result in the concentration of the natural wealth of the Archipelago in relatively few hands and in fastening a system of virtual peonage upon the Filipino masses; and they were convinced that, once entrenched in the Islands, American capital would permanently block either genuine self-government or independence for the Filipinos.[1]

Stated in its simplest terms, the issue with reference to the utilization of the natural resources of the Philippines was, and still is, simply this: Will the development of those resources with foreign assistance, reasonably controlled by the Philippine Government, redound to the benefit of the Filipino people as a whole, and hasten the day when the Philippine nation shall be capable of complete self-government, and of maintaining its independence, or will it not?

Honest and patriotic men have differed, and still differ upon this question. In considering Worcester's record in this connection, however, it is not out of place to recall that his views on the subject were shared by all of the Governors-General and all members of the Philippine Commission, including Filipinos and American Democrats, who held office between 1901 and 1913. All of them joined, in accordance with his recommendations, in urging Congress to relax the land and mining laws in such a manner as to encourage foreign investments in the Islands.[2]

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further provide for a limited number of scientific employees, such as chemists, and for a very considerable number of mechanical engineers and employees of that sort as well as for overseers." . . . (*Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, 680.) With the turn in the tide of Filipino emgration to Hawaii, all four of Worcester's predictions have been proven accurate.

[1] After thorough investigation in the Philippines Secretary of War J. M. Dickinson reported in 1910: "The main opposition to the sale of these friar lands in large bodies in the Philippines is based upon opposition to the investment of any foreign capital, and especially American capital, in the islands. The opinion is held by those who mainly voice this opposition that the investing of foreign capital, and especially American capital in the Philippines will develop such a demand for the continuance of American control as will tend to postpone, if not effectually destroy the realization of Philippine independence." *Special Report of J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines,* November 23, 1910, p. 106. (Washington, 1919.)

An official statement concerning the attitude of Filipinos made by Resident Commissioner M. E. Quezon to Secretary Dickinson on September 1, 1910, appears as Appendix F. of the above report. See also Mr. Quezon's speech in the House of Representatives on May 1, 1912.

[2] In his report of August 29, 1910, to the Governor-General Worcester wrote: "The Americans who have voted in favor of a more liberal public land policy, taken in the order of their appointment, are William H. Taft, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, James F. Smith, W. Cameron Forbes, W. Morgan Shuster, Newton W. Gilbert, and Frank A. Branagan. The Filipinos are Benito Legarda, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Jose Luzuriaga, Gregario Araneta, Rafael Palma, and Juan Sumulong. The recommendations made on this subject have been unanimous." Worcester added: "Representative Martin is, of course, at liberty to believe that all of these men were corrupt and in league with the great sugar interests to bring about the exploitation of the Philippines, or were so stupid as readily to be deceived by the corrupt members of the commission who had this end in view, but it is hoped that there will be those who are ready to believe that the men in question were honest and earnest in their desire to better agricultural conditions; that they had sufficient familiarity with the situation, through long years of residence in the islands, to know what they were talking about, and that they made their recommendations in the firm conviction that if they were carried out the agricultural interests of the country would greatly profit." (*Administration of Philippine Lands,* II, p. 1184.)

Between 1913 and 1921 the ranking American officials in the Philippine Government apparently shared the viewpoint of the popular Filipino leaders, for they made no effort to procure the amendment of the laws in question and joined in imposing upon the sale of friar lands the restrictions already placed upon the disposition of public lands.[1] Both of the Governors-General who have held office since 1921, and Colonel Carmi A. Thompson, the Special Commissioner who made a survey of the Philippines in 1925 for President Coolidge, have strongly supported the policy which Worcester originated and sought to put into effect.[2]

There is evidence that the popular leaders of the Filipino people are at last beginning to realize the soundness of the position taken by Worcester, Taft, Forbes, Wood, Stimson, and many other Americans who have served their country during the past generation. Whether or not the views of these great Americans prevail, and whether they are sound or unsound, no one can properly assess the career of Dean C. Worcester without the knowledge that he was the first, and for many years the most persistent advocate of policies designed to encourage the development of the unused agricultural, mineral, and forest lands of the Philippine Islands with the assistance of foreign capital, energy, and technical skill.

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[1] Act No. 2379, Philippine Legislature, passed February 28, 1914.

[2] In almost every message that he delivered to the Philippine Legislature, in his annual reports, and upon other occasions Governor-General Leonard Wood urged that definite steps be taken to enlist outside assistance in the economic development of the Islands. A typical recommendation appeared in his annual message of 1923. It is quoted, in part, because in it General Wood clearly explained why he considered that the utilization of their natural resources would be of inestimable benefit to the Filipino people.

"It is especially important," he informed the legislature, "that measures should be taken to encourage outside capital to invest in the Philippine Islands under conditions which will tend to the proper development of the resources of the islands, to their development under conditions which will safeguard the interests of the people of today and for generations to come. To this end it is believed that legislation should be enacted which will so amend our land laws as to make it possible for capital to engage in the production of rubber and other products which require large areas of land and a considerable period of time for development. . . .

"The activities of the government are increasing in number and scope. The demand upon the public treasury is steadily increasing. . . . Hence, to meet the growing demands of the government, other means of revenue must be found if we are to carry on the extension of public works, public education, and public health in accordance with what I know to be the desire of the people you represent. . . . All this can be done, not only without prejudice but with great advantage to the people of the islands, and will result in the building up of industries which will tend greatly to increase our revenues. *Greatly increased revenues are needed in order that the Filipino people may reach a state in resources and organization which will enable them to maintain an independent form of government when the time for its establishment shall arrive.*" (Message of Governor-General Leonard Wood to the Sixth Philippine Legislature, delivered October 16, 1923, at the Opening of the Second Session, Appendix N, *Report of the Governor-General,* 1923. Italics by author.)

Governor-General Henry L. Stimson made the development of the natural resources of the Philippines the major policy of his administration. He devoted a considerable portion of his first address to the Philippine Legislature to economic recommendations and arguments which, at certain points, are almost a paraphrase of those advanced years ago by Worcester.

"In other words," Colonel Stimson said, in part, "unless the Filipino farmers are willing to remain in their present unsatisfactory conditions, which in many parts of the Islands gives them so narrow a margin of living as to leave them in constant economic serfdom to the neighboring money-lender or the monopolistic shipowner who controls transportation to their markets, these Islands must have the benefit of modern machinery, modern capital, and modern methods to establish among them the necessary agencies by which the standards of agriculture can be improved and the fruits of agriculture marketed. . . .

"Certain thoughtless critics have sought to arouse suspicion and enmity by saying that to invite the help of such capital would be to institute economic serfdom to America. It would be hard to conceive of a more disastrous error. By exciting an unfounded fear these critics would block the only avenue towards economic, and therefore political, independence for these Islands. . . .

"I, therefore, recommend that your honorable body institute a thorough revision of your laws governing the creation of corporations and the regulation of their activities, including the control over your public utilities and including a wise and conservative revision of your land laws, as well as all the laws under which capital comes into contact with government: . . ." (*Message of Governor-General Henry L. Stimson to the Eighth Philippine Legislature.* Delivered July 16, 1928, Manila, 1928.)

For the views of Colonel Carmi A. Thompson upon this question, see Colonel Thompson's report, Appendix VI, pp. 827-828, *infra.*

CHAPTER VI

"EL RENACIMIENTO"

IF Worcester's political policies, administrative activities and aggressive personality subjected him to attack in the United States, they brought him into even sharper conflict with the popular leaders in the Philippines. Until the establishment of the Philippine Assembly as the lower house of the insular legislature in 1907 the radical nationalists possessed no constitutional means of influencing the government of their country. Even the institution of the Philippine Assembly, a popular, elective body which they dominated from the first, gave them no direct control over the insular executive and only a junior partnership in legislation. In these circumstances the irreconcilable Filipinos turned to the weapons of public agitation which dissentient groups excluded from access to constitutional powers have always used. Chief among these instruments of political warfare was the public press.

In the Philippines the background and traditions of the press were Spanish, or European, rather than American. The newspapers were primarily political organs, not business institutions. Their chief business was not the sale of news and advertising, but making politics. The elaborate and costly equipment and news-gathering organization of the American newspaper were unknown in the Islands. Papers were not limited in number by large capital requirements, or sobered in expression by "business offices" which represented owners determined to protect heavy investments. Editors were usually politicians, and there were no standards, either journalistic or political, to prevent them from using their news and editorial columns in whatever way seemed best calculated to advance their personal or group interests.

Once released from the rigid control which the Spanish Government had exercised over them, some of these organs abused their new-found freedom. The passage of a strict libel law[1] merely stimulated the Spanish-Filipino genius for the use of language well designed to destroy the reputation and prestige of an opponent without bringing the writer within the reach of the law.[2] Filipinos who continued the struggle for independence by ceaseless abuse and misrepresentation of America and Americans were regarded by many of their fellow countrymen as patriots. They used the only weapons left to them, and used them in accordance with the standards of the time and place.

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[1] Act No. 277, Philippine Commission, October 24, 1901.

[2] Forbes, II, p. 70, *et seq.*, presents an interesting discussion of the Filipino press during this period.

That the methods and purposes of the nationalist Filipino press of the early American period were approved by large numbers of Filipinos is evidenced by the fact that a majority of the outstanding Filipino leaders who came into power at that time or later, first acquired reputation and position as editors of political journals. Among them may be mentioned Sergio Osmeña, Juan Sumulong, Jaime de Veyra, Isauro Gabaldon, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Rafael Palma, and Pedro Guevara.

Outstanding among the nationalist organs was *El Renacimiento.* This Spanish-Tagalog daily, founded in Manila in 1901, received the financial support of a number of the more prominent and substantial Filipino liberals. On its editorial staff were men of literary ability and political power, including Rafael Palma, Lope K. Santos, Teodoro M. Kalaw and Fidel A. Reyes.[1] As its name indicates, *El Renacimiento* was dedicated to the new birth of the Filipino people. Martin Ocampo, the manager and one of the founders of the paper, declared that its purposes were: "First, to bring about a mutual understanding between the constituted government and the people; second, to encourage the bent of young Filipinos for newspaper work; and third, to defend the interests and ideals of the Filipino people."[2] The files of *El Renacimiento* suggest that the third purpose mentioned was the dominant one in the actual conduct of the paper, and its editors' strategy of "defense" seems to have been unceasing attack upon American policies and officials. There can be no doubt that during the nine strenuous years of its existence this paper came to be regarded by many of the politically active people of the Archipelago as a Philippine national institution.

As the contest between the Filipino liberals and the American officials over the form and operation of the Philippine Government developed, the nationalist press concentrated and intensified its attacks upon the Secretary of the Interior. The latter fought back, and in such a way as to add personal enmity to the political opposition to himself and his policies. On account of the ability and standing of its editors, *El Renacimiento* was Worcester's most powerful antagonist.[1]

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[1] Martin Ocampo, manager of *El Renacimiento,* testified in the case of Dean C. Worcester *v.* Martin Ocampo, et al. that the capital of the paper was subscribed by Arcadio Arellano, Manuel Palma, Felipe Barretto, Mariano Cansipit, Angel José and Martin Ocampo. Galo Lichauco was later held by the courts to have been part owner of the paper. Manuel Palma was the brother, and Martin Ocampo the father-in-law of Rafael Palma. The latter had been an associate of Sergio Osmeña and Jaime C. de Veyra in editing *El Nuevo Dia,* a pioneer nationalistic paper published in Cebu, and was the leading spirit in the establishment of *El Renacimiento.* Later, however, Mr. Palma, who became a member of the Philippine Commission in 1908, severed this journalistic connection. In the *Cablenews-American* of Nov. 7, 1907, he was quoted as having declared in an interview that he disapproved of the paper's policy in constantly attacking Americans and American policy. The testimony of Mr. Ocampo with reference to the founding of the paper is to be found in the Brief of Plaintiff and Appellee filed with the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands in October, 1910, in the case of Dean C. Worcester *v.* Martin Ocampo, et al., pp. 61-86. (Manila, 1910.) Cited hereafter as "Brief." See also M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics,* 1872-1920, pp. 283-284. (Manila, 1926.) Cited hereafter as "Kalaw."

[2] Testimony of Martin Ocampo, *Brief,* p. 77.

A long series of savage assaults upon him in this paper culminated, on October 30, 1908, in an editorial entitled, "Birds of Prey" (*Aves de Rapina*). Convinced that his leading opponents had definitely put themselves within reach of the libel law, Worcester caused a criminal action to be brought against the owners and editors of the paper by the prosecuting attorney of the city of Manila. He also instituted a civil action for damages in the amount of ₱100,000.

Worcester charged in court that, "In September, 1906, *El Renacimiento*, with the purpose, almost expressly avowed, of compelling the plaintiff's resignation or removal from office, began a bitter campaign of denunciation against him, which it relentlessly pursued . . . until after the bringing of this suit.[2] The files of this newspaper between 1906 and 1908 would seem to substantiate this allegation. The resignation or dismissal of the Secretary of the Interior was repeatedly demanded on behalf of the Filipino people. Worcester was represented, explicitly and by reiterated implications which no reader could misunderstand, as a violent tyrant who rode roughshod over the susceptibilities and rights of the Filipinos. He was said to possess "racial prejudices" against the people of the country in which he lived, and to be "by predilection a convinced anti-Filipino." His scientific activities were pictured as laying a heavy burden upon the Philippine taxpayers without rendering any proportionate service to them. With increasing directness he was charged with exploring the Islands at government expense in order secretly to open the way for their exploitation by American capitalists for his own personal gain. He was said to have used his official position to further speculation in lands, and to have been in collusion with private firms who illegally sold diseased meat in Manila, thereby causing the spread of cholera. These charges and insinuations were printed month after month (and echoed in other Filipino papers) in language well calculated to create a widespread belief among Filipinos that Worcester was an odious, depraved, and dangerous enemy of their country.

The "Birds of Prey" editorial combined all of these charges in a

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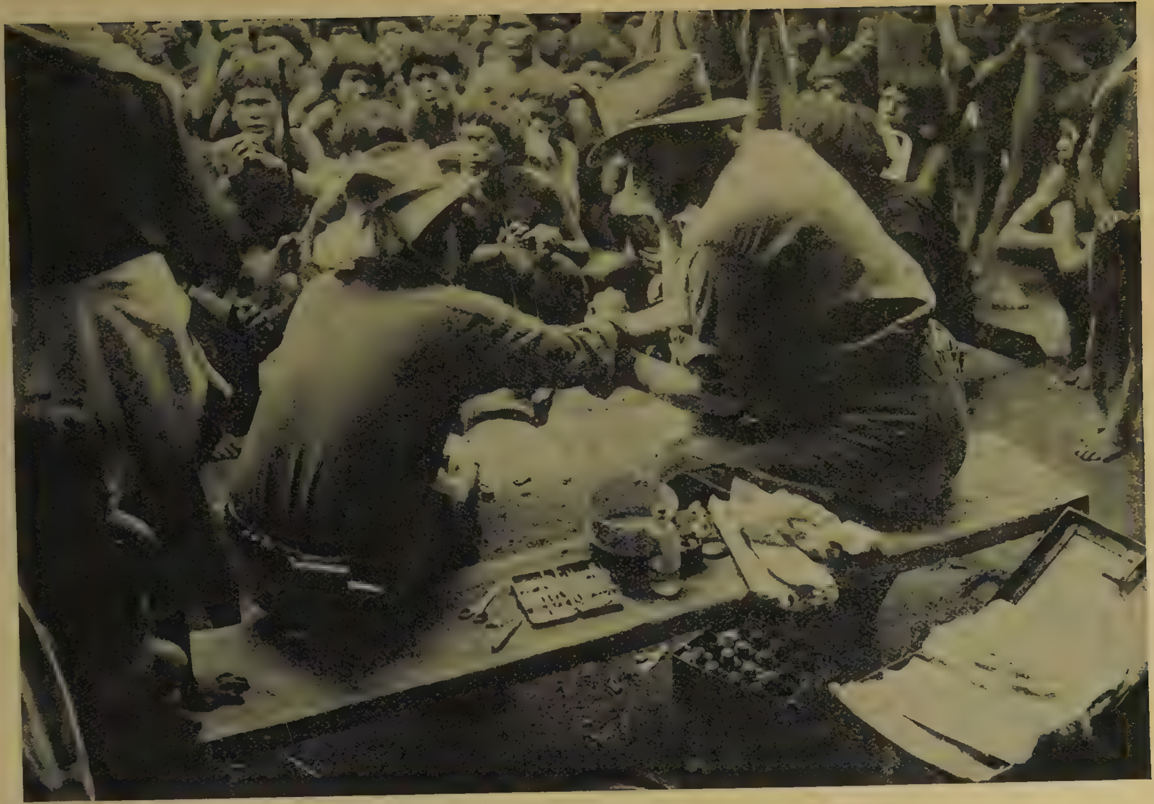
[1] The Filipino press in Manila was particularly extravagant in its criticism of the public health activities of the Secretary of the Interior and the officials of the Philippine Health Service, among whom Dr. Victor G. Heiser was singled out for special attention. The stern action which Worcester took against one editor whose misrepresentation of conditions at the San Lazaro Hospital during the cholera epidemic of 1905 seriously interfered with the campaign against the disease, was resented by other Filipino newspapers. (See pp. 338-339, *infra*, and Dean C. Worcester, *A History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, pp. 33-39, Manila, 1909.) At one time Worcester closed the bureaus of his department against the representatives of the press. This act was censured by American as well as Filipino newspapermen. *El Renacimiento* later cited these two incidents as evidence of the "violent and vinegary character of Mr. Worcester." (*El Renacimiento*, January 4, 1907.)

In 1907 this paper organized a mass meeting in Manila for the purpose of attacking the Secretary of the Interior and gained the support of many of its Filipino and Spanish contemporaries in the project. *Brief*, p. 51.

[2] *Brief*, p. 12.



WAYSIDE SURGERY

Secretary Worcester and an assistant performing a minor operation upon the arm of an Ifugao during the annual inspection of the Mountain Province in 1909.

terrible indictment of Secretary Worcester and the whole American régime in the Philippines. In it *El Renacimiento* declared that the eagle, the most rapacious bird of prey, had succeeded the lion (of Spain) as the plunderer of the Filipino people. Collectively, the eagles were the Americans. But, "There are men who, besides being eagles, have the characteristics of the vulture, the owl, and the vampire." Without naming him, but in language which left not the slightest doubt as to who was meant, and which definitely charged him with using his public office to plunder the people, Worcester was pictured as such a man,—one "who is, at the same time, an eagle who surprises and devours, a vulture who gorges himself on dead and putrid meats, an owl who affects a petulant omniscience and a vampire who silently sucks the blood of the victim until he leaves it bloodless."

In neither the criminal nor the civil trials did the defendants make the slightest effort to prove the truth of any of their allegations against Worcester. They set up two lines of defense: first, that they were not the owners of *El Renacimiento,* which they had "given to the Filipino people"; second, that the editorial was general in its application and did not refer to any particular individual. The criminal cases in the court of first instance ended in the conviction of three of the defendants. Declaring them guilty of "malicious defamation," the judge sentenced Martin Ocampo and Fidel A. Reyes, understood to have been the actual author of the editorial, to pay fines of ₱2,000 each and be imprisoned for six months in the insular penitentiary. Teodoro M. Kalaw, the responsible editor of the Spanish section of the paper, was sentenced to serve nine months in the penitentiary and fined ₱3,000. Upon appeal, the Supreme Court of the Philippines affirmed the sentence against Ocampo, increased the imprisonment of Kalaw to one year, and dismissed the case against Reyes.[1] Messrs. Ocampo and Kalaw appealed their cases to the Supreme Court of the United States. Six years after the utterance of the libel, on May 25, 1914, this tribunal affirmed the verdict of the Philippine Supreme Court.[2]

In the civil suit, the court of first instance in Manila awarded Worcester ₱60,000 damages.[3] The Supreme Court of the Philippines reduced this amount to ₱25,000.[4]

The immediate effect of Worcester's victory in the civil suit was to bring the career of *El Renacimiento* to an abrupt close. At the sheriff's sale which was incidental to an attempt to execute the judgment of the court, Worcester bought in the name, good will, and unmortgaged property of the paper for a nominal sum.[5] He thus acquired the sole right to use the name *El Renacimiento* as the title of a newspaper in the Philippines and prevented the proposed resurrection of the journal under that appellation.[1] In effect, he destroyed the newspaper which had sought to destroy him.

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[1] 18 Philippine Reports 1 (Case No. 5527).

[2] 234 U. S. 91.

[3] Civil Case No. 6930, January 14, 1910.

[4] 22 Philippine Reports 42 (Case No. 5932).

[5] Manila *Cablenews-American,* January 29, 1910. The presses, type, and other really valuable equipment of the paper were heavily mortgaged and were bought in by the mortgagee.

In so far as his interests were involved in the execution of the sentences of fine and imprisonment against Messrs. Ocampo and Kalaw, Worcester, in the end, fared no better than had his uncle after his court victory in the case of Worcester *v.* Georgia. After the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States had closed all avenues of judicial appeal to them and before they had served a day in Bilibid, both men were pardoned by Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison.[2]

The entire inability of *El Renacimiento* to prove in court the least of its charges against Worcester apparently did not lower the paper or its sponsors in the estimation of the large section of the Filipino people whose views it expressed. After proceedings were instituted against them, its editors and owners at first declared that they would prove the truth of their accusations. Later they took the position that although the charges were true they might be difficult to substantiate in court.[3] Far from admitting the falsity of their statements, they stood by them, in their paper, if not in court, to the end. *El Renacimiento* went down with its colors nailed to the mast.

After the United States Supreme Court had affirmed the conviction of Messrs. Kalaw and Ocampo, *The Philippine Republic,* a radical journal then published in Hong Kong, declared that the Filipino attitude was that the accusations could not be proven, but were true and had been made from a public motive. Mr. George C. Malcolm, later an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, supported his recommendation for the pardon of the two convicted men by referring to the drastic nature of the libel law; the controversial attitude of Worcester and the natural human feelings of the defendants in the representation of their people; and his belief that the editorial "was written by the two defendants, as men of integrity and standing in the community, with a view to what they considered their patriotic duty."[1] The Philippine Assembly, in 1912, very definitely expressed their approval of Mr. Kalaw by electing him their secretary. As for the Filipino press, a large portion of which had been fighting Worcester for years, it rallied almost unanimously in support of *El Renacimiento*. Worcester's "victims," in short, became martyrs to the "sacred cause."[2]

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[1] A movement had been started to raise money by popular subscription to pay the damages and continue the publication of the paper. (*Ibid.,* Jan. 20, 1910.) *La Vanguardia,* which, with its Tagalog edition *Taliba,* is the leading newspaper of the Philippine Islands, is generally considered to have been the direct successor of *El Renacimiento.*

[2] Mr. Harrison's action was taken upon the recommendation of Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano; Associate Justice E. Finley Johnson, who had delivered the decision of the court; Secretary of Finance and Justice Victoriano Mapa; and Mr. George A. Malcolm, who, as assistant attorney in the Bureau of Justice, had participated in the prosecution of the case. *Cablenews-American,* August 25, 1914; the Manila *Times* of the same date contains the official statement of the Governor-General.

[3] Numerous quotations from editorials, printed in *El Renacimiento* and taking the positions indicated are printed in the *Brief,* p. 28, *et seq.* A typical example follows: "'Birds of Prey' may be found by the the courts to be a libellous article, to be a string of assertions without proof, . . . and yet, who can uproot from our heart the fear that in reality in such provinces as Benguet and Mindoro the wealth of the country is at the mercy of the voracity of venal officials, and who can take it out of our head that Mindanao may at this very moment be a veritable spoil of such insatiable vampires. Truth exists in many ways; it exists either openly or concealed by a hundred conventionalities, and in this case, or cases, set forth by *El Renacimiento,* the conventionalities may be so numerous that the work of bringing the truth within the view of the courts may be a truly cyclopean undertaking." (*Ibid,* p. 30.)

In these circumstances, the *Renacimiento* episode naturally failed to check the campaign of the nationalist press against Worcester. Indeed, the fire of the radical papers was still further concentrated upon him between 1907 and 1913. That his opponents were able to convince a large portion of their countrymen that the Secretary of the Interior was their enemy was made evident by the attitude of many Filipinos toward him even a decade after his retirement from public office. He himself testified in 1910 that *El Renacimiento's* attacks had made a marked difference in the sentiment of Filipinos toward him, turning friendship into hostility and seriously interfering with his work and that of his department.[3]

It is probably true that in prosecuting the *Renacimiento* case Worcester performed a public service. The Filipino newspaper men who were recklessly and continuously attacking the government and all things American, thereby stirring up race hatred and blocking the progress sought by both Americans and moderate Filipinos, were given pause by its outcome.[4] From the standpoint of his personal interests, however, Worcester had been put in a position where he was bound to suffer injury whatever his course. If he had failed to prosecute his accusers he would have been deemed guilty by practically every Filipino. Such is the custom of the country. Prosecuting successfully, he was unable to convince the Filipino public of his innocence and made martyrs of those who had libeled him. The systematic campaign to drive him from office by inflaming Filipino opinion against him was vigorously continued. The hostility of the people among whom he lived and worked did not lessen between 1910 and 1913. It enormously increased his burdens, and without doubt impaired his usefulness as a public servant.

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[1] Mr. George A. Malcolm to Governor-General Harrison. Copy in Worcester collection.

[2] In 1920, Mr. Kalaw was appointed by Governor-General Harrison to Worcester's old post as Secretary of the Interior. See, Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Vida Profana y Masónica del Hon. Teodoro M. Kalaw*, Manila, 1920.

[3] "I had previously enjoyed almost intimate, and certainly very friendly relations with the people of very many of the towns which I had occasion to visit, and had been accustomed to expect an even more than ordinarily cordial reception from those peoples. I noticed a marked coolness, perfectly perceptible—could not be overlooked by any man of ordinary sensitiveness, and indeed I may say that the result of the publication of some of these articles has been actual hostility towards myself and some of the more important employees of my department, which has seriously interfered with the performance of their business, and cost the lives of many of the inhabitants of these islands." (Testimony of Dean C. Worcester, quoted in the *Brief*, p. 66.)

[4] This is the view of Governor-General Forbes. (Forbes, II, 74.) In Vol. II., Chap. xvii, Mr. Forbes gives an excellent account of the extremes to which the Filipino press went in attacking the government during this period.

CHAPTER VII

Slavery Made a Crime

While the *Renacimiento* case dragged through the courts between 1908 and 1914, Worcester became involved in another protracted and bitter contest with the Philippine Assembly and the nationalist press. Into this struggle he was inevitably drawn both by the plain requirements of his duty as Secretary of the Interior and his strongest instincts as a man. The contest originated in his efforts to protect individuals among the simple pagans whose homes were adjacent to certain Christian provinces from virtual enslavement by their Filipino neighbors. It developed into a campaign to secure the enactment of legislation which would explicitly penalize slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage anywhere in the Philippines. In Chapter XXV of *The Philippines, Past and Present,* Worcester himself has told the story of this crusade almost to the end, and has presented the essential facts with which his famous report, *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands,*[1] shocked the world in 1913. It seems desirable, however, that in this sketch of his life the episode should be placed in perspective with the whole of his career.

To the Secretary of the Interior the existence of slavery in the Philippines became of practical and vital concern the moment that he discovered that members of the pagan tribes, for which he was primarily responsible, were being kidnapped or purchased by Christian Filipinos of the adjacent provinces and held in bondage far from their native homes.[2] One of the most obvious and inescapable duties of his office was to put a stop to this practice. Between 1905 and 1907 he made a determined effort to protect his special charges by administrative action and through the courts. Finding this impossible under existing law, and realizing that legislation for the non-Christian provinces alone would not fully accomplish his purpose, he endeavored, through the use of conventional means, to secure the enactment of a law which would punish slavery anywhere in the Philippines.[1]

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[1] Dean C. Worcester, *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands,* Manila, 1913, cited hereafter as, *Slavery and Peonage.*

[2] In the section of the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1905 dealing with the non-Christian tribes, appears the following statement: "There is still a tendency on the part of the Christian natives of certain localities to purchase young children from the wild people and bring them up in what amounts to a state of slavery. A number of cases of this sort have been brought to the attention of this office. When attempts were made to prosecute those engaged in this practice, the curious fact was revealed that there did not exist in the Spanish law still in force in these islands any specific provision against the sale or purchase of human beings. Slavery had long since been prohibited in the Moro Province, by Act No. 1078, and the subject is fully covered in other islands by the criminal code about to be enacted (This code was never completed or enacted. Editor). Meanwhile it is believed that the cases at present known can be satisfactorily dealt with under the provisions of the Spanish law relative to kidnapping and illegal detention." (*Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1905, part 2, p. 61.) The decision of the Philippine Supreme Court in the case of the United States *v.* Cabanag, 8 Ph. 64 (Case No. 3241, March 16, 1907) proved that the existing laws were not adequate to meet the situation.

These means failed to secure action in 1909 because the bill passed by the Commission was destructively amended by the purely Filipino lower house of the legislature. In 1910, 1911, and 1912 similar bills were passed by the Commission and rejected practically without discussion by the Assembly. In his reports as Secretary of the Interior for all of these years Worcester included strong statements of the situation in order that it might be forcibly brought to the attention of the War Department, Congress, and the American people. For three years these statements were eliminated from his reports before publication. His report for 1912, which contained a recommendation that a final and earnest effort be made to secure the concurrence of the Philippine Assembly in the passage of the desired legislation, and that in the event of failure Congress be appealed to, Worcester sent to the printer, "without waiting for further possible requests or orders to remain silent." [2]

Anticipating that evidence of the truth of his statements with reference to slavery would be required, Worcester then prepared his famous report, *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands.* The 120 pages of this document are almost entirely filled with detailed facts concerning specific cases of slavery and peonage. Compiled from court, police and constabulary records, and the signed reports of responsible public officials, both Filipino and American, the report furnished incontrovertible evidence of the existence of the evils which Worcester sought to correct. It ended with this question: "Must the constitutional provision of the Philippine Bill that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the said islands remain inoperative because the Assembly refuses to pass the necessary suppletory legislation to give it effect criminally, *or will the Philippine Commission bring the facts to the attention of Congress and request that body to act?"* [3]

The report was printed in Manila and some 1,900 copies were mailed to the War Department and to individuals in the United States.[4]

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[1] When it became apparent that the Philippine Assembly would not pass a general anti-slavery law, the Commission enacted such a statute applicable within the "special provinces," which were within their exclusive legislative jurisdiction. (Act No. 2071, Philippine Commission, August 11, 1911. Printed in *Slavery and Peonage,* p. 33.)

[2] *Infra,* p. 527.

[3] *Slavery and Peonage,* p. 82. The italics are by the author.

[4] In 1914, all but ten of the surplus copies of the report, some 300 in number, were burned. Although Governor-General Harrison was silent, a statement issued by the Executive Bureau informed the public that this gesture was made upon order of a "subordinate official" in that office. The *Daily Bulletin* reminded the administration that "The truth cannot be burned." (*Daily Bulletin,* Manila, January 13, 1914.)

On August 25, 1913, a long Associated Press dispatch went out from Washington giving the substance of Worcester's statement, and on that day scores of newspapers in all parts of the United States informed the country, in many cases under sensational headlines, that slavery and peonage existed in the Philippines. The American people were dramatically asked the question which Worcester had originally addressed to the Philippine Commission: "Shall human flesh be openly bought and sold under the American flag?"[1]

The slavery and peonage report was Worcester's appeal to Cæsar. The record shows that he published it as a last resort and that it was directed not only against the Filipino Assembly, but against the American-controlled Commission and the United States War Department. The Filipinos were determined to enact no anti-slavery law, and the other Americans responsible for the administration of the Islands were unwilling to injure the susceptibilities of the Assembly and to increase the tension between Americans and Filipinos by laying the facts before Congress and requesting legislation by that body.

The publication of Worcester's report, however, was a blow which crushed all resistance to the passage of the legislation which Worcester had so long sought to obtain by conventional means. American public opinion on the subject made itself heard immediately and emphatically. Hundreds of editorials in newspapers of all political beliefs, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific and published in great cities and country villages, vigorously supported his demands.[2] Not since the thrilling days of Manila Bay and the Insurrection had the United States evinced such interest in the Philippines. Concerning no Philippine question has American public opinion, as expressed through the press, ever been so nearly unanimous.

Upon the Philippine Commission the report produced an instantaneous effect. Immediately after receiving it, on May 17, 1913, that body passed a resolution urging the War Department to lay its oft-rejected anti-slavery bill before Congress with the request, "that the necessary legislation be enacted to render fully effective" the anti-slavery clause in the bill of rights of the Organic Act of 1902.[3]

The publication of the report, however, had made Congressional action unnecessary. With his first message to the Philippine Legislature Governor-General Harrison submitted the document to that body.[4] A week later the Assembly created a special committee on slavery.[1] On November 15 this body, although it had not yet completed its investigation of the subject, submitted an anti-slavery bill. On that same day the measure was adopted. There was heated discussion, but very few votes were cast against the bill.[2] Amendments to make the act more effective were inserted by the Commission and the bill became law on November 28.[3]

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[1] *Slavery and Peonage*, p. 82.

[2] More than 100 such editorials and many more news articles on the subject are on file in the Worcester Philippine Collection in the Library of the University of Michigan.

[3] The War Department took no immediate action upon this request, submitting the Commission's resolution to Congress in a routine manner six months later. This course was followed, the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs subsequently stated, because the legislative situation was such that Congress would not at that time under any circumstances take up the report, and because it was thought that action could be obtained from the Philippine Government. (Brigadier General Frank McIntyre to Dean C. Worcester, April 3, 1914. Ms., Worcester Philippine Collection.) The resolution appears on page 529, *infra*.

[4] *The Times*, Manila, October 17, 1913.

Few public men of our day have been subjected to more scathing criticism than Dean C. Worcester received in the Philippines and from American Anti-Imperialists for the publication of his report on slavery and peonage. The nationalist leaders in Manila and their American and Filipino associates in the United States proclaimed that his assertions that slavery existed in the Christian provinces of the Philippines were false, and that his report was a tissue of slanderous lies. They charged that the Secretary's real motive had been "to make some political capital out of a controversy with the Philippine Assembly regarding anti-slavery legislation." They declared that his whole course of action, and especially the publication of his report was not in good faith for the purpose of procuring such legislation, but to discredit the Filipino people and prevent their obtaining independence or greater autonomy under the new Democratic administration. They asserted that the report was written and broadcast as an act of hatred and spite by a disgruntled office-holder about to lose his position.[4]

The reiteration of these charges of insincerity and bad faith by those who for years had sought to discredit Worcester undoubtedly increased the bitter feeling against him in the Philippines, and even aroused some doubt as to his honesty in the United States. The *Reno* (Nevada) *Journal*, for instance, inquired editorially, "Why has not the worthy Commission reported this interesting fact before?" Its answer was that the whole thing was "politics." [1]

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[1] *Daily Bulletin*, Manila, October 22, 1913.

[2] *The Times*, Manila, November 18, 1913.

[3] Act No. 2300, "An act confirming existing legislation prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage in the Philippine Islands, subject to modifications, as provided in" certain sections of the United States penal code.

[4] William Atkinson Jones, Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs in the House of Representatives, declared that no slavery existed in the Philippines except in the non-Christian portions and attributed Worcester's assertions that it did to personal "animus" against the Filipinos and the Democratic administration in Washington. (*New York Times*, September 22, 1913.)

In one of his many comments upon the report, Resident Commissioner Manuel E. Quezon declared: "The statement of Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, Philippine Islands, that slavery exists in the Philippines and is fostered by the Philippine Assembly, is false and slanderous. . . . The purpose of this report is to present the people of the Philippines as savages and absolutely incapable of self-government. This statement is but one instance of determined efforts to defeat Philippine independence. Secretary Worcester draws a salary of $15,000 per year. It is only natural that he should be against self-government for Filipinos." (*Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 25, 1913.)

In Manila the Filipino newspapers poured out a torrent of abuse upon Worcester. *La Vanguardia* characterized his report as, "the final insult which he now flings at the Filipino people"; and as "the delirium of rancour." (Issues of July 21 and October 3, 1913.) Referring to the publication of a dispatch concerning the document in an Havana newspaper, "in double column with scandalously large headlines," *La Vanguardia* asserted that Worcester's story had been deliberately spread throughout the world to discredit the Filipino people on account of the approaching political changes in the Islands. The same editorial referred to "the ferocity and hatred with which the greatest enemy we have has acted and the zeal, which he has shown from the beginning in spreading his cursed and most hateful work, notwithstanding he has been given the lie here in the Philippines by serious and truthful men." (*Ibid*, October 3, 1913.) *El Ideal*, Manila organ of the *Nacionalista* party, in an editorial entitled, "The Last Effort," characterized "the letter to Borah" (meaning a letter concerning slavery addressed to Mr. W. O. Stillman, President of the American Humane Association which Mr. Borah had read in the Senate (*cf. infra*, p. 527) as "the last recourse which the Insular administration has found to thwart the joint plan of Democrats and Filipinos for reforming the political status of the country." (Issue of May 5, 1913.)

In Chicago the *Post* declared: "If, as Dean Worcester reiterates, there is slavery and peonage in the Philippines, the disclosure of that fact at this late date, and on the eve of congressional consideration of the Jones bill, needs to be explained.[2] If Dean Worcester could only point to the page and line of some official report to show that the administration of the islands had vainly tried to call our attention to the situation, only we were too heedless to listen, his case would be much stronger.

"As it is now, the Democrats will be able to pooh-pooh the story as an eleventh hour attempt to discredit the potential capacity of the Filipino for self-government eight years hence." [3]

Secretary Worcester was able to point to just the sort of evidence of his own good faith that was demanded by the *Post*, and, in fact, did point to it in his report and later in this book.[4] It is difficult, however, for the truth to overtake such a plausible falsehood as the one that Worcester had remained silent and inactive in the slavery matter until he could capitalize it for political purposes. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that at the end of his long battle over the issue he did use the determined opposition of the Philippine Assembly to the enactment of anti-slavery legislation as an argument against immediate independence for the Philippines.

The strife between the radical Filipino leaders and Worcester over anti-slavery legislation cannot be fairly understood, however, unless it be viewed as an incident in the long political struggle for ever-increasing autonomy and eventual independence which the former began the minute that the armed insurrection was crushed. During the course of this struggle, *El Renacimiento* and other Filipino newspapers had made the Secretary of the Interior a symbol for tyranny, oppression and the foreign yoke. It was not, therefore, unnatural that the Philippine Assembly should instinctively have regarded the Worcester origin of the anti-slavery bill as a good reason for not passing the measure.[5] Nor is it surprising that the Assembly and other radical *independistas* should have feared that their concurrence in the passage of an anti-slavery bill would be interpreted as an admission that they were a race of slave-holders and be used against their cause in the United States. What they failed to realize was that their persistent refusal to permit the passage of such legislation was a far more dangerous course because it laid them and their people open to the very charge which they wished to avoid. The four distinguished Filipino members of the Commission, all of whom were advocates of independence, seem to have sensed the risk that the Assembly was running and recognized the good faith of the Secretary of the Interior. Despite the unpopularity of the anti-slavery measure among their countrymen they regularly voted for its passage.

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[1] Issue of November 26, 1913.

[2] Such criticism had been foreseen by Worcester. In a memorandum to the Governor-General with reference to the first excision of all matter treating on this subject from his annual report, he had said: "As things stand at present, we should be placed in a somewhat embarrassing situation if anyone thoroughly acquainted with the facts were to ask us what we had done to make effective the provisions of the Act of Congress prohibiting slavery." (Secretary Dean C. Worcester to Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes, February 28, 1910, *infra*, p. 525.)

[3] Issue of August 13, 1913.

[4] Chapter XXV, *infra*; *Slavery and Peonage*, pp. 108-116.

[5] Speaker Sergio Osmeña practically stated that this was the case. (See *infra*, p. 540.)

The outcome showed that the Filipino commissioners followed a wiser and more statesmanlike course than that of their compatriots in the Assembly. The worst that all Filipinos had feared occurred when the Worcester report was published. To Americans, "slavery" meant the system which existed in the South prior to the Civil War. In hundreds of newspaper editorials its existence in the Philippines was used as an argument against independence or increased autonomy. The Filipino people were represented as being "still far removed from that stage of civilization which recognizes evil in the ownership of human beings."[1]

The picture of slavery in the Philippines which was drawn by the American press was false and exaggerated. Many of the aspersions cast upon the Filipino people by American editors were, indeed, "slanderous." The vast majority of Filipinos apparently were honest in their belief that "slavery" did not exist among them. They conceived of slavery as a system sanctioned by law and recognized by society.[2] The reports of the Assembly's special committee on the subject declared that slavery in the legal sense did not exist in the Philippines, and that in practically every instance investigated the "supposed slave" had been found to be working off a debt contracted by himself or his parents. The committee charged that Secretary Worcester and many of the officials who gave him evidence deliberately falsified concerning most of the cases reported. They further affirmed that even had the statements in the report been true there would, in all but a few instances, have been no slavery in the legal sense.[1]

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[1] The *Washington Star*, August 27, 1913. The *New York Tribune* queried, "Do the Filipinos want independence in order that they may practice human slavery?" (Issue of August 28, 1913.) Among a dozen editorials on the subject reprinted in the *Troy Times* of August 28 was one from the *Buffalo Express* which declared: "The disclosures of the slaveholding interests of the Assembly must cause a halt in the agitation for granting immediate independence. . . ." The *Pittsburg Despatch* of August 26 said: "The United States certainly owes it to the Philippines to abolish slavery before starting them in business for themselves." The *Philadelphia Press* of the same date inquired, "Will the Democratic Administration hold to its pledges to grant early political independence to a people which approves of slavery?" The *St. Paul Pioneer-Press* expressed the conviction that, "Independence at an early date simply would mean permission to the politicians and ruling classes to rivet for all time the shackles they have placed on the helpless and ignorant of the islands." (Issue of August 26.) The tardy and enforced passage of the anti-slavery bill failed to counteract the sentiments thus expressed or to obtain a better press in the United States.

[2] The Filipino viewpoint was expressed time and again by the Manila press during the long period of conflict. Typical statements follow: "Slavery does not exist among us. . . . There may be some who hold Negritos in their power, but these they have as adopted sons, not as slaves." *La Lucha*, May 29, 1913. "Slavery in its legal sense is an institution. Where the laws do not recognize this character it is not able to exist. As an institution slavery was abolished in the Philippines much earlier than in the United States. *El Ideal*, July 22, 1913. "Slavery is a civil status which exists essentially as an institution. Wherever the law does not allow it, there it can never exist." This is the situation so far as the legal aspect is concerned. As for the social aspect, the Filipino people were simply incapable of it. Worcester's cases were isolated phenomena. Such things take place in every part of the globe. Many of the cases cited in the report were

Feeling as they did, the bitter resentment which was aroused among Filipinos by the publication of the Worcester report and its echoes in the American press is readily understandable. Had the Philippine Assembly passed the Commission anti-slavery bill in 1909, 1910, 1911 or 1912, however, or had the other members of the Commission and the War Department made it plain that they were willing to back the Secretary of the Interior to the limit in his demand for such legislation, the report would never have been written.

In a contemporaneous interview published in the Manila *Times* Worcester declared: "My purpose in publishing my report was to compel legislation prohibiting and penalizing slavery, peonage, and the sale of human beings in these Islands. I resorted to publicity reluctantly, after years had been wasted in exhausting all other practicable means to accomplish my end."[2] There is no reason to doubt

highly creditable, representing charitable care for the poor and abandoned. Therefore, "Slavery does not exist in the Philippines because it is against social morality; because it is not protected by our laws." *El Ideal*, Nov. 10, 1913. *La Vanguardia* published a series of editorials voicing the same views, which, indeed, were shared by practically all Filipino newspapers.

The American attitude toward such reasoning was temperately expressed by the *Times* of May 28, 1913, as follows: "The question of slavery in the Christian provinces of the Philippines seems to be narrowing down to a point of definition. *Vanguardia*, for instance, has published a series of editorials which admit everything but the name, protesting that the relationship between masters and slaves, even when based upon purchase, is so beneficial to the latter that it cannot be called slavery. *Ideal* has taken much the same postiion. There seems to be an uneasy feeling that the Secretary of the Interior has evidence to support his assertions, and the first indignant denials are being hedged.

"Call it slavery, or call it what you will, there is a form of household bondage founded on the sale and purchase of human beings, and maintained by physical and moral coercion of the servant, for which at present there is no effective remedy or penalty in the Christian provinces. The relation has no sanction in law and the human chattel has, in theory, the protection of the courts for his right to freedom. But, in fact, the servant is too ignorant to protect himself, and his belief in his master's ownership makes him practically a slave. . . . It is probably true, as *Vanguardia* asserts, that in many cases the so-called slaves are treated kindly, and that they are almost invariably better off in bondage than they would have been otherwise. But this is simply the old apology for slavery,—as old as the institution itself and as thoroughly discredited."

[1] The committee presented two reports, which total 103 typewritten pages. (Copies in Worcester Philippine Collection.) Most of the original documents upon which Worcester's report was based are also available in this collection. Careful examination of this material in the light of the committee's rebuttal leaves Worcester's case unshaken. Indeed, the report actually strengthens Worcester's contention that the Filipino and the American attitudes towards holding human beings in bondage, whether recognized by law or not, were poles apart. The Secretary of the Interior was moved to indignation by the fact of slavery. He acted to terminate it in the Philippines. The Filipino spokesmen showed no interest in ending the evils which Worcester exposed, but were most active in expressing their resentment at the public application of the term "slavery" to conditions with which they were entirely familiar.

[2] Elaborating this statement in another issue of the *Times*, Worcester is quoted as having said: "I hope to force legislative action penalizing both these things (peonage and slavery) and to arouse a strong and widespread sentiment in favor of bettering the con-

the sincerity of this statement. The last clause of it is demonstrably true. Having been forced to appeal to the American people, however, Worcester did not hesitate to use the argument against immediate independence with which the refusal of the Filipino leaders to pass anti-slavery legislation had furnished him. The newspaper files of the period show how strongly this argument appealed to Americans.[1]

In all of the discussion concerning the slavery episode neither Secretary Worcester, his friends, nor his critics seem to have emphasized one circumstance which is the final justification for the publication of his report. After the Democratic victory of November, 1912, the creation of an American public opinion on the subject which would compel the national government to act, no matter under whose control it might be, was the only course left open to Worcester if he were not to admit defeat and abandon all hope of putting explicit anti-slavery legislation into the Philippine statute book. The intention of the Democratic party to grant speedy independence and immediate autonomy to the Philippines was clearly expressed in their platform and by their official spokesmen. It would have been fantastic to hope that when they entered office in March, 1913, they would thrust the Worcester measure or any similar law upon the Islands.

Had Secretary Worcester faltered at this point he would have been untrue to his own character. He would have betrayed both the American and the Filipino people. He would have broken faith with the untutored men of the hills who had come to look to him for guidance and protection. Had the American members of the Philippine Commission of that time left office without having exhausted their last resource in this contest they would have merited, and ultimately received, the disapprobation of the American people. Had they not obtained the passage of the legislation in question they would have left the Filipino people open to the imputation that they sanctioned slavery, and would have abandoned many individual Filipinos of the poorest and most helpless classes to actual enslavement against which they had no effective legal protection or remedy. Is there a Filipino in public life today who would support a proposal to repeal Act No. 2300, or who does not recognize that the honor of his own country and

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dition of Filipino laborers and servants who are today, in so many instances, held in a state of peonage. (*The Times*, Manila, September 1, 1913.)

[1] Three more examples are given as typical of American editorial comment on this aspect of the matter. "The knowledge of the existence of slavery in the Islands is not half so serious as has been an apparent unwillingness to pass the necessary legislation to make slavery impossible." (*The Times*, Manila, November 14, 1913.) "The great evil of this situation is that public sentiment in the islands appears to justify the conditions which Commissioner Worcester sets forth in his report." (*Washington Star*, August 27, 1913.) On the day after the anti-slavery bill was passed, the *New York Tribune* concluded an editorial entitled, "Slavery Legislation and Why?" with these questions: "Would the Filipinos have abolished slavery without the strenuous urgings of American administrators? And if American control has been necessary for the accomplishment of this reform, for how much else is it urgently needed?"

that of the United States demanded that it be included in the statute book? [1]

On November 10, 1913, *El Ideal,* the Manila organ of the *Nacionalista* party, declared: "If it be true that in every democratic country, the government is the faithful exponent of the people, ours should immediately answer the people's call by declaring itself clearly and definitely opposed to slavery." Thus spoke the leaders who for five years had blocked the efforts of the Commission to obtain just such a declaration in the form of an anti-slavery law. The record makes it evident that this *volte face* was made not in "answer to the people's call," but in response to the voice of American public opinion, aroused by the story of the Philippine Secretary of the Interior. Looking back from the vantage point of fifteen years, Filipinos may well be thankful that in those trying days of strife and inexperience one American had the courage to compel their representatives to perform this act of duty and justice.

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[1] In recommending the passage of the anti-slavery bill, the Assembly's special committee on slavery stated that it believed that new penal legislation, direct and final, such as that of the United States statutes, was lacking in the Philippines, and that it was to the public interest to re-enact and set down such legislation. The good name of the Filipino people and its legislators had been questioned, and two roads were open to them. One was to leave to the judicial tribunals the work of clearing up confused legislation in successive cases. The other was to establish and confirm, by a new law, the real provisions already existing, to include all cases and clear the legal situation, and to end the present chaos. The committee urged the latter course. (*Report of the Special Committee on Slavery.*)

CHAPTER VIII

The Scientist in Business

Worcester's crusade against slavery and peonage was the last major episode of his official career. His resignation was tendered to President Taft on January 24, 1913. Withdrawn at the request of the President,[1] it was again tendered in June and became effective on September 15, 1913.[2]

Worcester had served as commissioner continuously since his appointment to the Schurman Commission in January, 1899, a period of approximately fourteen years and eight months, and as Secretary of the Interior for twelve years and fifteen days. Up to the date of his resignation, twenty other men had been members of the Commission. Their average term had been approximately four years and five months. Commissioner José R. Luzuriaga ranked second to Worcester in length of service, having been a member of the Commission for twelve years and two months. Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes, who resigned on Sept. 1, 1913, had gone to the Islands in 1904 as commissioner and secretary of commerce and police and ranked third.[3]

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[1] Worcester's statement in *Conditions in the Philippines*, pp. 5-6.

[2] In June, 1913, Secretary Worcester informed Governor-General Forbes that he had been offered the position of vice-president of the American-Philippine Company, and stated that his obligations to his family made it imperative for him to accept the post. He therefore expressed the wish to resign, his resignation to become effective when the President desired, but not later than September 15. (D. C. Worcester to W. Cameron Forbes, June 18, 1913. Worcester Papers.)

After the withdrawal of his resignation in January, it had been Worcester's intention to "continue at my post of duty until providentially or otherwise removed." In October, however, he stated that, "Later there came to me, wholly unexpectedly, an opportunity to engage in private business which in justice to my family I felt bound to accept and for this reason, and this reason alone, I again tendered my resignation, effective not later than September 15. (*Conditions in the Philippines*, pp. 5-6.)

[3] PHILIPPINE COMMISSIONERS [a]

First Philippine Commission, appointed January 20, 1899.

Jacob G. Schurman (Chairman)
Rear Admiral George Dewey
Maj. Gen. Elwell S. Otis
Dean C. Worcester
Charles Denby

Second Commission:	*Period of Service*
Wm. H. Taft (President)	March 16, 1900–Jan. 31, 1904
Henry C. Ide	March 16, 1900–Sept. 19, 1906
Luke E. Wright	March 16, 1900–March 30, 1906
Dean C. Worcester	March 16, 1900–Sept. 15, 1913
Bernard Moses	March 16, 1900–Dec. 31, 1902
Subsequent members:	
Benito Legarda	Sept. 1, 1901–Oct. 31, 1907
T. H. Pardo de Tavera	Sept. 1, 1901–Feb. 28, 1909
José R. Luzuriaga	Sept. 1, 1901–Oct. 27, 1913

[a] List supplied by the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

Of all of the commissioners, therefore, Worcester was the only one who had served on the highest governing body of the Archipelago during the entire period between 1899 and 1913. Among the Americans primarily responsible for the government of the Islands, he alone had been at the center of affairs during virtually the whole of the insurrection, the period when the Philippine policy of the United States was established and the creed of the Filipino nationalists consecrated with blood; during the "days of the empire," when the foundations of the new order in the Philippines were laid and the processes which have transformed the Islands definitely begun; and during the subsequent years when both Americans and Filipinos steadily advanced along the lines which had been determined upon. Among his American colleagues, only Worcester had been in the Philippines prior to 1898. The four years during which he had then lived under Spanish rule in intimate contact with Filipinos of all classes in practically every region of the Archipelago south of Manila gave him a background which none of his countrymen possessed.

This long and unique experience in itself placed Worcester in a unique position in the government of the Islands. He became, in effect, a permanent commissioner whose unbroken service, tenacity of purpose, and force of character made him a major influence for the continuity of policy which distinguished the government of the Philippines between 1898 and 1913. The extent of his influence is the more remarkable when it is considered that he never participated in American party politics and had no personal political backing. From first to last Worcester owed his position in the Philippine Government and his national influence in Philippine affairs solely to his own personal merit.[1]

Although Worcester severed his official connection with the Philip-

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Subsequent Members—*Continued:*

	Period of Service
James F. Smith	Jan. 1, 1903–Nov. 10, 1909
W. Cameron Forbes	June 5, 1904–Sept. 1, 1913
W. Morgan Shuster	Sept. 25, 1906–Feb. 28, 1909
Gregorio Araneta	Feb. 25, 1909–Oct. 27, 1913
Newton W. Gilbert	July 6, 1908–Dec. 1, 1913
Rafael Palma	July 6, 1908– *
Juan Sumulong	March 1, 1909–Oct. 26, 1913
Frank A. Branagan	March 2, 1909–Oct. 26, 1913
Charles Burke Elliott	Feb. 14, 1910–Feb. 1, 1913
Francis Burton Harrison	Sept. 2, 1913– *
Victorino Mapa	Oct. 27, 1913– *
Jaime C. De Veyra	Oct. 27, 1913–April 7, 1916
Vicente Ilustre	Oct. 27, 1913– *
Vicente Singson Encarnacion	Oct. 27, 1913– *
Henderson S. Martin	Nov. 29, 1913– *
Clinton L. Riggs	Nov. 29, 1913–Oct. 31, 1915
Eugene E. Reed	May 24, 1916– *
Winfred T. Denison	Jan. 27, 1914–March 31, 1916

* The Philippine Commission ceased to exist upon the organization on October 16, 1916, of the Philippine Legislature under the provisions of the Organic Act of August 29, 1916.

[1] On the day following his resignation Worcester received the following letter from the Very Reverend J. J. Harty, Archbishop of Manila: "Arzobispado de Manila, 16th. September, 1913. Dear Mr. Worcester: I cannot allow your resignation as Commissioner

pine Government in September, 1913, the public affairs of the Philippines continued to be his major interest until well into 1914. The advent of the Democratic party to power in the United States on March 4, 1913, seemed to presage speedy "independence" for the Philippine Islands.[1] Although recognizing that both of the great American parties were committed to the policy of granting independence when the Filipinos were ready for it, Worcester believed with that strength of conviction which was one of his deepest traits that they were not yet ready. He therefore felt that the United States would be "guilty of an unjust and cowardly act if we withdrew our protection and control" from the Philippines within the near future.[2] In these circumstances it was characteristic of the man that he should actively seek to prevent such action.

Worcester's procedure in this crisis of Philippine affairs was similar to that which he had followed in many another fight, from the date of his letter to the Chicago *Times-Herald* in 1899 to the publication of his report on slavery and peonage. He carried his case directly to the people, confident that if they understood the facts of the situation their decision would be wise and just, and would be respected. His obligation to do this he put before considerations of personal convenience or profit. A statement which he made in January, 1914, clearly shows his position in the matter.

"At the time of my resignation," he declared, "I entered into a contract to accept an appointment [as vice-president of the American-Philippine Company] at some future date, to be fixed by me, when I am ready to assume the duties of the office. I had long cherished the plan of endeavoring to arouse interest in the more important problems confronting our Government in the Philippines through the medium of a book setting forth my observations and opinions and through a series of public illustrated lectures, and my acceptance of this position was conditioned upon my being allowed to carry out this plan."[3]

During the winter of 1913-1914 Worcester made his report to the

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and Secretary of the Interior to pass unnoticed as an insignificant event, nor as an occurrence which needs no recognition.

"During the ten years that I have been Metropolitan of the Philippine Islands, I have never failed to appreciate fully your courage, your sincerity, your single minded devotion to the welfare of these Islands and their peoples.

"Accept this small tribute of appreciation as the spontaneous expression of admiration of your splendid services.

"Faithfully in Christ,
"J. J. Harty,
"Archbishop of Manila."

Ms. in Worcester Papers.

[1] The Democratic position on this question is stated in the Philippine planks of the national party platforms of 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912. Kirk Porter, *National Party Platforms*, pp. 211, 246, 284, and 332, New York, 1924. Both the Democratic and Republican Philippine planks are also to be found in Forbes, II, App. XXXVII.

[2] *Infra*, p. 669.

[3] Statement dictated by Dean C. Worcester for publication in the *New York Times*, January 21, 1914. (*New York Times*, January 22, 1914.) Before he left Manila in October, 1914, Worcester publicly informed his friends that his business, for the present, would be to endeavor to bring home to the people of the United States the truth about the Philippine Islands. (*Conditions in the Philippines*, p. 17.)

American people. His lectures were illustrated by a wonderful collection of lantern slides and moving pictures.[1] Large audiences, which included many hundreds of men and women of position and influence in American life, heard his message. His book, *The Philippines, Past and Present*, attracted world-wide attention. There is no method by which the extent of his influence at this crucial period of American-Philippine relations can be measured. The newspaper files of the time, however, show conclusively that his views were heard and discussed throughout the nation.[2]

Once having relinquished public office and placed his views concerning the Philippine Islands before the American people, Worcester turned his whole attention to private business. At the great banquet which was tendered him in Manila soon after his retirement from the government, he said: "There is one thing which I wish to have understood by everyone. I am *not* devoting myself to the uncongenial and unprofitable task of being an ex-governmental official. I am fully aware of the fact that my duties as Secretary of the Interior ended on September 15th at twelve midnight."[3] Much to the surprise of many people, the ex-secretary's subsequent course squared with these words. Although he always retained a lively interest in the government, particularly in its treatment of the Filipino masses and the pagan peoples for whom he had been responsible, he took no further active part in politics.

Despite Worcester's retirement from public affairs, however, there was a distinct unity between the decade of business activity which was still left to him and his previous career of governmental service. As Secretary of the Interior, between 1901 and 1913, he had sought to create conditions which would stimulate the economic development of the Philippines, without which, he believed, the rapid political and social development of the Filipino people was virtually impossible. In 1914 he became vice-president and general manager of the American-Philippine Company, a $5,000,000 corporation organized in New

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[1] The attitude of many Filipinos toward Worcester's lectures is illustrated by excerpts from an article in *La Democracia* of April 3, 1914, which was approvingly quoted by *Renacimiento Filipino* in its issue of April 8: "Worcester . . . is a hardened and inveterate enemy of the Filipinos. . . . It appears . . . that Mr. Worcester is continuing his talks in the United States on what manner of people we are. He has made us appear as a people endowed with distinct instincts of savagery. What is interesting to us is that Mr. Worcester is establishing a good business in his own country at the expense of the money and reputation of the Philippines."

[2] Hundreds of reviews, editorials and news stories concerning Worcester's lectures and his book are filed among the Worcester papers. They come from virtually every section of the United States, and from country weeklies as well as the great metropolitan dailies.

[3] He added: "Indeed, I summoned the janitor of the Ayuntamiento shortly before that witching hour on the date mentioned and offered him a liberal reward if he would get my sign down before the clock struck twelve, which he did. The next day a gentleman whom I have always counted among my friends addressed me as 'Mr. Secretary' and I threatened to prosecute him for libel. One needs to have been a public official for a dozen or fifteen years, always in the full glare of the spotlight, always a target for the wild-eyed individual with a gob of mud in his hand and a fixed desire to throw it at something, in order to appreciate the blessings of private citizenship." (*Conditions in the Philippines*, p. 3.)

York for the purpose of developing agricultural and commercial enterprises in the Islands on a large scale.[1] With the resources of this powerful corporation behind him, Worcester carried through many of the projects in which he had for years sought to interest others. As a private citizen having no connection with the government, he thus contributed in a very important way to that economic development of the Islands which, as a public official, he had always declared to be possible and desirable.

Although its plans were very broad, the American-Philippine Company actually concentrated its energies upon the production of cattle, coconuts and coconut products, and the development of an inter-island transportation system. Through the Bukidnon Company it established a ranch on the magnificent uplands of the province of Bukidnon, in northern Mindanao. From a nucleus of a few head of cattle, crossed with rinderpest resistant Nellore animals imported from India, a large and valuable herd was developed. The stock turned out to be much heavier, stronger, and faster than the native cattle, besides being resistant to disease and furnishing excellent beef. The ranch itself, under the superintendency of Mr. Frederick W. Lewis, formerly governor of Bukidnon, and a cattleman of practical experience in the United States, is a model of organization and operation.

The success of the Bukidnon Company has led to the establishment of other ranches in northern Mindanao and elsewhere in the Philippines. A number of these enterprises are owned and operated by Filipinos. One of the best of them is a ranch which Worcester developed as a personal venture. The importance of this sort of economic pioneering in a country where rice, the staple article of food, is normally imported in large quantities, partially because agriculture is seriously hampered by shortage of work animals; and into which large quantities of beef are imported annually, is obvious.[2] Among all of the enterprises in which he was interested, the cattle business was probably nearest to

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[1] The company was incorporated in Delaware, where its Certificate of Incorporation was filed October 16, 1912; an amended certificate was filed on October 22, 1912; and on May 26, 1924, the company filed a statement of reduction of capital stock. The author is indebted to a member of Mr. Worcester's family who is thoroughly informed on the subject for facts concerning the American-Philippine Company and his other business activities. This information has been supplemented by the use of certain of Mr. Worcester's private papers, Manila and New York newspapers, and personal observation of the present Philippine activities of the companies in which Mr. Worcester was interested.

[2] The Bureau of Commerce and Industry reports that the cattle in Bukidnon increased from 52 in 1917 to 14,633 in 1924. (*Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands*, 1927, p. 44, Manila, 1928.) The same report shows that a yearly average of 10,329 cattle were imported into the Philippines between 1923 and 1927, inclusive. (*Ibid*, p. 56.) During the same period an average of 2,598 carabaos per year were imported and there was constant complaint from agriculturalists of the scarcity and excessive cost of draft animals. (*Ibid.*, p. 56.)

During the four years 1924-1927 the average value of the beef imported into the Islands was ₱[illegible]. (*Ibid.*, p. 91.) Between 1924 and 1927 the rice imported varied in value from ₱2,149,769 in 1927 to ₱14,123,837 in 1924. Insular records show that in only two years since 1885 has less than ₱1,000,000 worth of rice been imported, and during these two years the country was torn with insurrection and the data incomplete. During 1903 and 1912 the rice imports were valued at more than ₱25,000,000. (*Ibid.*, p. 126.)

Worcester's heart. Certainly few phases of the economic development of the Islands are more vital to the welfare of the Filipino people.[1]

For many years before his retirement from office, Worcester had sought to develop the coconut oil industry in the Philippines in order to retain in the Islands the difference in value between the raw copra, which had always been exported, and the refined coconut oil.[2] While the cattle venture was developing he convinced his associates that there was an opportunity to make a quicker showing in the coconut oil industry than would be possible in any other field of enterprise. In 1913 the Visayan Refining Company was incorporated and three years later it put into operation a large mill at Cebu, the leading port of the Visayas, the central islands of the Archipelago. The company was immediately successful and continued so until the end of the war. Its plant grew into a model of mechanical efficiency and it became widely known for its fair dealings in the purchase of copra from both large and small producers, and for considerate treatment of its employees.

While the Philippines were riding the wave of prosperity which the World War brought to the Islands,[3] the company, in 1920, purchased two mills in Manila, the Rizal Refining Company and the Philippine Refining Company, and amalgamated the three properties into a $10,000,000 corporation, the Philippine Refining Corporation.[4] Although the post-war depression, which checked all business in the Philippines, made it necessary to curtail the operations of this corporation, by 1923 it was in full swing again and has since justified the expectations of its organizers.

Meanwhile, Worcester had become convinced that coconut growing promised the greatest success of any industry in the Philippines. The company, therefore, made large plantings of this basic product and purchased the island of San Miguel with a fine grove of more than 150,000 trees. Tentative plans for the extension of this branch of the business were curtailed by Worcester's death in 1924.

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[1] In 1923, the writer accompanied Mr. Worcester upon the inspection of a cattle ranch and learned his views with reference to the business. In 1926, he visited the property of the Bukidnon Company and other ranches in Bukidnon. In addition to producing cattle and stimulating their production by others, this company has conducted agricultural experiments of the highest public value.

[2] In 1911, Worcester made the following statement before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives: "We export all our copra at the present time. It mostly goes to France, and our French friends get the difference between the value of the coconut oil and the copra as we sell it. There is not a modern coconut mill in the Philippine Islands. Now I have been trying hard to interest a number of individuals or corporations in taking up coconut land enough to produce copra to run one mill . . . with a special view to the establishment of a modern coconut oil mill in the Philippines, so that we may keep in the country for our own people a part of the very large sum which now goes yearly to France." (*Administration of Philippine Lands*, II, pp. 649-650.)

[3] During the years 1914 to 1920, inclusive, the imports and exports of the Philippine Islands increased in value from $97,278,287 to $300,562,138. In 1921 they dropped to $203,053,800.50 and in 1922 to $175,579,942.50. In 1918 the balance of trade had been plus $37,595,270.50; in 1921 it was minus $27,723,251.50. Since 1922 conditions have steadily improved, although in 1927 the total foreign trade fell short of that of 1920 by about $30,000,000. (*Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands*, 1927, p. 86.)

[4] A large part of the capital stock of this company was sold to Lever Bros., Ltd., of London.

In 1921, in conjunction with Mr. J. W. Harriman of New York, President of the Harriman National Bank, Worcester formed the Philippine Desiccated Coconut Corporation for the manufacture of desiccated coconut. Himself president of this company, he established a factory near Zamboanga. The record of this company has been one of increasing prosperity.[1]

Although the outbreak of the war in 1914 caused the American-Philippine Corporation to withdraw from the shipping business for several years, it later re-entered this activity through the Aguson Coconut Company, a branch of the Bukidnon Company. A fleet of vessels which the company purchased and operated out of Cebu furnished the first regular, dependable commercial transportation from that city to the smaller ports of the central islands and northern Mindanao.[2]

At the time of his death, in addition to his connection with the Philippine Refining Corporation and its subsidiaries, and the Philippine Desiccated Coconut Corporation, Worcester owned and operated the personal ranch in Bukidnon which has already been referred to, was a partial owner in a stevedoring business in Iloilo, and was organizing a fishing company to utilize scientific methods in supplying cheap fish from the teeming waters of the Philippines to the local markets. In addition he had an indirect interest in many other lines of business, and was a recognized authority on practically every form of commercial enterprise in the Philippines.

In his card index he held valuable data on many different possible industries for the Islands, and only lack of time prevented him from organizing and directing other companies. This information he was glad to pass on to others if he thought they were in a position to take advantage of it and contribute to the development of the best interests of the country. Worcester's business career was thus extraordinarily successful, and, as he had declared at the outset would be the case, every project which his companies undertook increased the wealth and prosperity of the Philippines.[3]

Worcester's entrance into business in the Philippines subjected him to criticism from Filipinos who feared that the introduction of American capital into the Islands would delay, and perhaps ultimately prevent the attainment of independence, and from American Anti-

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[1] The managers of this company from the beginning have been Messrs. J. B. Cooley, formerly superintendent of the San Ramon Penal Colony, and Frederick L. Worcester, the son of Dean C. Worcester. Events have demonstrated the soundness of Worcester's judgment of 1914 as to the future of coconut products in the Philippines. (Cf. *infra*, pp. 632 n. 1, 637.

[2] The absence of a dependable, well equipped, honestly operated inter-island transportation system for the Archipelago as a whole is still one of the great handicaps to the economic development of the Philippines. (*Cf. infra*, p. 771.)

[3] Speaking of the plans of the American-Philippine Company early in 1914, Worcester declared: "Every project for development that the American-Philippine Company has in hand will increase the prosperity of the Islands." (Statement dictated for publication in the *New York Times*, January 21, 1914. *New York Times*, January 22, 1914.)

Imperialists.[1] He did not, however, believe that enterprises such as his would retard Philippine progress toward independence. On the contrary, he had felt for many years that political independence was impossible for the Islands until they had undergone a great deal of economic development of the very sort that his undertakings forwarded.[2] This view of the relationship between the investment of large amounts of outside capital in the Philippines, under proper conditions, and Philippine independence was expressed by Worcester during the hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs in 1911, and upon many other occasions.

During the last years of his life Worcester's residence was at Opon, a small town on the Island of Mactan, where Magellan perished, across the narrow strait from Cebu. Here, near the great oil refinery and the barrio where live its Filipino employees, he built a beautiful, although unpretentious, home, finished in fine Philippine hardwoods and embowered in stately palms and lovely flowering plants. Although personally directing the Philippine operations of the business companies in which he was interested, he found time to engage in his favorite sport, deep sea fishing; to become a notable collector of ancient Chinese ceramics; and to follow closely the work of the University of Michigan Archeological Expedition to the Philippines, which he was instrumental in financing. Both of his children were permanently established in the Islands. Many of his oldest and best friends, among whom were numerous Filipinos with whom he had been closely associated in the days of his public service and in business, were also permanent residents of the Philippines. Nothing that he could have said would have expressed so convincingly as did these last years of his life the depth of his connections in the land where he had lived for thirty years, and his confidence in its future.

Worcester's life was cut short suddenly while he was still at the height of his powers. He died in Manila on May 2, 1924, from an affection of the heart which had been directly caused by the hardships which he suffered during his second collecting expedition to the Islands and in the exploration of the virtually unknown mountain country of the pagan tribes of northern Luzon in 1903.

[1] *La Vanguardia* for February 22, 1913, and the *New York World*, for January 22, 1914, contain examples of this attitude.

[2] His attitude upon this subject was forcibly expressed in a statement which he made in Philadelphia in 1914. He then declared: "The statement that I am opposed to Philippine independence is unmitigatedly false. I favor it—when the people are ready for it. The company does not care who governs the Philippines so long as the islands have good government." (Interview published in the *New York World*, January 22, 1914.)

CHAPTER IX

The Measure of the Man

Only by viewing Worcester's career as a whole can the true measure of the man be taken. At the age of thirty-two he had attained recognition among scientists as a zoologist, and established himself as a member of the faculty of a great university. During the next fifteen years he played a dominant part in one of the most difficult and significant experiments in colonial government which the world has seen, and achieved permanent fame as a statesman and administrator. Turning to business at the age of forty-seven, he created and directed large corporations which were highly successful from the standpoint of their stockholders and contributed directly to the economic upbuilding of an entire people. During each of these highly diverse periods he exhibited the same fundamental traits of character: courage, vision, thoroughness, keen intelligence, inexhaustible energy, and indomitable will. In turn scientist, colonial statesman, and constructive business man, he was always a pioneer and builder.

The wide publicity which was given to the long series of differences between Worcester and the radical Filipino nationalists and the American Anti-Imperialists undoubtedly affected adversely Worcester's public career and his reputation as a man and as an official. That the bitterness of this contest was increased by certain of his personal characteristics can scarcely be denied. He was a man who almost inevitably made enemies as well as friends,—and he did so among both the Americans and the Filipinos with whom he came into contact. An excerpt from an intimate sketch of his personality written by a kinsman shortly after his death suggests some of the reasons why this was true.

"Dean was in every way a large man," the statement runs, "large-hearted, of noble stature and handsome features. From his clear blue eyes and winning smile, his courteous, kindly bearing, his warm, friendly hand clasp, one might not suspect the militant force of his nature, which his enemies will never forget. Liars he had no use for, nor for cowards. For political subterfuge and measures of policy he had supreme contempt. No indirection would he ever tolerate. Pretence of every kind, especially if under the cloak of religion, was to him abhorrent. While always ready and eager to learn from others, it was facts and not suppositions that interested him. He was, perhaps, deficient in imagination and playfulness. These are Worcester deficiencies. Seriousness, rather, is our inheritance."[1]

A vivid picture of this personality in action is given in an editorial which appeared in the Manila *Cablenews-American* upon the occasion of Worcester's retirement. "Public officials there have been who were more popular, more tactful and gentle in the performance of their duties," the editor declared, "but for downright sterling worth and conscientious work combined with extraordinary energy and devotion to the principles believed to be right, Mr. Worcester need yield to none of his colleagues.

"The Worcester method of dealing with those who incurred his disapproval or rashly undertook to obstruct the policies he fathered is severe, direct and fearless. It would be hard to imagine a more relentless opponent, yet rare indeed is the man who has greater capacity for real and sincere friendship. The impression is general that in the pursuit of error or in the combat of attack affecting any of the numerous branches of the Department of the Interior, the retired Secretary was inexorable. He brooked no interference that tended to embarrass his work and was determined in his opinions, for the reason that thorough consideration preceded action. In other words, he intended to do or desired to have done and then he got results.

"A man of such unusual activity and capacity for work and in the possession of the authority and responsibility pertaining to the Department of the Interior cannot avoid displeasing some elements; but however violently one may disagree with Mr. Worcester there is no question as to his absolute honesty and faith in his convictions. He has played the game vigorously and for all there was in it, but without playing petty politics, and that is something to remember."[2]

Such a man, if active in the public affairs of any nation, could hardly fail to make enemies and provoke reprisals.[3] Had Worcester been more ingratiating in manner, more complaisant, better able to make those compromises with conscience and with truth which human relations so often seem to demand, especially of politicians, his way might have been smoother. It might, indeed, have led him to the Governor-Generalship of the Philippine Islands. That a softer, smoother man could have accomplished Dean C. Worcester's work in the Philippines, however, is extremely improbable.

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[1] From a statement written by Dr. Alfred Worcester of Waltham, Massachusetts, for the Worcester family reunion of 1924.

Professor Jacob Reighard, for many years head of the Department of Zoology of the University of Michigan and an intimate friend of Worcester's, has made a penetrating comment upon the latter's supposed deficiency in imagination and playfulness. "In spite of the opinion of his cousin, Dr. Alfred Worcester," Professor Reighard said, "Dean Worcester seems to me to have had plenty of *imagination.* His accomplishments in science, administration and business would, it seems to me, have been impossible without the help of constructive imagination of a high order. He lacked *fantasy,* perhaps, but not an imagination which dealt with realities.

"Playfulness, he had, too. I have been with him on many a hunting trip. Hunting and fishing were his play. With his old dog, Don, he *played* in many ways. The dog had been taught to retrieve anything thrown, and frequently for half an hour at a time Worcester would throw a rock over the house and out of sight, and amuse himself to see the old dog race to find it by scent only. That was pure play."

[2] An editorial entitled, "Dean C. Worcester," *Cablenews-American,* September 17, 1913.

[3] Even Worcester's most vigorous opponents were often forced to pay tribute to his courage, however. Apropos of the fight which he made in 1913, upon the eve of his retirement, against what he regarded as selfish and unprofessional practices among the medical staff of the Philippine General Hospital, *El Ideal* declared: "His farewell to the official world is a worthy climax of his acts as an officer. After all, the man who has not been afraid to say what he thought was the truth, deserves our respect." (Reprinted (translation) from *El Ideal* in the *Cablenews-American,* September 18, 1913.) For a

But although the apparent harshness of Worcester's personality was capitalized and made the most of by his opponents, it was not the most important cause of the long contest between the Secretary of the Interior and the radical Filipino leaders. This contest was not merely personal. It was political, in the truest sense of the word. The radicals attacked him and sought to block his work not because he was brusque or arrogant, but because he was the most resolute opponent of the cause of speedy "independence" to which they were devoted; and, in some instances, because he stood between them and personal power. Their immediate purposes and those for which he stood,—those which McKinley had made the purposes of America in the Philippines,—were diametrically opposed. They were no more ready to compromise than was he. The government of which he was a part did not rest on the consent of the governed, but upon military force. No velvet glove could have made acceptable to the Filipino radicals of that era the iron hand without which the transformations of those years could not have been wrought. More than any other one man, Secretary Worcester was called upon to drive through the American program.

There existed, therefore, an irrepressible political conflict between the Secretary of the Interior and the radical nationalists who were placed and kept in power by the Filipino voters as soon as the latter were given a voice in the government of their country. Although he fought within the limits of a code of honesty and fairness which many of his chief opponents were not bound by, Worcester often struck hard blows and shrewd ones—blows that sometimes hurt all Filipinos. This fact, together with certain traits in Worcester's character that already have been mentioned, not only added personal bitterness to inevitable political strife, but also laid Worcester open to misrepresentation in both the United States and the Philippine Islands. Only after the passage of time has more completely cooled the passions which were fired during the early days of American-Philippine relations will his work in the Islands be fully and widely understood.[1]

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forceful statement of Worcester's position in the matter referred to, see the *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1913, pp. 114-118.

[1] When the Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson resigned as Secretary of War in 1911 he wrote to Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes and Worcester jointly, as follows: "I congratulate myself that my duties threw me so intimately with both of you, whom I learned to esteem so highly. Each of you is doing a great and patriotic work,—one that the country will not now properly estimate. You for the present will have to be satisfied with the good opinions of those who know your work, and with the judgment of

Even today, however, some conclusions concerning Worcester's public service may be recorded with assurance. The world recognizes as an unparalleled, and wholly beneficent, achievement his work in setting the feet of the wild pagan tribes of the Philippines, especially those of northern Luzon and northern Mindanao, firmly upon the long road which leads from savagery to civilization. It is inconceivable that this judgment will ever be reversed.

In the conception and execution of the Philippine policy of the United States between 1898 and 1913 Worcester exercised an influence which probably was second to that of no man. More particularly, he was primarily responsible for the application of modern science to the most vital problems of the Filipino people. The Bureau of Science and the public health service, through which recurrent epidemics of smallpox, cholera, and the bubonic plague were banished from the Philippines and the general health of the people greatly improved; the College of Medicine and Surgery; the great colony at Culion for the isolation and cure of lepers; the Bureau of Agriculture, which practically wiped out rinderpest and surra and otherwise enormously benefited the basic industry of the Islands; the Bureau of Forestry, whose practical and scientific achievements made it the model for the forestry service of other Far Eastern countries,—all of these services were organized, staffed, and operated under the compelling leadership of this statesman-scientist. Concerning the value of these accomplishments to the Philippines and to the world there can be little doubt.[1] Baguio, the mountain health resort which is now universally recognized as being an inestimable boon to both Filipino and non-Filipino residents of the Archipelago, was originally Worcester's project and owes its existence to the courage and persistence of Taft, Forbes, and Worcester.

As to the wisdom of the broader political policies which Worcester so powerfully advocated, such general agreement does not, as yet, exist. Since 1921, however, the United States has again based its relations with the Philippines upon the principles which, together with McKinley, Root, Taft and Forbes, he was largely instrumental in formulating and applying. If, as now seems possible, those principles should be generally accepted in the United States as constituting the national, rather than a party policy for the Philippines, the future will ultimately disclose whether his statesmanship was sound.

On the fly-leaf of a copy of *The Philippines, Past and Present,* which

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your own consciences. In time the country, when misinformation is corrected and misrepresentation ceases will appreciate the value and fidelity of your efforts." (Ms. in Worcester Papers.)

[1] At the time of Worcester's retirement in 1913 the Filipino press, in general, recognized the value of his accomplishments among the non-Christians, but declared that he had failed in his work among the Christian Filipinos, chiefly because of a lack of sympathy and respect for them and their ideals. The American newspapers, both in the Philippines and in the United States, ranked his work with the non-Christian tribes as Worcester's highest achievement.

the writer opened in the library of the present Lieutenant-Governor of the sub-province of Ifugao, there was written in Worcester's hand: "To Lieutenant W. E. Dosser, who plays the game not because he has to, but because it is worth the playing." The inscription carries the vital spirit of the Americans who have made lasting contributions to mankind in the Philippine Islands. Dean C. Worcester was the very embodiment of that spirit and a noble leader in that work. He occupies a unique place among great Americans.

THE PHILIPPINES, PAST AND PRESENT

CHAPTER I

View Point and Subject-Matter

It is customary in Latin countries for a would-be author or orator to endeavour, at the beginning of his book or his speech, to establish his status. Possibly I have become partially Latinized as the result of some eighteen years of residence in the Philippines. At all events it is my purpose to state at the outset facts which will tend to make clear my view point and at the same time briefly to outline the subject-matter which I hereinafter discuss.

As a boy I went through several of the successive stages of collector's fever from which the young commonly suffer. First it was postage stamps; then birds' nests, obtained during the winter season when no longer of use to their builders. Later I was allowed to collect eggs, and finally the birds themselves. At one time my great ambition was to become a taxidermist. My family did not actively oppose this desire but suggested that a few preliminary years in school and college might prove useful.

I eventually lost my ambition to be a taxidermist but did not lose my interest in zoölogy and botany. While a student at the University of Michigan I specialized in these subjects. I was fortunate in having as one of my instructors Professor Joseph B. Steere, then at the head of the Department of Zoölogy. Professor Steere, who had been a great traveller, at times entertained his classes with wonderfully interesting tales of adventure on the Amazon and in the Andes, Peru, Formosa, the Philippines and the Dutch Moluccas. My ambition was fired by his stories and when in the spring of 1886 he announced his intention of returning to the Philippines the following year to take up and prosecute anew zoölogical work which he had begun there in 1874, offering to take with him a limited number of his students who were to have the benefit of his knowledge of Spanish and of his wide experience as a traveller and collector, and were in turn to allow him to work up their collections after their return to the United States, I made up my mind to go.

I was then endeavouring to get through the University on an allowance of $375 per year and was in consequence not overburdened with surplus funds. I however managed to get my life insured for $1500 and to borrow $1200 on the policy, and with this rather limited sum upon which to draw purchased an outfit for a year's collecting and sailed with Doctor Steere for Manila. Two other young Americans accompanied him. One of these, Doctor Frank S. Bourns, was, like myself, destined afterwards to play a part in Philippine affairs which was not then dreamed of by either of us.

We spent approximately a year in the islands. Unfortunately we had neglected to provide ourselves with proper official credentials and as a result we had some embarrassing experiences. We were arrested by suspicious Spanish officials shortly after our arrival and were tried on trumped-up charges. On several subsequent occasions we narrowly escaped arrest and imprisonment.

The unfriendly attitude of certain of our Spanish acquaintances was hardly to be wondered at. They could not believe that sensible, civilized human beings would shoot tiny birds, pay for eggs the size of the tip of one's little finger more than hens' eggs were worth, undergo not a few hardships and run many risks while living in the simplest of native houses on very inadequate food, unless actuated by some hidden purpose. At different times they suspected us of looking for gold deposits, of designing to stir up trouble among the natives, or of being political spies. When Doctor Bourns came back with the American troops in 1898 and I returned as a member of the first Philippine Commission in 1899, this last supposition became a fixed belief with many of our former Spanish acquaintances who still remained in the islands, and they frankly expressed their regret that they had not shot us while they had the chance.

Over against certain unpleasant experiences with those who could not understand us or our work I must set much kind and invaluable assistance rendered by others who could, and did. All in all we spent a most interesting year, visiting eighteen of the more important islands.[1]

Throughout this trip we lived in very close contact with the Filipinos, either occupying the *tribunales*, the municipal buildings of their towns, where they felt at liberty to call and observe us at all hours of the day and night, or actually living in their houses, which in some instances were not vacated by the owners during our occupancy. Incidentally we saw something of several of the wild tribes, including the Tagbanuas of Palawan, the Moros of Joló, Basilan and Mindanao, and the Mangyans of Mindoro.

We experienced many very real hardships, ran not a few serious risks and ended our sojourn with six weeks of fever and starvation in the interior of Mindoro. While we would not have cut short our appointed stay by a day, we were nevertheless delighted when we could turn our faces homeward, and Doctor Bourns and I agreed that we had had quite enough of life in the Philippines.

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[1] Cuyo, Palawan, Balabac, Cagayan de Joló, Joló proper, Basilan, Mindanao, Panay, Guimaras, Negros, Siquijor, Cebu, Bohol, Samar, Leyte, Masbate, Marinduque and Mindoro.

Upon my arrival at my home in Vermont a competent physician told my family that I might not live a week. However, I recuperated so rapidly that I was able to return to the University of Michigan that fall and to complete the work of my senior year. I became a member of the teaching staff of the institution before my graduation.

Little as I suspected it at the time, the tropics had fixed their strangely firm grip on me during that fateful first trip to the Far East which was destined to modify my whole subsequent life. I had firmly believed that if fortunate enough to get home I should have sense enough to stay there, but before six months had elapsed I was finding life at Ann Arbor, Michigan, decidedly prosaic, and longing to return to the Philippines and finish a piece of zoölogical work which I knew was as yet only begun.

Doctor Bourns, like myself, was eager to go back, and we set out to raise $10,000 to pay the expenses of a two-years collecting tour, in the course of which we hoped to visit regions not hitherto penetrated by any zoölogist. Times were then getting hard, and good Doctor Angell, the president of the university, thought it a great joke that two young fellows like ourselves should attempt to raise so considerable a sum to be spent largely for our own benefit. Whenever he met me on the street he used to ask whether we had obtained that $10,000 yet, and then shake with laughter. One of the great satisfactions of my life came when, on a beautiful May morning in 1890, I was able to answer his inquiry in the affirmative.

He fairly staggered with amazement, but promptly recovering himself warmly congratulated me, and with that kindly interest which he has always shown in the affairs of young men, asked how he could help us. Through his kindly offices and the intervention of the State Department we were able to obtain a royal order from the Spanish government which assured us a very different reception on our return to the Philippines in August from that which had been accorded us on the occasion of our first visit to the islands.

There was now revealed to us a pleasing side of Spanish character which we had largely missed during our first visit. Satisfied as to our identity and as to the motives which actuated us, the Spanish officials, practically without exception, did everything in their power to assist us and to render our sojourn pleasant and profitable. Our mail was delivered to us at points fifty miles distant from provincial capitals. When our remittances failed to reach us on time, as they not infrequently did, money was loaned to us freely without security. Troops were urged upon us for our protection when we desired to penetrate regions considered to be dangerous. Our Spanish friends constantly offered us the hospitality of their homes and with many of them the offer was more than *pro forma*. Indeed, in several instances it was insisted upon so strongly that we accepted it, to our great pleasure and profit. Officials were quite frank in discussing before us the affairs of their several provinces, and we gained a very clear insight into existing political methods and conditions.

During this trip we lived in even closer contact with the Filipino [1] population than on the occasion of our first visit. Our rapidly growing knowledge of Spanish, and of Visayan, one of the more important native dialects, rendered it increasingly easy for us to communicate with them, gain their confidence and learn to look at things from their view point. They talked with us most frankly and fully about their political troubles.

During this our second sojourn in the Philippines, which lengthened to two years and six months, we revisited the islands with which we had become more or less familiar on our first trip and added six others to the list.[2] We lived for a time among the wild Bukidnons and Negritos of the Negros mountains.

After my companion had gone to Borneo I had the misfortune to contract typhoid fever when alone in Busuanga, and being ignorant of the nature of the malady from which I was suffering, kept on my feet until I could no longer stand, with the natural result that I came uncommonly near paying for my foolishness with my life, and have ever since suffered from resulting physical disabilities. When able to travel, I left the islands upon the urgent recommendation of my physician, feeling that the task which had led me to return there was almost accomplished and sure that my wanderings in the Far East were over. Shortly after my return to the United States I was offered a position as a member of the zoölogical staff of the University of Michigan, accepted it, received speedy promotion, and hoped and expected to end my days as a college professor.

In 1898 the prospect of war with Spain awakened old memories. I fancy that the knowledge then possessed by the average American citizen relative to the Philippines was fairly well typified by that of a good old lady at my Vermont birthplace who had spanked me when I was a small boy, and who, after my first return from the Philippine Islands, said to me, "Deanie, are them Philippians you have been a visitin' the people that Paul wrote the Epistle to?"

I endeavoured to do my part toward dispelling this ignorance. My

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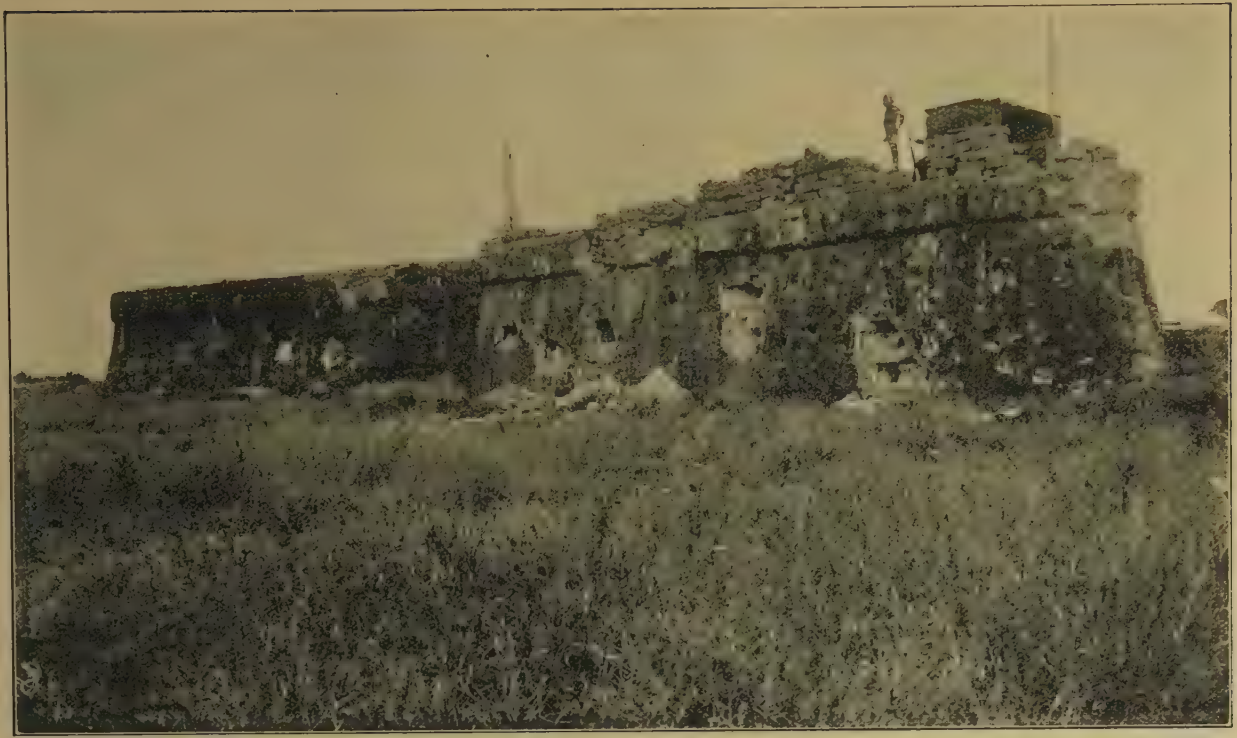
[1] I employ the noun Filipinos to designate collectively the eight civilized, Christianized peoples, called respectively the Cagayans, Ilocanos, Pangasináns, Zambalans, Pampangans, Tagálogs, Bicols and Visayans, or any of them; the adjective Filipino to designate anything pertaining to these peoples, or any of them; the noun Philippines to designate the country, and the adjective Philippine to designate anything pertaining to the country as distinguished from its people.

[2] Busuanga, Culion, Tawi Tawi, Tablas, Romblon and Sibuyan.



Fort San Antonio Abad, showing the Effect of the Fire from Dewey's Fleet.

This fort, which marked the southern and western end of the Spanish line of defences around the city of Manila, was bombarded by the United States fleet as a preliminary to the successful assault of August 13, 1898, on the city. The photograph, although not taken until March, 1899, gives some idea of the havoc wrought by the shells which struck the outer wall. The chief damage, however, was done when they exploded within the fort.

knowledge of Philippine affairs led me strongly to favour armed intervention in Cuba, where similar political conditions seemed to prevail to a considerable extent, and I fear that I was considered by many of my university colleagues something of a "jingo." Indeed, a member of the University Board of Regents said that I ought to be compelled to enlist. As a matter of fact, compulsion would have been quite unnecessary had it not been for physical disability.

My life-long friend and former travelling companion, Doctor Bourns, was not similarly hampered. He promptly joined the army as a medical officer with the rank of major, and sailed for the islands on the second steamer which carried United States troops there. As a natural result of his familiarity with Spanish and his wide acquaintanceship among the Filipinos, he was ordered from the outset to devote his time more largely to political matters than to the practice of his profession. He did all that he could to prevent misunderstandings between Filipinos and Americans. He assisted as an interpreter at the negotiations for the surrender of Manila on August 13, 1898, after taking part in the attack on the city. Later he was given the rather difficult task of suppressing a bad outbreak of smallpox among the Spanish prisoners of war, which he performed with great success. He was finally made chief health officer of Manila, although he continued to devote himself largely to political matters, got numberless deserving Filipinos out of trouble, and rapidly increased his already wide circle of Filipino friends. Through his letters I was kept quite closely in touch with the situation.

Meanwhile I decided that the Philippines were not for me, asked for and obtained leave for study in Europe, and in December 1898 set out for New York to engage passage for myself and my family. I went by way of Washington in order to communicate to President McKinley certain facts relative to the Philippine situation which it seemed to me ought to be brought to his attention.

I believed that there was serious danger of an outbreak of hostilities between Filipinos and Americans, and that such a catastrophe, resulting from mutual misunderstanding, might be avoided if seasonable action were taken. I have since learned how wrong was this latter belief. My previous experience had been almost exclusively with the Visayans and the wild tribes, and the revolution against the United States was at the outset a strictly Tagálog affair, and hence beyond my ken.

President McKinley very kindly gave me all the time I wanted, displayed a most earnest desire to learn the truth, and showed the deepest and most friendly interest in the Filipinos. Let no man believe that then or later he had the slightest idea of bringing about the exploitation of their country. On the contrary, he evinced a most earnest desire to learn what was best for them and then to do it if it lay within his power.

To my amazement, at the end of our interview he asked me whether I would be willing to go to the islands as his personal representative. I could not immediately decide to make such a radical change in my plans as this would involve, and asked for a week's time to think the matter over, which was granted. I decided to go.

Meanwhile, the President had evolved the idea of sending out a commission and asked me if I would serve on it. I told him that I would and left for my home to make preparations for an early departure. A few days later he announced the names of the commissioners. They were Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University; Major-General Elwell S. Otis, then the ranking army officer in the Philippines; Rear-Admiral George Dewey, then in command of the United States fleet in Philippine waters; Colonel Charles Denby, who had for fourteen years served as United States Minister to China, and myself.

Colonel Denby was delayed in Washington by public business. Mr. Schurman and I reached Yokohama on the morning of February 13, and on arrival there learned, to our deep regret, that hostilities had broken out on the fourth instant. We reached Manila on the evening of March 4, but Colonel Denby was unable to join us until April 2. Meanwhile, as we could not begin our work in his absence. I had an exceptional opportunity to observe conditions in the field, of which I availed myself.

I served with the first Philippine Commission until it had completed its work, and was then appointed to the second Philippine Commission without a day's break in my period of service. The members of this latter body were William H. Taft of Ohio; Luke E. Wright of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide of Vermont; Bernard Moses of California, and myself. Briefly stated, the task before us was to establish civil government in the Philippine Islands. After a period of ninety days, to be spent in observation, the commission was to become the legislative body, while executive power continued to be vested for a time in the military.

This condition endured until the 4th of July, 1901, on which day Mr. Taft was appointed civil governor. On September 1, 1901, each of the remaining original members of the commission became an executive officer as well. Mr. Wright was appointed secretary of commerce and police; Mr. Ide, secretary of finance and justice; Mr. Moses, secretary of public instruction, and I myself, secretary of the interior. On the same day three Filipino members were added to the commission: Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Sr. Benito Legarda and Sr. José R. de Luzuriaga.

Until the 16th of October, 1907, the Commission continued to serve as the sole legislative body. It then became the upper house of the Philippine Legislature, the Philippine Assembly, composed of eighty-one elective members, constituting the lower house.[1] I have therefore had a hand in the enactment of all legislation put in force in the Philippine Islands since the American occupation, with the exception of certain laws passed during my few and brief absences.

As secretary of the interior it fell to my lot to organize and direct the operations of a Bureau of Health, a Bureau of Government Laboratories, a Bureau of Forestry, a Bureau of Public Lands, a Bureau of Agriculture, a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, a Mining Bureau and a Weather Bureau. Ultimately, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and the Mining Bureau were incorporated with the Bureau of Government Laboratories to form the Bureau of Science, which continued under my executive control. The Bureau of Agriculture was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction in 1909.

I was at the outset given administrative control of all matters pertaining to the non-Christian tribes, which constitute, roughly speaking, an eighth of the population of the Philippines, and until my resignation retained such control throughout the islands, except in the Moro Province, which at an early day was put directly under the governor-general.

I participated in the organization of civil government in the several provinces of the archipelago, and myself drafted the Municipal Code for the government of the towns inhabited by Filipinos, as well as the Special Provincial Government Act and the Township Government Act for that of the provinces and settlements inhabited chiefly by the non-Christian tribes.

At the outset we did not so much as know with certainty the names of the several wild and savage tribes inhabiting the more remote and inaccessible portions of the archipelago. As I was unable to obtain reliable information concerning them on which to base legislation for their control and uplifting, I proceeded to get such information for myself by visiting their territory, much of which was then quite unexplored.

After this territory was organized into five so-called "Special Government Provinces," some of my Filipino friends, I fear not moved solely by anxiety for the public good, favoured and secured a legislative enactment which made it my official duty to visit and inspect these provinces at least once during each fiscal year. I shall always feel indebted to them for giving me this opportunity to become intimately acquainted with some of the most interesting peoples of the Philippines.

When in 1901 I received the news that a central government was soon to be established, I was in the Sub-province of Lepanto on my first trip through the wilder and less-known portions of northern Luzon. During each succeeding year I have spent from two to four months in travel through the archipelago, familiarizing myself at first hand with local conditions.

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[1] On October 16, 1916, the Philippine Senate, elected as provided for in the Organic Act of 1916, was organized and superseded the Commission as the upper house of the Philippine Legislature. (*Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands*, 1916, p. 3. Cited hereafter as, *Report of the Governor-General.*)

I have frequently taken with me on these inspection trips representatives of the Bureaus of Forestry, Agriculture, Science and Health to carry on practical investigations, and have made it my business to visit and explore little known and unknown regions. There are very few islands of any size or importance which it has not been my privilege to visit.

The organization of an effective campaign against diseases like bubonic plague, smallpox, Asiatic cholera and leprosy in a country where no similar work had ever previously been undertaken, inhabited by people profoundly ignorant of the benefits to be derived from modern methods of sanitation, and superstitious to a degree, promptly brought me into violent conflict with the beliefs and prejudices of a large portion of the Filipino population. A similar result followed the inauguration of an active campaign for the suppression of surra, foot and mouth disease, and rinderpest, which were rapidly destroying the horses and cattle.

From the outset I was held responsible for the enforcement of marine and land quarantine regulations, which were at first very obnoxious to the general public. When the Pure Food and Drugs Act adopted by Congress for the United States was made applicable to the Philippines without any provision for its enforcement, this not altogether pleasant duty was assigned to me.

I did not seek appointment to the Philippine service in the first instance. The political influence at my command has never extended beyond my own vote. During a period of twelve years my removal was loudly and frequently demanded, yet I saw President Schurman, Colonel Denby, General Otis, Admiral Dewey, Commissioner Moses, Governor Taft, Governor-General Wright, Governor-General Ide, Governor-General Smith, Secretary Shuster, Commissioner Tavera, Commissioner Legarda and Governor-General Forbes, all my colleagues on one or the other of the Philippine commissions, leave the service, before my own voluntary retirement on September 15, 1913.

I had long expected a request for my resignation at any time, and had often wished that it might come. Indeed, I once before tendered it voluntarily, only to have President Taft say that he thought I should withdraw it, which I did. I am absolutely without political ambition save an earnest desire to earn the political epitaph, "He did what he could."

During my brief and infrequent visits to the United States I have discovered there widespread and radical misapprehension as to conditions in the Philippines, but have failed to find that lack of interest in them which is commonly said to exist. On the contrary, I have found the American public keenly desirous of getting at the real facts whenever there was an opportunity to do so.

The extraordinary extent to which untrue statements have been accepted at their face value has surprised and deeply disturbed me. I have conversed with three college presidents, each of whom believed that the current expenses of the Philippine government were paid from the United States Treasury.

The preponderance of false and misleading statements about the Philippines is due, it seems to me, primarily to the fact that it is those persons with whom the climate disagrees and who in consequence are invalided home, and those who are separated from the service in the interest of the public good, who return to the United States and get an audience there; while those who successfully adapt themselves to local conditions, display interest in their work and become proficient in it, remain in the islands for long periods during which they are too busy, and too far from home, to make themselves heard.

Incidentally it must be remembered that if such persons do attempt to set forth facts which years of practical experience have taught them, they are promptly accused of endeavouring to save their own bread and butter by seeking to perpetuate conditions which insure them remunerative positions. When I think of the splendid men who have uncomplainingly laid down their lives in the military and in the civil service of their country in these islands, and of the larger number who have given freely of their best years to unselfish, efficient work for others, this charge fills me with indignation.

The only thing that kept me in the Philippine service for so long a time was my interest in the work for the non-Christian tribes and my fear that while my successor was gaining knowledge concerning it which can be had only through experience, matters might temporarily go to the bad. It has been my ambition to bring this work to such a point that it would move on, for a time at least, by its own momentum.

I am now setting forth my views relative to the past and present situation in the islands because I believe that their inhabitants are confronted by a danger graver than any which they have before faced since the time when their fate wavered in the balance, while the question whether the United States should acquire sovereignty over them or should allow Spain to continue to rule them was under consideration.

It is my purpose to tell the plain, hard truth regardless of the effect of such conduct upon my future career. It has been alleged that my views on Philippine problems were coloured by a desire to retain my official position. Nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, no man who has not served for long and sometimes very weary years as a public official, and has not been a target for numerous more or less irresponsible individuals whose hands were filled with mud and who were actuated by a fixed desire to throw it at something, can appreciate as keenly as I do the manifold blessings which attend the life of a private citizen.

I trust that I have said enough to make clear my view point, and now a word as to subject-matter. It is my intention to correct some of the very numerous misstatements which have been made concerning past and present conditions in the Philippines.[1] As public documents have been misused to deceive the American people with reference to the Philippines, and as a new administration is bestowing on Filipinos political offices, and giving them opportunities, for which they are as yet utterly unprepared, thus endangering the results of years of hard, patient, self-sacrificing work performed by experienced and competent men, it becomes necessary to strike home by revealing unpleasant facts which are of record but have not heretofore been disclosed because of the injury to reputations and the wounding of feelings which would result from their publication. In doing this I feel that I am only discharging a duty to the people of the United States, who are entitled to know the truth if the present possibility of Philippine independence is to be seriously considered, and to the several Filipino peoples who are to-day in danger of rushing headlong to their own utter and final destruction.

At the outset I shall discuss the oft-asserted claim that the Filipino leaders were deceived and betrayed by American officials whom they assisted, and that this unpardonable conduct led to the outbreak of active hostilities which occurred just prior to the arrival at Manila of the first Philippine Commission.

I shall then show that these leaders never established a government which adequately protected life and property, or gave to their people peace, happiness or justice, but on the contrary inaugurated a veritable reign of terror under which murder became a governmental institution, while rape, inhuman torture, burying alive and other ghastly crimes were of common occurrence, and usually went unpunished. The data which I use in establishing these contentions are for the most part taken directly from the Insurgent records, in referring to which I employ the war department abbreviation "P. I. R." followed by a number.

I next take up some of the more important subsequent historical events, describing the work of the first Philippine Commission, and showing in what manner the government established by the second Philippine Commission has discharged its stewardship, subsequently

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[1] Worcester referred particularly to misstatements in James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines,* New York, 1912. This book is referred to hereafter as "Blount."

Felipe Buencamino.

Perhaps the most prolific writer on political subjects whom the Philippines have produced. He was at one time a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet and accompanied Aguinaldo's mother and son when they surrendered in order to obtain American protection.

discussing certain as yet unsolved problems which confront the present government, such as that presented by the existence of slavery and peonage, and that of the non-Christian tribes. For the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the physical characteristics of the vast archipelago for which the United States has become responsible, I give some facts as to the islands, their climate, their natural resources and their commercial possibilities. The book closes with a statement setting forth my views as to the present ability of the civilized Cagayans, Ilocanos, Pampangans, Zambals, Pangasináns, Tagálogs, Bicols and Visayans, commonly and correctly called *Filipinos*, to establish, or to maintain when established, a stable government throughout Filipino territory, to say nothing of bringing under just and effective control, and of protecting and civilizing, the people of some 27 non-Christian tribes which constitute an eighth of the population, and occupy approximately half of the territory, of the Philippine Islands.

I wish here to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to Major J. R. M. Taylor, who has translated and compiled the Insurgent[1] records, thereby making available a very large mass of reliable and most valuable information without which a number of chapters of this book would have remained unwritten. Surely no man who bases his statements concerning Filipino rule on the facts set forth in these records can be accused of deriving his information from hostile or prejudiced sources. Of them, Major Taylor says:—

> "No one reading the Insurgent records can fail to be impressed with the difference between the Spanish and the Tagálog documents. Many of the former are doubtless written with a view to their coming into the hands of the Americans, or with deliberate purpose to have them do so, and are framed accordingly. All Tagálog documents, intended only for Filipinos, say much that is not said in the Spanish documents. The orders of the Dictator[2] to his subjects were conveyed in the latter series of documents."[3]

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[1] I use the word "Insurgents" as a proper noun, to designate the Filipinos who took up arms against the United States, hence capitalize it, and the adjective derived from it.

[2] General Aguinaldo.

[3] In his original text, Worcester states in the second paragraph of Chapter II.: "I ask the forbearance of my readers if, in the three chapters which I devote to these matters, I quote documentary evidence at length. When original documents or extracts from them tell a clear and reasonably concise story, I sometimes insert them bodily in the text. In other cases I give my own version of the facts which they set forth, but give the full text in foot-notes. In nearly all instances references are given to sources of documentary information. I greatly regret that Taylor's narrative, with its very numerous supporting documents, is not readily accessible to the student of history. It ought to have been published, but never got beyond the galley-proof stage. In referring to it, I am therefore obliged to use the word 'Taylor' followed by the letters and figures designating the page of this galley proof on which the passage referred to is found. Whenever possible I give the War Department numbers of Insurgent documents (preceded by the letters 'P.I.R.'), but in a few cases can give only the exhibit numbers assigned by Taylor in printing the documents. As his exhibits are serially arranged it is easy to find any one of them. Copies of his work may be found in the War Department and in the office of the Chief of the Philippine Constabulary."

In the present edition many of Worcester's lengthy quotations have been eliminated and replaced by briefer statements of the facts which they contributed to his story. In all instances, however, Worcester's references to his sources of documentary information have been retained. [Ed.]

CHAPTER II

Was Independence Promised?

It has long been the fashion in certain quarters to allege, or to insinuate, that American consuls and naval officers promised the Insurgent leaders that the independence of the Philippines would be recognized by the United States. It has been claimed by some that the coöperation of the Insurgents in the military operations against Manila was sought for and secured. Others say that they were at least *de facto* allies of the United States, and that they were in the end shamelessly betrayed and wantonly attacked.

These are very serious charges. I shall prove, chiefly by the Insurgent records, that each of them is false. Before discussing them, however, I shall briefly review certain historical facts, knowledge of which will be useful in considering them.[1]

In August, 1896, an insurrection against Spain had broken out in the Philippines under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, a resident of Cavite Viejo, who had been a school teacher, and was, at that time, *gobernadorcillo* [2] of his town. It had been terminated by the so-called "Treaty of Biacnabató," signed in Manila on December 15, 1897. This document provided for the surrender of "Don Emilio Aguinaldo, Supreme Chief of the Insurgents in arms," and Don Marciano Llanera and Don Baldomero Aguinaldo, his subordinates, together with their soldiers and arms.

"The Excellent Señor General in Chief" of the Spanish forces was to "provide the necessary means for supporting the lives" of those who surrendered before a certain fixed date. More definitely, the Spanish authorities agreed to pay the Insurgents $800,000 [3] in three instalments, the first of $400,000, and the second and third of $200,000 each.

Aguinaldo and certain other leaders were to take up their residence outside the islands. Their deportation was duly provided for, and Aguinaldo and twenty-six of his companions were taken to Hongkong, on the Spanish steamer *Uranus;* arriving there on December 31, 1897. On January 2, 1898, $400,000 were deposited in the Hongkong Bank, to the credit of Aguinaldo and Co.

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[1] Since the original publication of Worcester's volumes there have appeared a number of important books covering, in whole or in part, the period of which he treats. Numerous citations will be made to these authorities. Scholarly studies of the American-Filipino relations discussed in this chapter will be found in: J. A. Le Roy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I., Ch. iii-iv, Boston, 1914; C. B. Elliott, *The Philippines, To the End of the Military Regime*, Ch. XV, Indianapolis, 1916; M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics*, 1872-1920, Ch. VI., Manila, 1926; and L. H. Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic*, Ch. I., New York, 1926.

[2] A term more or less corresponding to mayor, then applied to the ranking municipal officer of a *pueblo*, or town.

[3] Eight hundred thousand Mexican dollars, the actual value of which constantly fluctuated.

The Insurgent leaders remaining at Biacnabató had a meeting under the presidency of Isabelo Artacho, an Ilocano[1] who was the ranking officer in the absence of Aguinaldo, and requested that the second instalment, of $200,000, be paid to them. The Spanish governor-general, Primo de Rivera, acceded to their request, and they divided the money, although Aguinaldo denied their right to do so, claiming that it should have been sent to Hongkong.

The third payment of $200,000 was apparently never made. Primo de Rivera says that he turned over a check for $200,000 to his successor, General Augustin, in April, 1898; giving as his reason for refusing to pay it to the Insurgents that there seemed to him to be no prospect of its being equitably divided among those who were entitled to receive it under the agreement.

Aguinaldo and his associates claimed that certain reforms were promised by the Spanish government at the time the treaty of Biacnabató was negotiated, and as these measures were not put into effect, they organized a junta or revolutionary committee at Hongkong. It included in its membership a number of Filipino political exiles, then residing at that place.

The men who composed this organization soon fell to quarrelling and it became necessary to come to a definite understanding as to its aims. Under the arrangement finally reached, the junta, as a whole, was charged with the work of propaganda outside of the archipelago; with all diplomatic negotiations with foreign governments; and with the preparation and shipment of such articles as were needed to carry on the revolution in the Philippines. It was to be allowed voice by Aguinaldo's government in any serious question which might arise abroad, and would aid that government in bringing the civil administration of the Philippines to the level of that of the most advanced nations.

Trouble soon arose among the former Insurgent leaders over the control and utilization of the funds deposited in Hongkong. Aguinaldo wished to keep the principal sum intact, and seems to have aroused the resentment of some of his followers by insisting that their living expenses be kept at a minimum. The leading revolutionaries in the Philippines, on the other hand, insisted that the money be divided. One of them, Isabelo Artacho, came to Hongkong and began suit in the supreme court of that colony to compel Aguinaldo to account for the funds which were in his hands. To avoid service in this suit, Aguinaldo secretly departed from Hongkong in April, 1898, accompanied by two close friends. It is said that his destination was Europe.[1]

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[1] The Ilocanos are one of the eight civilized peoples who collectively make up the Filipinos. They number about 1,215,000, and inhabit certain provinces in northern Luzon. See H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, 46-47, Manila, 1917.

Aguinaldo and his companions arrived in Singapore on the day upon which the United States declared war against Spain, April 21, 1898. Taylor's narrative explains the circumstances in which the Filipinos came into contact with the American consul-general at that port, and the nature of their conferences. Taylor wrote:

> Although Aguinaldo and his followers did not appreciate the influence which conditions on the other side of the world might have upon the future of the Philippines, it happened that in Singapore at that time there was an Englishman named Bray[1] who did. He had been a member of the civil service in India, and had lived for some years in the Philippines, but he had fallen upon evil days and was engaged in writing letters to the Singapore *Free Press* upon the Philippines, and in retailing such information as was in his possession concerning them to the United States consul-general in Singapore, Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, for transmittal to Commodore Dewey. Bray heard of the arrival of Aguinaldo and realized what could be done with him, and that if the matter were well handled it might be to his own advantage. He went at once to see Aguinaldo and informed him that the United States consul-general was anxious to see him. He went to the consul-general and informed him of the importance of Aguinaldo, and that he was in Singapore. Aguinaldo had to be persuaded to agree to a meeting. The consul-general was anxious for it, and it took place, according to Aguinaldo, on the night of April 22 (according to Pratt, on the morning of April 24). The statement made by Aguinaldo is probably correct. According to his account book, he paid $11 on April 23, 1898, for a telegram to the Hongkong junta concerning the negotiations 'with America.'
>
> "Aguinaldo knew but little English, Pratt knew no Spanish, so in their interview Bray acted as interpreter. An interpreter who is interested in the subject of the discussion may be a dangerous man. It is impossible to say what he told Aguinaldo. Certainly Pratt did not know; but whatever was said during these conversations it is within the limits of possibility that Pratt may have been made to say by the interpreter more than he intended, and that his statements of what would probably be granted by the United States Government and his expression of good wishes for the cause of Filipino independence may have been translated as assurances and as promises. Bray, who, according to his Filipino former friends, was apt to talk too much, may have talked too much on this occasion, and so the myth of the formal agreement between Aguinaldo on behalf of the

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[1] Taylor, 42 F Z—43 F Z. Taylor's account of the reasons why Aguinaldo left Hongkong is printed *in extenso* in the earlier editions of this book, pp. 22-26. [Ed.] See also, M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics*, 1872-1920, pp. 96-97. (Hereafter referred to as, "Kalaw.")

[2] Mr. H. W. Bray.

Filipino insurgents and Pratt on behalf of the United States grew up, a fiction which Bray himself, with a natural desire to add to his own importance, did his best to circulate."[1]

As we shall see, Bray did not do all of the interpreting at Singapore, and we shall be able to determine with some accuracy what actually transpired there.

We can now consider understandingly the charges made against Pratt and Dewey. It has been claimed over and over again, that Pratt promised Aguinaldo recognition of the independence of the Philippines if he and his people would coöperate with the United States forces against Spain. Aguinaldo himself made the charge in his "Reseña Verídica"[2] in the following words:—

> "On the following day, between 10 and 12 in the morning, we again took up the matter, Consul Pratt saying that the admiral had answered my inquiry by saying that the United States would at least recognize the independence of the Philippine government under a naval protectorate, but that there was no necessity to put it in writing, as the words of the admiral and the American consul were sacred and would be fulfilled, not being like those of the Spaniards, and finally, that the Government of North America was a very honourable Government, a very just and very powerful one."[3]

On April 27, 1898, Pratt telegraphed the Secretary of State as follows:—

> "General Aguinaldo gone my instance Hongkong arrange with Dewey coöperation insurgents Manila.
>
> "PRATT."

On the 28th he wrote the Secretary, explaining how he had come to meet Aguinaldo, and stating just what he had done. He said:—

> "At this interview, after learning from General Aguinaldo the state of an object sought to be obtained by the present insurrectionary movement, which, though absent from the Philippines, he was still directing, I took it upon myself, whilst explaining that I had no authority to speak for the Government, to point out the danger of continuing independent action at this stage; and, having convinced him of the expediency of coöperating with our fleet, then at Hongkong, and obtained the assurance of his willingness to proceed thither and confer with Commodore Dewey to that end, should the latter so desire, I telegraphed the Commodore the same day as follows, through our consul-general at Hongkong:—

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[1] Taylor, 42 F Z—43 F Z. Bray later became a sort of adviser and press agent for the Insurgents, with headquarters at Hongkong. He was eventually paid $5,000 by order of Aguinaldo. *Ibid.*

[2] For the history of this document, see pp. 110-111, *infra.*

[3] P. I. R., 1300. 2.

" 'Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general coöperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph.

" 'PRATT.' "

The Commodore's reply read thus:—

" 'Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.

" 'DEWEY.' "

Pratt adds:—

"I received it late at night, and at once communicated to General Aguinaldo, who, with his aide-de-camp and private secretary, all under assumed names, I succeeded in getting off by the British steamer *Malacca,* which left here on Tuesday the 26th.

"Just previous to his departure, I had a second and last interview with General Aguinaldo, the particulars of which I shall give you by next mail.

"The general impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability, and courage, and worthy the confidence that had been placed in him.

"I think that in arranging for his direct coöperation with the commander of our forces, I have prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.

"If this course of mine meets with the Government's approval, as I trust it may, I shall be fully satisfied; to Mr. Bray, however, I consider there is due some special recognition for most valuable services rendered.

"How that recognition can best be made I leave to you to decide.

"I have, etc." [1]

It will be noted that Pratt explained to Aguinaldo that he had no authority to speak for the government; that there was no mention in the cablegrams between Pratt and Dewey of independence or indeed of any conditions on which Aguinaldo was to coöperate, these details being left for future arrangement with Dewey; and that Pratt thought that he had prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.

The particulars as to the second and last interview between Aguinaldo and Pratt were embodied in the following letter:—

"No. 213. CONSULATE-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

"SINGAPORE, April 30, 1898.

"SIR: Referring to my dispatch No. 212, of the 28th instant, I have the honor to report that in the second and last interview I had with Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo on the eve of his departure for Hongkong, I enjoined upon him the necessity, under Commodore Dewey's direction, of exerting absolute control over his forces in the Philippines, as no excesses on their part would be tolerated by the American

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[1] Senate Document 62, part 1, Fifty-fifth Congress, Third Session, p. 341 *et seq.*

THE SAN JUAN BRIDGE.

This bridge is the one near which the first shot was fired when hostilities began between Americans and Filipinos.

Government, the President having declared that the present hostilities with Spain were to be carried on in strict accord with modern principles of civilized warfare.

"To this General Aguinaldo fully assented, assuring me that he intended and was perfectly able, once on the field, to hold his followers, the insurgents, in check and lead them as our commander should direct.

"The general stated that he hoped the United States would assume protection of the Philippines for at least long enough to allow the inhabitants to establish a government of their own, in the organization of which he would desire American advice and assistance.

"These questions I told him I had no authority to discuss.

"I have, etc.,

"E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul." [1]

In a subsequent communication written on July 28, 1898, Pratt made the following statement:—

"I declined even to discuss with General Aguinaldo the question of the future policy of the United States with regard to the Philippines, that I held out no hopes to him of any kind, committed the government in no way whatever, and, in the course of our confidences, never acted upon the assumption that the Government would coöperate with him—General Aguinaldo—for the furtherance of any plans of his own, nor that, in accepting his said coöperation, it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which he might put forward." [2]

In refutation of the truth of this statement, it has been declared that at a meeting subsequently held in the American consulate at Singapore by the local Filipino colony and their friends, Pratt had made a speech which virtually confirmed statements of a Dr. Santos that Aguinaldo and Pratt had arranged a program to secure Philippine independence under the protection of the United States.[3] It happens, however, that Dr. Santos himself forwarded his speech, and his version of Pratt's reply thereto, in a letter to Aguinaldo, dated Singapore, June 9, 1898. These documents describe an hilarious party of jubilation marked by a free use of alcoholic beverages. The speeches were made in French, and there again arises the question of the honesty and accuracy of their translation. Even accepting Dr. Santos' version of what was said, however, there is little evidence that the American official had promised Aguinaldo independence when he arranged for him to confer with Dewey.[4]

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[1] Senate Document 62, Part 1, Fifty-fifth Congress, Third Session. Pp. 342-343.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 358; also P. I. R., 496.

[3] Blount, pp. 11-12.

[4] An excerpt from Dr. Santos' letter and his version of the two speeches are printed in Worcester, pp. 31-33. They appear in full in P. I. R., 516. 4. [Ed.]

Dr. Santos in his speech did resort to a stereotyped Filipino procedure so very commonly employed that those of us who have dealt much with his people have learned to meet it almost automatically. It consists in referring to one's having said just exactly what one did not say, and then if one fails to note the trap and avoid it, in claiming that because one did not deny the allegation one has admitted its truth. Aguinaldo himself later repeatedly resorted to this procedure in his dealings with Dewey and others. In the present instance Santos employed it rather cleverly when he expressed the hope that the United States would "continue to support the programme agreed upon in Singapore, between your Excellency and General Aguinaldo, that is to say, the independence of the Philippine Islands under an American protectorate."

Now if this was agreed to, Aguinaldo later constantly violated his part of the agreement, for we shall see that he stated over and over again, in correspondence with members of the junta and others, that a protectorate would be considered only if absolute independence finally proved unattainable, but there is no reason to believe that any such agreement was made.

Dr. Santos read his speech to Mr. Pratt in French. Blount implies, whether rightly or wrongly I do not know, that Pratt's knowledge of French was poor. At all events Pratt in his reply made not the slightest reference to the hope expressed by Santos that the United States would continue to support the programme which Santos said had been agreed upon between Pratt and Aguinaldo, and claim of a promise of independence based on these speeches must obviously be abandoned. There is no doubt that Pratt personally sympathized with the ambitions of the Filipino leaders, and openly expressed his sympathy on this and other occasions, but to do this was one thing and to have attempted to compromise his government would have been another and very different one. The shrewd Filipinos with whom he was dealing understood this difference perfectly well.

It is a regrettable fact that there exists some reason to believe that his sympathy was not purely disinterested. Aguinaldo claims that Pratt wished to be appointed "representative of the Philippines in the United States to promptly secure the official recognition of our independence" and that he promised him "a high post in the customs service."[1]

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[1] "The Consul—after telling me that, before arriving in Hong Kong harbor, a launch would be sent by the Admiral to secretly take us to the North American squadron, a secrecy which pleased me also, as it would avoid giving publicity to my acts—then advised me that I should appoint him the representative of the Philippines in the United States to promptly secure the official recognition of our independence. I answered that whenever the Philippine government should be formed, I would nominate him for the office he desired, although I considered that but small recompense for his aid, and that in case of our having the good fortune to secure our independence I would bestow upon him a high post in the customs service besides granting the commercial advantages and the participation in the expenses of the war which the Consul asked for his Government in Washington, since the Filipinos agreed in advance to what is here stated, considering it a proper testimonial of gratitude."—P. I. R., 1300. 2.

Supporters of the opinion that Pratt led Aguinaldo to believe that the United States had promised Philippine independence have also made much of the fact that Pratt forwarded to the State Department a proclamation prepared by Insurgent leaders in Hongkong for distribution in the Philippines.[1] The history of this "proclamation," which was never issued, was as follows:

On May 16, 1898, J. M. Basa, a Filipino, who had lived in Hongkong since 1872, on account of his connection with the troubles of that year, wrote letters[2] to a number of friends recommending the widest possible circulation of a proclamation enclosed therewith, as an aid to the American policy in the Philippines "in the war against the tyrannical friars and the Spaniards."

With these letters there were sent two different proclamations, each beginning with the words "Fellow Countrymen." The first one continues:—

> "Divine Providence places us in a position to secure our independence, and this under the freest form to which all individuals, all people, all countries, may aspire.
>
> "The Americans, more for humanity than for self-interest, attentive to the complaints of so many persecuted Filipinos, find it opportune to extend to our Philippines their protective mantle, now that they find themselves obliged to break their friendship with the Spanish people, because of the tyranny they have exercised in Cuba, causing all Americans, with whom they have great commercial relations, enormous damages.
>
> "At this moment an American fleet is prepared to go to the Philippines.
>
> "We, your fellow-countrymen, fear that you will make use of your arms to fire upon the Americans. No, brothers; do not make such a mistake; rather (shoot) kill yourselves than treat our liberators as enemies.
>
> "Do not pay attention to the decree of Primo de Rivera, calling on you to enlist for the war, for that will cost you your lives; rather die than act as ingrates toward our redeemers, the Americans.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> "Note well that the Americans have to attack by sea, at the same time avoiding reënforcements which may come from Spain; therefore the insurrection must attack by land. Perhaps you will have more

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[1] Blount, p. 9.

[2] The following is one of them:—

H. Kong, May 16, 1898.

"Senor Don José Enrique Basa:

"My dear Enrique: As an aid to the American policy in the Philippines,—America being the most liberal and humanitarian nation in the world,—I earnestly recommend the widest possible circulation of the proclamation which I send herewith in order that the Americans may be supported in the war against the tyrannical friars and the Spaniards who have connived with them, and that public order, so necessary under the present conditions, be preserved.

"Thy relative, twenty-six years an emigrant.

(Signed) "J. M. Basa."
P. I. R., 1204—10.

than sufficient arms, as the Americans have arms, and will find the means to aid you.

"Whenever you see the American flag, bear in mind that they are our redeemers."[1]

On the margin is written: "Viva, for America with the Philippines!"

Apparently what Basa here means by independence is independence from Spain, for it is known that he was in favour of annexation to the United States, and in the second proclamation we find the following:—

> "This is the best opportunity which we have ever had for contriving that our country (all the Philippine Archipelago) may be counted as another Star in the Great Republic of the United States, great because of its wisdom, its wealth, and its constitutional laws.
>
> "Now is the time to offer ourselves to that great nation. With America we shall have development in the broadest sense (of advancement) in civilization.
>
> "With America we shall be rich, civilized and happy.
>
> "Fellow patriots, add your signatures to those which have already been given. Explain to all our fellow countrymen the benefits of this change, which will be blessed by Heaven, by men and by our children.
>
> "Viva America with the Philippines! ! !"[2]

The letters were undoubtedly given to Aguinaldo for delivery on his arrival. They were never delivered, and it is reasonable to suppose, especially as Basa, who was a man of importance and means, was a member of the group who desired annexation to the United States, that Aguinaldo took the letters along in order to avoid a rupture with him and then quietly suppressed them. Obviously, however, he sent or gave a copy of the first one to Pratt, presumably without the written words: "Viva, for America with the Philippines!"

And now comes a bit of evidence as to what occurred at Singapore which I consider incontrovertible. Aguinaldo returned promptly to Hongkong and on May 4, 1898, a meeting of the junta was held. The minutes of this meeting,[3] signed by each of the several Filipinos present, form a part of the Insurgent records which have come into the possession of the United States Government. They state among other things that:—

> "The temporary Secretary read the minutes of the preceding meeting, which were approved. The temporary President reported that D. Emilio Aguinaldo had just arrived from Singapore and it became necessary for him to take possession of the office to which he has been elected."

After the transaction of some further business Aguinaldo was summoned, appeared at the meeting, and was duly installed as President. Then:—

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[1] P. I. R., 1204–10.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1204–10.

[3] *Ibid.*, 53–2.

> "The President described the negotiations which took place during his absence in Singapore with the American Consul of that English colony. Both agreed that the President should confer with the Admiral commanding the American squadron in Mirs Bay, and if the latter should accept his propositions, advantageous, in his judgment, to the Philippines, he would go to said country in one of the cruisers which form the fleet for the purpose of taking part in the present events. And as he did not find the Admiral, he thought it well to have an interview with the American Consul of this colony on the day of his arrival, but was not satisfied with such interview.
>
> "Considering the critical conditions in the Philippines at present, he begged the committee to discuss the advisability of his going to said islands with all the leaders of prominence in the last rebellion residing in this colony, in case the Admiral gave them an opportunity to do so."

Note that there is here absolutely not one word of any promise of independence made to Aguinaldo by Pratt or any one else. Is it conceivable that Aguinaldo in describing "the negotiations which took place during his absence in Singapore with the American Consul of the English Colony" would, by any chance, have failed to inform his associates in Hongkong of such an extraordinary and fortunate occurrence as the promising by Mr. Pratt and Admiral Dewey that the United States would recognize Philippine independence?

Sandico,[1] Garchitorena and Apacible thought that Aguinaldo ought to go. Aguinaldo, however, proposed that a committee

> "under charge of the competent chiefs authorized in writing by him, should go to the Philippines to intervene, after a conference with the Admiral, in these important questions; such means, in his opinion, should be first employed to ascertain in an authentic manner what the intentions of the United States in regard to that country are; and if his intervention is absolutely necessary, he would not object to go at once to the Philippines, endeavouring by all the means in his power to remedy the critical condition of the country, to which he had offered, and always would willingly offer, to sacrifice his life."

Why adopt means to learn from the admiral what the intentions of the United States were in regard to the Philippines if both he and Pratt had already promised recognition of independence?

> "Srs. Sandico, Garchitorena, Gonzaga[2] and Apacible replied that they were fully convinced the Admiral of the American squadron would furnish the President all the arms which he might desire, since the former was convinced that the fleet could do nothing in the Philippines unless it were used in conjunction with the insurgents in the

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[1] Teodoro Sandico, an influential Tagálog leáder, who spoke English well and afterward served as a spy while employed by the Americans as an interpreter.

[2] Sr. Gracio Gonzaga, a prominent Filipino lawyer of the province of Cagayan.

development of their plans of war against the Spanish government. . . . The authority to treat which the President desired to give to the other chiefs, without reflecting at all upon their personal qualifications, they did not believe would be as efficacious as his personal intervention which is necessary in grave affairs, such as those the subject of discussion; there would be no better occasion than that afforded them to insure the landing of the expeditionary forces on those islands and to arm themselves at the expense of the Americans and to assure the situation of the Philippines in regard to our legitimate aspirations against those very people. The Filipino people, unprovided with arms, would be the victims of the demands and exactions of the United States; but, provided with arms, would be able to oppose themselves to them, struggling for independence, in which consists the true happiness of the Philippines. And they finished by saying that it made no difference if the Spanish government did demand the return of the ₱400,000, and if the demand were allowed in an action, since the object of the sum would be obtained by the Admiral furnishing the Filipinos the arms which they required for the struggle for their legitimate aspirations."[1]

Here, then, was a definite plan to obtain arms from the Americans to be used if necessary "against those very people" later.

"The President, with his prestige in the Philippines, would be able to arouse those masses to combat the demands of the United States, if they colonized that country, and would drive them, if circumstances rendered it necessary, to a Titanic struggle for their independence, even if they should succumb in shaking off the yoke of a new oppressor. If Washington proposed to carry out the fundamental principles of its constitution, there was no doubt that it would not attempt to colonize the Philippines, or even to annex them. It was probable then that it would give them independence and guarantee it; in such case the presence of the President was necessary, as he would prevent dissensions among the sons of the country who sought office, who might cause the intervention of European powers, an intervention which there was no reason to doubt would be highly prejudicial to the interests of the country. . . . What injury could come to the Philippines, even if we admitted that the Admiral would not give arms to the President on account of his refusal to sign a document prejudicial to the country, after he had taken all means to provide for her defence? None. Such an act of the President could not be censured, but, on the other hand, would be most meritorious, because it would be one proof more of his undoubted patriotism."

Not one word of any promise of independence do we find in this remarkable document. On the contrary it furnishes conclusive proof that no such promise had been made and that the future relations between Filipinos and Americans were still completely uncertain.

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[1] This last statement is convincing evidence that Aguinaldo and his companions regarded the money paid to them by Primo de Rivera as a public trust and that they had endeavored to keep the $400,000 intact for the purpose of carrying on the revolution at the first favorable opportunity. [Ed.]

And now comes some direct evidence. Bray and St. Clair, the latter the editor of the Insurgent organ in Singapore,[1] were present on the occasion when independence was said to have been promised by Pratt. Bray subsequently declared in the most positive terms that it was promised. St. Clair wrote him a letter taking him roundly to task for this claim, in the following very interesting terms:—

> "I felt it to be my duty to let Pratt know that you still hold that you and Santos have evidence that will controvert his, (and) he was, of course, extremely disappointed, because he (is) quite aware of what took place in Spanish, and as to turning of his conversation into a pretense of agreement he knows nothing. He says very truly: 'My own party, the Democrats, will say if they read this book—If this man takes it upon himself to be a Plenipotentiary without authority, we had better not employ him any more—I frankly cannot understand your action, as to its unwisdom I have no doubt at all.
>
> "Admiral Dewey goes home, it is believed, to advise the President on Naval and Colonial Affairs, he knows exactly what did take place and what did not, and I should know if he had any ground to think that the slightest promise was made by Pratt to Aguinaldo he would declare it unauthorized and decline to sanction it. I am certain Pratt reported what he supposed took place accurately; he had no surety on what you might have said, naturally.
>
> "And, curiously, you never mentioned to me anything of the agreement as having taken place then, nor in the paper you communicated to me was there any mention of one, nor did Pratt know of any. It is only more recently that the fiction took shape. 'The wish father to the thought' or the statement repeated till it has become believed by the—,[2] this is common.
>
> "Now I would like to urge you, from the practical point of view, to drop any such foolishness. The vital thing, and nothing else counts, is what Dewey said and did when he at last met Aguinaldo. That, that, that, is the thing, all else is empty wind. . . . Sink everything into Dewey-Aguinaldo coöperation, that was on both sides honest even if it did not imply any actual arrangement, which, of course, Dewey himself could not make. That here you have the facts,—undenied—incontrovertible." [3]

The following letter of Bray to Aguinaldo, dated January 12, 1899, seems to me to throw much light on the question of how these claims relative to the promised recognition of Filipino independence sometimes originated and were bolstered up:—

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[1] The Singapore *Free Press*.

[2] There is an illegible word in the original.

[3] P. I. R., 406-5.

"With regard to your proclamation, there is still a trump card to be played. Did you not say that the basis of any negotiation in Singapore was the Independence of the Philippines under an American protectorate? This is what Consul Pratt telegraphed and to which Dewey and Washington agreed; as I figured up the 'price' of the telegram, I know very well what occurred, and I am ready to state it and to swear to it when the proper time comes. There are five of us against one in the event of Consul Pratt receiving instructions to deny it. Furthermore, Mr. St. Clair knows what happened and I am certain that he also would testify. St. Clair still has the rough draft as an historical relic, and St. Clair is a true and loyal friend of yours, as is your humble servant."[1]

The utter unscrupulousness of Bray is shown by his claim that St Clair would confirm his false statements, made as it was after receiving St. Clair's letter above quoted.

But Bray did not wait for Aguinaldo to play this trump card. He tried to play it himself by cabling Senator Hoar, on the same day, that as the man who introduced General Aguinaldo to the American government through the consul at Singapore he was prepared to swear that the conditions under which Aguinaldo promised to coöperate with Dewey were independence under a protectorate.[2]

Let us now trace Aguinaldo's subsequent movements, and see what promises, if any, were made to him by Wildman and Dewey. He had returned to Hongkong with two companions, all travelling under assumed names. Only his most trusted friends among the members of the junta were at first allowed to know where he was living.

His situation was a difficult one. It was necessary for him to come to some sort of a temporary arrangement with Artacho, if he was to avoid legal difficulties, and to reëstablish himself with some of his companions, who had accused him of deserting with the intention of going to Europe to live on money which belonged to them. When harmony had been temporarily restored through the good offices of Sandico, Aguinaldo had an interview with Consul General Wildman. He has since claimed that Wildman, too, promised him independence, but the truth seems to be that he himself said he was anxious to become an American citizen. This being impossible, he wanted to return to the Philippines and place himself under Dewey's orders. He wanted to

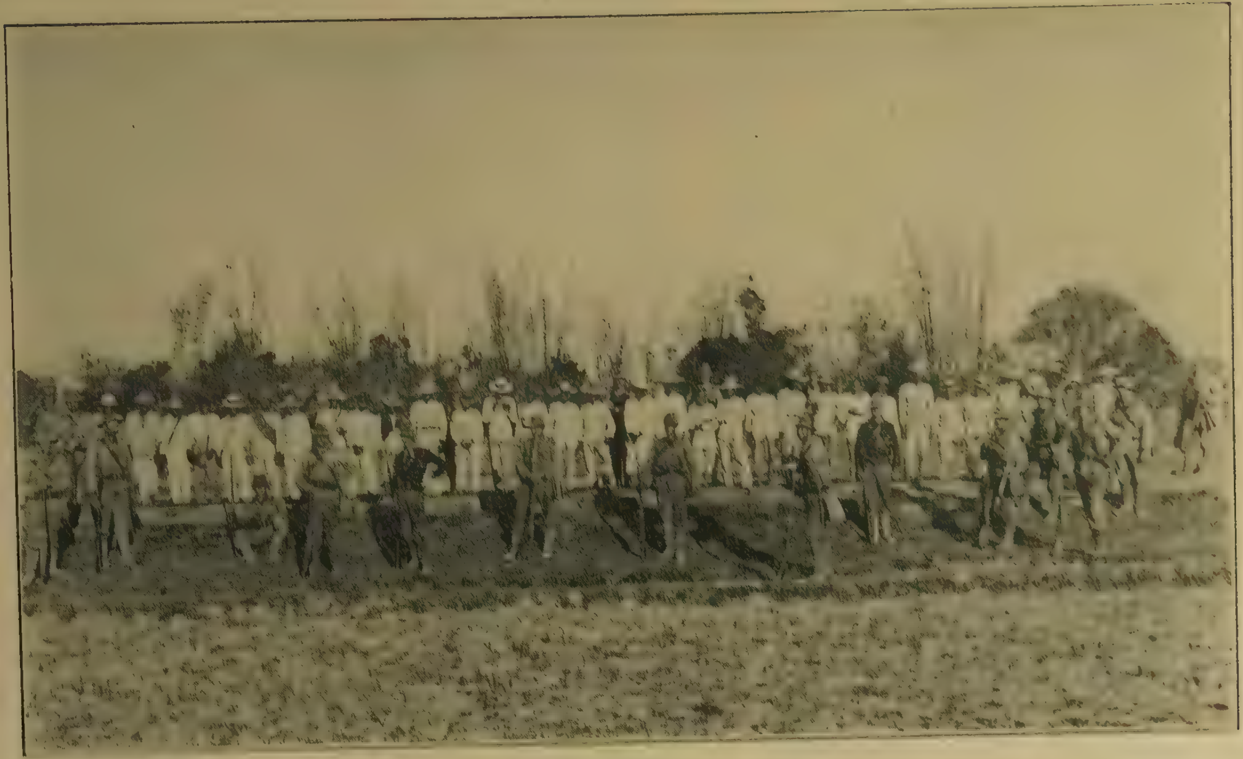
[1] P. I. R., 398. 9.

[2] "Hongkong, 12 Jan. 1899, —2 p.m.

"Senator Hoar, Washington.

"As the man who introduced General Aguinaldo to the American government through the consul at Singapore, I frankly state that the conditions under which Aguinaldo promised to coöperate with Dewey were independence under a protectorate. I am prepared to swear to this. The military party suborned correspondents are deceiving the American nation by means of malevolent lying statements. If your powerful influence does not change this insensate policy there will be a hopeless conflict with the inevitable results disastrous for the Americans. "Bray."

P. I. R., 853–4.



Insurgent Prisoners.

On the day of the Polo fight in the province of Bulacan these Insurgent soldiers lay in a trench and fired into a charging company of American troops until the latter came in on top of them. They were taken prisoners, sent to Manila and humanely treated there. This photograph was taken as they were being marched down the railroad track to the Manila train.

help throw off the yoke of Spain, and this done, would abide by the decision of the United States as to the fate of the Philippines.[1]

Any claim that Aguinaldo had been promised independence by Wildman, or, indeed, that the latter had been allowed to know that the Filipinos desired it, seems to me to be negatived, not only by Wildman's own statements, but by a letter from Agoncillo to Aguinaldo written on August 5, 1898, in which he says:—

> "The American consul left my house to-day at 3 o'clock, as I had requested an interview with him before his departure, and I was unable to go to the Consulate on account of the swelling of my feet. From our conversation I infer that independence will be given to us. I did not, however, disclose to him our true desires. . . . Said consul approved my telegram to McKinley, which has been sent to-day through him, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. If they accept our representative in the commission, we may arrive at a friendly understanding, and it will enable us to prepare for the fight in case they refuse to listen to our request. On the other hand, if at the very beginning they refuse to admit our representative, we will at once be in a position to know what should be done, *i.e.* to prepare for war."[2]

On May 4, 1898, the Hongkong junta voted that Aguinaldo ought to go to the Philippines, and go he did. It would seem that he at first gave up the idea of joining Dewey, for on May 11 he wrote a cipher letter, giving minute directions for the preparation of signals to assist his ship in making land, by day or by night, at Dingalan Bay on the east coast of Luzon; directing the capture of the town of San Antonio, just back of Capones Islands, in Zambales, and ending with the words: "We will surely arrive at one of the two places above mentioned, so you must be prepared."

Something led him again to change his mind, and he finally sailed on the *McCulloch*.

In his "Reseña Verídica" written later for political purposes, Aguinaldo has definitely claimed that Dewey promised him that the United States would recognize the independence of the Filipino people. I will let him tell his own story, confronting his statements with those of the admiral.

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[1] "Then Aguinaldo had an interview with the United States consul in Hongkong, in which he told him that he was anxious to become an American citizen, but this being impossible, he desired to be allowed to return to the Philippines and place himself under the orders of Commodore Dewey. According to the brother of that Consul, who certainly must have had opportunities for knowing the facts in the case, he made no demands for independence, but said that he hoped that the Americans would not leave the Filipinos to their fate, but would annex the Philippines and protect them against the Spaniards. He promised the Consul that he would fight with the Americans and not attempt to foment a revolution against the United States. His highest expressed aim was to throw off the Spanish yoke, and, that once accomplished, he would abide by the decision of the United States as to the ultimate disposition of the Philippines. If Aguinaldo had expressed his real intentions of obtaining arms and using them only for his own purposes, and, if he found it expedient, against the United States, it is not to be thought that he would have been returned to the Philippines on a United States vessel." (Taylor, 44 FZ.)

[2] P. I. R. 471. 7.

"May 19, 1898.

"The *McCulloch* started at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 17th of May for the Philippines; we anchored, between twelve and one o'clock on the afternoon of the 19th, in the waters of Cavite, and immediately the launch of the Admiral—with his aid and private secretary—came to convey me to the *Olympia*, where I was received, with my aid, Sr. Leyva, with the honors of a general, by a section of marine guards." [1]

Relative to this matter, Admiral Dewey has testified: [2]

"*The Chairman.* You, of course, never saluted the flag?

"*Admiral Dewey.* Certainly not; and I do not think I ever called Aguinaldo anything but Don Emilio; I don't think I ever called him 'General.'

"*The Chairman.* And when he came on board ship was he received with any special honors at the side?

"*Admiral Dewey.* Never."

The "Reseña Verídica" continues:—

"The Admiral received me in a salon, and after greetings of courtesy I asked him 'if all the telegrams relative to myself which he had addressed to the Consul at Singapore, Mr. Pratt, were true.' He replied in the affirmative, and added, 'that the United States had come to the Philippines to protect its natives and free them from the yoke of Spain.'

"He said, moreover, that 'America was rich in territory and money, and needed no colonies,' concluding by assuring me, 'to have no doubt whatever about the recognition of Philippine independence by the United States.' Thereupon he asked me if I could get the people to arise against the Spaniards and carry on a rapid campaign." [3]

As we have seen, Dewey sent only one telegram to Pratt about Aguinaldo. It merely directed that the latter be sent.

"I then expressed to him my profound acknowledgement for the generous help which the United States was giving the Filipino people, as well as my admiration for the magnificence and goodness of the American people. I also stated to him that 'before leaving Hongkong, the Filipino Colony had held a meeting, at which was discussed and considered the possibility that—after defeating the Spaniards—the Filipinos might have a war with the Americans, if they should refuse to recognize our independence, who were sure to defeat us because they should find us tired out, poor in ammunitions and worn out in the war against the Spaniards,' requesting that he pardon my frankness.

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[1] P. I. R., 1300. 2; Aguinaldo y Famy, Emilio, *Reseña Verídica de la Revolusión Filipina*, Nueva Cáceres, 1899.

[2] Senate Document No. 331, part 3, 57th Congress, 1st session, pp. 2928, 2941.

[3] P. I. R., 1300. 2.

"The Admiral replied that he 'was delighted at my sincerity, and believed that both Filipinos and Americans should treat each other as allies and friends, clearly explaining all doubts for the better understanding between both parties,' and added that, 'so he had been informed, the United States would recognize the independence of the Filipino people, guaranteed by the word of honor of the Americans, —more binding than documents which may remain unfulfilled when it is desired to fail in them as happened with the compacts signed by the Spaniards!' "[1] . . .

Further on, in the same document, Aguinaldo advances the claim that on the occasion of the visit of General Anderson and Admiral Dewey the latter again promised him independence.[2]

Admiral Dewey has testified as follows, concerning the recognition of Philippine independence by him:—

"*The Chairman.* You remember the question of your recognizing his republic was a good deal discussed and you wrote me a letter, which I read in the senate. Of course, I am only asking now about what you said in the letter. There was no recognition of the republic?

"*Admiral Dewey.* Never. I did not think I had any authority to do it and it never occurred to me to do it. There was a sort of a reign of terror; there was no government. These people had got power for the first time in their lives and they were riding roughshod over the community. The acts of cruelty which were brought to my notice were hardly credible. I sent word to Aguinaldo that he must treat his prisoners kindly, and he said he would."

He has further testified that he never as much as heard of independence until the appearance of Aguinaldo's proclamation of June 15, 1898:—

"*Admiral Dewey.* . . . Then when I heard that our troops were coming I asked him to withdraw his troops from Cavite and make room for our men. He demurred at this, but finally withdrew and established headquarters across the bay at a place called Bacoor, from which place on the 15th of June he sent me a proclamation declaring the independence of the Philippines.

"*The Chairman.* Was that the first?

"*Admiral Dewey.* That was the first intimation; the first I had ever heard of independence of the Philippines.

"*The Chairman.* He had said something to you—

"*Admiral Dewey.* Not a word. He had done what I told him. He was most obedient; whatever I told him to do he did. I attached so little importance to this proclamation that I did not even cable its contents to Washington, but forwarded it through the mails. I never dreamed that they wanted independence."

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[1] P. I. R., 1300. 2.

[2] Taylor, 4 MG., E.; quoted in earlier editions.

Remembering that Admiral Dewey was not being interrogated as to the statements of the "Reseña Verídica," it will be seen that he has, nevertheless, covered them fully.

It was my good fortune to be long and intimately associated with Admiral Dewey while serving on the first Philippine commission. He always grew indignant when the subject of any promises relative to independence said to have been made by him was so much as mentioned, and gave to the commission in writing the following:—

> "The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, under date of Sept. 23, published in the *Springfield Republican*, so far as it relates to reported conversations with me, or actions of mine, is a tissue of falsehood. I never, directly or indirectly, promised the Filipinos independence. I never received Aguinaldo with military honors, or recognized or saluted the so-called Filipino flag. I never considered him as an ally, although I did make use of him and the natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards."[1]

As Dewey's allegations flatly contradict those of Aguinaldo, we must choose between the two. While I have no doubt as to where the choice will fall, I will now submit some additional matter of interest. Let us first consider the history of the "Reseña Verídica" in which Aguinaldo makes the charges above quoted. On September 12, 1899, Buencamino wrote of it to Apacible in Hongkong, saying:—

> "This work is entitled 'Reseña Verídica de la Revolución Filipina' in which Don Emilio relates in detail his acts with Admiral Dewey. It has been distributed to the Consuls and you are ordered to reprint it there translated into English and send some copies to the United States, even though only a thousand, if you deem it advisable. Send copies also to Europe, Señor Agoncillo taking charge of the publication. If the Agent you may have selected for the United States should still be there, it would be advisable for him to take a copy of the pamphlet with him for its publication.
>
> "This is an order of the Government which I take pleasure in transmitting to you for due execution."[2]

But there was a change of heart about giving the pamphlet to the consuls, for under date of September 30 Buencamino wrote:—

> "We have not distributed them here in order that Otis may not counteract the effects that we desire to produce with his publication, through his usual machinations. Nor do we believe it advisable to make this pamphlet public in those colonies before your arrival in the United States."[3]

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[1] Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900. I, p. 121.

[2] P. I. R., 396. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 396. 3.

To this letter he added in cipher the following postscript to Pablo Ocampo, in charge of Aguinaldo's correspondence in Manila:—

> "At last moment—Nota bene:
>
> "Don't deliver any copy of the 'Reseña Verídica' to the Consuls, even though it was so directed in the beginning of the letter. All except one, which is for you, will be sent to Hongkong, Don Pedro de la Viña being bearer of the same, as also of the other documents. The copy intended for you is neither to be divulged nor published, for strict reserve is required until those which are being sent arrive at their destination."[1]

The reason for preserving such secrecy relative to this document until it could reach its destination and work its harm is of course obvious. Its statements were so outrageously false that they would have been instantly and authoritatively contradicted had it been issued seasonably at Manila.

The truth is that Aguinaldo's claim that he had been promised independence was a gradual growth. Let us trace it.

On May 21, he wrote a circular letter to "My dear brother," inviting the recipients and their companions to meet him at once, and arrange the best way to entrap all the enemy in their homes.

In this he says that he has promised the American admiral that they will "carry on modern war" and adds: "Even if a Spaniard surrenders, he must be pardoned and treated well, and then you will see that our reputation will be very good in all Europe, which will declare for our independence; but if we do not conduct ourselves thus, the Americans will decide to sell us or else divide up our territory. As they will hold us incapable of governing our land, we shall not secure our liberty, rather the contrary; our own soil will be delivered over to other hands."[2]

In this letter, written on the very day of the interview at which he subsequently claimed that Admiral Dewey had promised independence, does he make any claim that this had occurred? No, he very distinctly implies the contrary. Is it believable that if he could truly have said "The United States, through its representatives, Dewey and Pratt, has promised to recognize our independence" he would have failed to do so when this would instantly have secured him the vigorous support which he was then uncertain of obtaining? I think not. Aguinaldo was never deceived by the Americans, but his claims relative to independence grew rapidly, and he was soon deceiving his own people.

On May 24th, he issued no less than four proclamations. One of these, doubtless intended to be seen by Americans, made no mention of independence, but said:[3]—

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[1] P. I. R., 461. 4.

[2] P. I. R., 12. 1.

[3] P. I. R., 206. 6.

"The great powerful North American nation has offered its disinterested protection to secure the liberty of this country."

In another proclamation, doubtless intended for a different use, he made the statement that the great North American nation had come to give decisive and disinterested protection, "considering us as sufficiently civilised and capable of governing ourselves." [1] On June 5, having practically gained control of Cavite Province, he felt strong enough to announce that independence would be proclaimed on June 12, and on that date he did proclaim it in a decree.

The Admiral of the American Squadron, with the commanders and officers of his command, was invited to the ceremonies, but none of them went. As it was important for Aguinaldo to have some one there to pose as a representative of the United States, he utilized for this purpose a certain "Colonel" Johnson, an ex-hotel keeper of Shanghai, who was running a cinematograph show. He appeared as Aguinaldo's chief of artillery and the representative of the North American nation.[2]

Even as late as October 3, 1898, Agoncillo in a memorandum addressed to President McKinley did not claim that independence had been promised, but said:—

"As soon as the Spanish-American war began, the American representatives and officials in Singapore, Hongkong, and Manila, invited the natives of the Philippines to assist the American arms, which they did gladly and loyally, as allies, with the conviction that their personality would be recognized, as well as their political, autonomous and sovereign rights." [3]

In it he does, however, claim that the organization of a government independent of America and Spain was accomplished with the tacit consent of the admiral commanding the fleet and with that of the commanding general and the other military and political representatives of the United States in the Philippines,—

"Who, knowing these facts, not only did not object but accepted them as a consummated legal act, and maintained official relations with the new organization, making use thereof in its subsequent actions and for the subsequent development of the campaign, which was consequently brought to such a happy end." [4]

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[1] P. I. R., 43. 5.

[2] Of this extraordinary occurrence Taylor says:—

"Invitations to the ceremony of the declaration of independence were sent to Admiral Dewey; but neither he nor any of his officers were present. It was, however, important to Aguinaldo that some American should be there whom the assembled people would consider a representative of the United States. 'Colonel' Johnson, ex-hotel keeper of Shanghai, who was in the Philippines exhibiting a cinematograph, kindly consented to appear on this occasion as Aguinaldo's Chief of Artillery and the representative of the North American nation. His name does not appear subsequently among the papers of Aguinaldo. It is possible that his position as colonel and chief of artillery was a merely temporary one which enabled him to appear in a uniform which would befit the character of the representative of a great people upon so solemn an occasion." (Taylor, 20 AJ.)

[3] P. I. R., 451. 4.

[4] P. I. R., 451. 4.

Typical Insurgent Trenches.

The Insurgents built long lines of well-constructed trenches from which they could escape without exposing themselves to the fire of the American troops.

This is a second illustration of the stereotyped insurgent procedure of announcing a policy and then claiming that failure to attack it meant acquiescence in it. Admiral Dewey says that he did not even read this proclamation. There was no reason why he should have done so, as it did not deal with matters which he was authorized to settle. He had no instructions relative to the recognition of new governments, and he sent this document to Washington without comment, as he should have done.[1]

Apropos of this claim that American officers tacitly recognized the Insurgent government, certain passages from an unsigned document in the handwriting of Mabini, prepared about July 15, 1898, are of interest. Mabini, speaking of the attitude of the Americans, says, "Notwithstanding all this and in spite of their protestations of friendship, they have always refused to recognize that government." Also, "If they persist in refusing to recognize our government, we shall see ourselves compelled to come to an agreement with any other government that will consent to recognize us on friendly terms."[2]

This statement is certainly sufficiently specific as to whether Americans had recognized the Insurgent government on or before the date when it was written.

Let us now consider the relations between Aguinaldo and General Anderson.

Blount attempts to make much of a cablegram, sent by the latter, in which, after describing the Filipinos, he adds, "The people expect independence." Blount says:—

> "That cablegram of July 22nd, above quoted, in which the commanding general of our forces in the Philippines advises the Washington Government, 'The people expect independence' is the hardest thing in the public archives of our government covering that momentous period for those who love the memory of Mr. McKinley to get around. After the war with the Filipinos broke out, McKinley said repeatedly in public speeches, 'I never dreamed they would turn against us.' "[3]

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[1] See p. 109 *supra*.

[2] "They are aware that a Government has been established here from the beginning: first a Dictatorial, and afterwards, when several provinces had been freed from Spanish domination, there was implanted in the same a proper organization, and thus a new Government was established in the form best adapted to the principles of liberty; but notwithstanding all this and in spite of their protestations of friendship, they have always refused to recognize that government.

"The things they request involve the recognition of a right which we cannot and ought not to grant, unless they recognize our Government and unless the limits of the powers of both sides be defined. If they wish us to recognize them in Cavite, let them recognize our rights in Parañaque.

* * * * * *

"They should understand that they have come to make war on the Spaniards; that the Filipinos have risen in arms against the same enemy to achieve their liberty and independence; and that in consequence they cannot exercise dominion over us without violation of international law. If they persist in refusing to recognize our Government, we shall see ourselves obliged to come to an agreement with any other government that will consent to recognize us on friendly terms."

—P. I. R., 58.

Mabini was a Tagálog paralytic of exceptional ability. In my opinion he was the strongest man whom the revolution produced.

[3] Blount, p. 24.

If there is nothing harder than this to get around the memory of President McKinley will not suffer, as the important thing is not what Aguinaldo had led his people to expect, but what the American officials had promised him. The President was certainly not bound to believe that the Filipinos would turn against us even if they did then expect independence.

Certain other facts are very pertinent in this connection. Apparently some time during September, 1898, Sandico made the following statement in a letter to Aguinaldo:—

> "I also have to inform you that Señores Basa, Cortés and Co. have congratulated the Government of the United States upon the capture of Manila, stating at the same time that now that Filipino soil had been soaked with American blood, the Islands must remain American. I believe that a telegram should be sent immediately, to counteract that sent by them."[1]

Probably Sandico did not know that on August 15, 1898, Agoncillo had transmitted another telegram to President McKinley through Consul-General Wildman, reading as follows:—

> "Agoncillo, my Commissioner and Ambassador Extraordinary, representing the provisional government of the Philippine Islands, in its name and the name of its President, Emilio Aguinaldo, congratulates you on the successful termination of the war, and commends the occupancy of Manila. I assure the United States of the allegiance and unquestioning support of our people, and petition that we be granted one or more representatives on the commission that is to decide the future of our Islands."[2]

It would appear, therefore, that the President had more information on this subject than was transmitted by General Anderson!

Not only did the latter passively refrain from recognizing Aguinaldo's pretensions, but on July 22, 1898, he wrote to him as follows:—

> "I observe that your Excellency has announced yourself Dictator and proclaimed martial law. As I am here simply in a military capacity, I have no authority to recognize such an assumption. I have no orders from my government on the subject."[3]

The effort to keep Americans in ignorance of the true state of affairs was kept up until further deception was useless. Consul Williams, for instance, wrote on June 16, 1898:—

> "For future advantage, I am maintaining cordial relations with General Aguinaldo, having stipulated submissiveness to our forces when

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[1] P. I. R., 416. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, 102. 5.

[3] Senate Document 208, 56th Congress, 2d Session, p. 9.

treating for their return here. Last Sunday, 12th, they held a council to form provisional government. I was urged to attend, but thought best to decline. A form of government was adopted, but General Aguinaldo told me to-day that his friends all hoped that the Philippines would be held as a colony of the United States of America."[1]

Yet on Sunday, June 12, Aguinaldo had in reality proclaimed the independence of the Philippines. Few Americans at this time knew any Spanish and none understood Tagálog, so that it was comparatively easy to deceive them. What Consul Williams reported was what Aguinaldo considered it expedient to have him believe.

The following undated letter from Aguinaldo to Mabini, supposed to have been sent at this time, is of especial interest in this connection:—

"My dear Brother: I do not want to go there [where the addressee is] until after the visit of the American Consul, because I do not wish the negotiations to end in an ultimatum, and in order that you may tell him all that is favourable for the cause of our Nation. I charge you with the task of giving him a reply, and if he should ask about me tell him that since the time of his last visit there I have not recovered from my illness. If anything important should happen we can communicate with each other by telegraph, using a code in matters that require secrecy."[2]

In a letter supposed to have been written during November, 1898, prepared for Aguinaldo's signature and addressed to Señor McKinley, President of the Republic of the United States of North America, but apparently never sent, Aguinaldo renews the charge[3] previously made in his "Reseña Verídica," that Pratt and Dewey promised independence. It need not be further discussed.

The climax was finally reached in an official protest against the Paris Treaty written by Agoncillo in Paris on the 12th of December, 1898.[4]

In this document the Filipino story is still further expanded. The commander of the *Petrel*, Captain Wood, Consul Wildman and Consul Williams are now included among those alleged to have promised independence, and it is claimed that Aguinaldo was received with the honours due the chief of an independent state when he visited Admiral

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[1] Taylor, 26 A. J.

[2] P. I. R., 5. 10.

[3] "Going to Singapore, I had several interviews with the Consul of the United States, Mr. Spencer Pratt, who informed me that the war was directed against Spain only and that in addition your action in the Philippines had as an object the independence of my beloved country.

"The Commander of the *MacCulloch* telegraphed me also from Hongkong, offering in the name of Commodore Dewey, to take me to Cavite, in order to raise the Filipinos against Spain.

"Without any written treaty, counting only upon the sacred word of American citizens, I went to Hongkong, embarked on the *MacCulloch* and a few days later had the honor to make the acquaintance of the victorious Commodore Dewey, who likewise informed me that he had come to make war against Spain, that he had annihilated the fleet of Admiral Montojo and that the United States desired to give the Philippines their independence."—P. I. R., 441. 2.

[4] P. I. R., 102. 1.

Dewey, whereas his own original claim was that he was received with the honours due a general, which is quite a different matter.

As a matter of fact, American officers usually addressed and treated Aguinaldo as a general. The extent to which they were able to use his organization to further the ends of their government will be set forth later.

In a letter to Wildman, dated August 7, 1898, Aguinaldo admits that there is no agreement, but says that he cannot tell the peoples that it does not exist, "fearing that I may not be able to restrain the popular excitement."[1] He begs Wildman to use his influence on his government so that it will realize the inadvisability of deciding the fate of the people "without considering their will duly represented by my government." Is it conceivable that, if there had been any ground for claiming a promise of independence, Aguinaldo would have failed to mention it at this time?

We may summarize the well-established facts as follows:—

Consul-General Pratt was, or professed to be, in hearty sympathy with the ambition of the Filipino leaders to obtain independence, and would personally have profited from such a result, but he refrained from compromising his government and made no promises in its behalf.

Admiral Dewey never even discussed with Aguinaldo the possibility of independence.

There is no reason to believe that any subordinate of the Admiral ever discussed independence with any Filipino, much less made any promise concerning it.

Neither Consul Wildman nor Consul Williams promised it, and both were kept in ignorance of the fact that it was desired up to the last possible moment.

It is not claimed that either General Anderson or General Merritt made any promise concerning it.

The conclusion that no such promise was ever made by any of these men is fully justified by well-established facts.

Aguinaldo himself carefully refrained at the outset from saying, in any document which Americans could read, that independence had been promised, and advanced this claim only when the growing strength of his land force had given him confidence. He repeated it, with increasing emphasis, as his army increased in size, ultimately openly threatening war if his pretensions were not recognized. In doing this, he was merely carrying out a carefully prearranged plan, agreed upon by the Hongkong junta.[2]

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[1] P. I. R., Books C–1.

[2] The researches of the more recent authorities cited by the editor at the beginning of this chapter (LeRoy, Elliott, Kalaw, and Fernandez) substantially corroborate the conclusions reached by Worcester. The two Filipino authors place greater emphasis upon the view that a genuine misunderstanding between Aguinaldo and various American officials with reference to Philippine independence originated at Singapore and further developed in Hongkong and Manila. Both stress the point that Fernandez

And now let us examine the claim that the insurgents were our "faithful allies" and "coöperated" with us in the taking of Manila. We shall find that this subject richly repays investigation.

makes when he declares that, "the Filipinos, even though at times they wavered in their belief, certainly assumed, rightly or wrongly, that the United States was their liberator and, sooner or later, would recognize the independence of the Archipelago. (Fernandez, p. 59.) Neither Fernandez nor Kalaw, however, charges that Aguinaldo and his counsellors were deceived by American officials, or that they placed any reliance upon the promises of independence which they subsequently alleged to have been made to them. On the other hand, both of these scholars recognize that the Filipino leaders were playing a shrewd game with their eyes wide open: both quote with approval the statement made by Elliott that the Filipinos "understood the situation and calculated very properly upon taking advantage of Dewey's necessities. . . . They understood perfectly that they were relying on their own influence and their skill in turning the situation to their advantage." (Elliott, pp. 412-413; quoted in Kalaw, p. 105, and Fernandez, pp. 61-62.)

Elliott's conclusion is as follows: "The verdict of history must be that the United States was guilty of neither false pretenses, breach of faith nor treachery toward the Filipino insurgent leaders. Aguinaldo was not so simple-minded as to rely on the statements of consuls, and he was not in fact misled by their statements or their actions. Instead of trusting the Americans, his attitude, at least from the time of the arrival of the army, was unfriendly and suspicious.

"No promises were made by Admiral Dewey or any responsible army officer. The government at Washington disapproved the conduct of Pratt and Wildman. . . ." (Elliott, p. 420.)

See also, David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1925 (revised edition).

CHAPTER III

INSURGENT "COÖPERATION"

I HAVE previously[1] called attention to the minutes of a session of the Hongkong junta held on May 4, 1898, from which it indirectly appears that the Filipino leaders at that time hoped to secure arms at the expense of the Americans and purposed to attack them later if it seemed advisable.

The treacherous policy then outlined was never departed from by Aguinaldo and his associates, who sailed for Manila with their eyes wide open, knowing full well that they had been promised nothing; prepared to match their wits against those of Admiral Dewey, and intent on deceiving him and on securing from him arms to be used first against the Spaniards and later against the Americans, after they had been employed to help bring about the downfall of Spain.

There exists a significant circular signed "J.M.B."[2] believed to have been an outright forgery, both from its tenor and from the fact that the signature "J.M.B." is not in the handwriting of Basa's letter hereinbefore quoted.

It contains the following statements:—

> "The true patriots have organized a committee to which I belong, naming Aguinaldo as President and Agoncillo as Vice-President. The latter and three others have commenced diplomatic negotiations with the Admiral and American Consul, and we infer that they are trying to make colonies of us, although they said they would give us independence. The Committee deemed it advisable to simulate belief, at the same time equipping ourselves with arms.
>
> "We have accepted arms offered by the Admiral which will be disembarked in the Philippines by the squadron.
>
> "A part of our forces will aid the Americans by fighting with them in order to conceal our real intentions, and part will be held in reserve. If America triumphs and proposes a colony, we shall reject such offer and rise in arms.
>
> "A separate expedition will disembark at whatever point may be considered suitable.
>
> "José Alejandrino embarked with the American squadron in order to give secret instructions to the Chiefs.
>
> "Be very cautious about this exceedingly delicate point; you will

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[1] Page 104, *supra*.

[2] For J. M. Basa.

communicate with prudent and intelligent chiefs who will recognize the gravity of the subject." [1]

Here, then, in a faked-up letter on which Basa's initials were forged in order to gain the prestige of his name for this treacherous plan, we have definitely set forth the purpose of the Filipinos to deceive the Americans by allowing a part of the Insurgent force to fight with them, and then to attack them.

Reference has already been made to Agoncillo's advice to Aguinaldo, given under date of August 26, 1898, to the effect that friendly relations should be maintained with the Americans until the diplomatic negotiations at Paris should end; that an effort should be made to find out the future status of the islands "by deceitful means," and that confidence should never be put in the Americans.

Aguinaldo put the whole matter in a nutshell in a postscript to this letter, saying:—

> "You should issue an order commanding that all our chiefs should employ a policy of friendship toward the Americans until our status is defined; but said order should be confidentially given. Try to mislead them." [2]

Bray also very strongly advised awaiting the results of the Paris conference.[3]

The quotations already given from Insurgent records show plainly that the principal thing for which the Filipinos were waiting was the ousting of Spain from the Philippines by the United States; those which follow show that war was by no means inevitable as a result of a decision at Paris adverse to Filipino hopes, for the question of whether a United States protectorate, or even annexation to the United States, might be considered, was left open to a very late date.[4]

It has been claimed not only that the Insurgents whipped the Spaniards without our assistance, but whipped them so thoroughly that Spanish sovereignty had practically disappeared from the islands at the time Manila surrendered. But the Filipinos had fought Spain before and were by no means confident of their ability to wrest their independence from her. Their more intelligent and reasonable men clearly foresaw that they could not win unaided. Señor Antonio Regidor was at the time residing in London. He was a Filipino of unusual intelligence and exceptionally good education. He took a keen interest in the situation, and on July 28, 1898, telegraphed Agoncillo as follows:—

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[1] P. I. R., 507.

[2] P. I. R., 477. 1.

[3] "Until the Philippine question is finally decided, you would do well in not having any controversy with the Americans. After having secured the extinction of Spanish control for good, you may then liquidate accounts with the United States in the event that they wish to control in the interior; but in the meantime, let what will occur, do not allow yourself to have any controversy with them. Matters are in a very delicate state at the present time."—P. I. R., 398. 3.

In a postscript to the same letter Bray says:—

"America is a great nation and does not wish that conditions be dictated to her. I am more than ever convinced that you must be patient and await what they propose, without opposing their wishes and insanities, before the questions before the Paris Congress are definitely settled and the islands ceded by Spain; then there would still be time to show your teeth if they try to govern the country. I would not object at present to them taking up their residence there and acting in the capacity of guard for good government, placing our trust for the future in Providence which will never abandon the Philippines."—P. I. R., 398. 3.

[4] See p. 122 *infra*.

> "In the name of the Filipinos, you should immediately send a telegraphic message to MacKinley, requesting him not to abandon the islands, after having fought as brothers for a common cause. Pledge him our unconditional adhesion, especially of well-to-do people. To return to Spain, in whatever form, would mean annihilation, perpetual anarchy. Filipinos en masse should visit the consuls at Hongkong, Singapore. London commerce support it. Influence Aguinaldo to accept American flag, flying it everywhere, thus obliging them to remain."[1]

This leaves no room for doubt as to Regidor's views, but Agoncillo did not share them. He replied on July 29:—

> "Provisional government's aspiration is independence. Make this campaign."[2]

Regidor was not to be persuaded. On July 30 he replied as follows, addressing his communication to Basa:

> "America vacillating as to remaining fears conflicts later with natives international question other difficulties necessary to encourage her all of you submit united unconditionally raising American flag great demonstrations necessary to influence outside opinion show islands resolved united America high circles advise in view present circumstances only feasible programme is protectorate."[3]

Obviously, Agoncillo was somewhat impressed by this cablegram, for on August 1 in a letter to Aguinaldo he made the following statements and inquiries:—

> "If the American troops leave us alone there, the questions which will arise are these: Have we sufficient arms to maintain the war against Spain in order to secure our independence? If the other nations are opposed to our independence and wish that we should continue under the Spanish sovereignty, have we sufficient strength to wage a war and obtain victory over Spain and over them in the future? If you think that we have not sufficient strength to fight against them, should we accept independence under the American protectorate? And if so, what conditions or advantages should we give to the United

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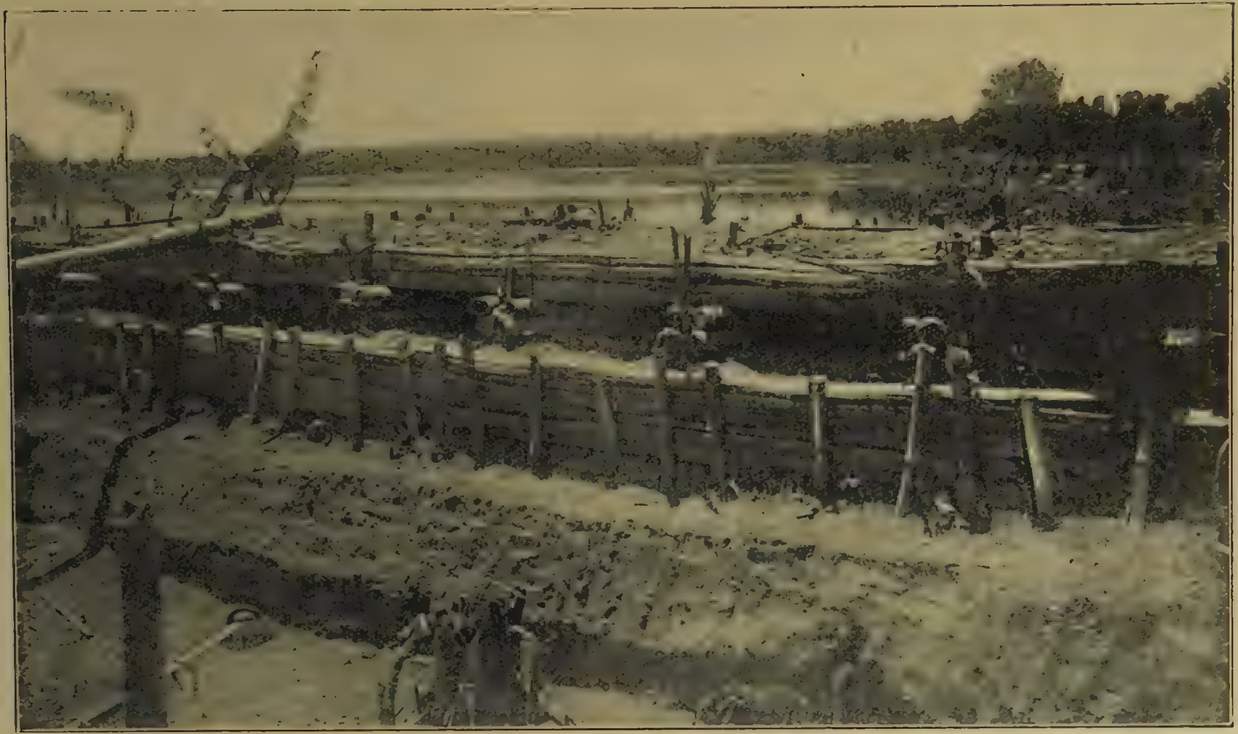
[1] P. I. R., 471, 4. [2] *Ibid.*, 471. 4. [3] *Ibid.*, 450. 2.



Inside View of Insurgent Trenches at the Bagbag River.

States? You should carefully consider the preceding questions, and I suggest that you should, in a confidential manner, consult them with your cabinet-in-banc, as well as with your private secretary and military chiefs of rank; and your decision be notified to our representatives abroad in order that they may know what they must do in their negotiations." [1]

In the course of this letter Agoncillo came back once more to the question of independence under a protectorate and made it very clear that at this late day he did not know whether this was or was not what the Filipinos desired.[2]

On August 21, Apacible obviously did not think that it would be an easy matter to escape from Spanish domination, much less that the islands were already rid of it, for he wrote to Mabini that the United States were likely again to deliver the Filipinos into the hands of Spain. He said that "if events will be what their telegrams indicate, we have a dark and bloody future before us. To be again in the hands of Spain will mean a long and bloody war, and it is doubtful whether the end will be favourable to us. . . . Spain free from Cuba and her other colonies will employ her energy to crush us and will send here the 150,000 men she has in Cuba." [3] Apacible thought that the best thing was independence under an American protectorate.

On August 7, 1898, Aguinaldo warned Agoncillo that in the United States he should "not accept any contracts or give any promises respecting protection or annexation, because we will see first if we can obtain independence."[1]

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[1] P. I. R., 471. 4. In this same letter Agoncillo informed Aguinaldo that Basa had sent to President McKinley a resolution adopted by "all the boastful patriots" in Hong Kong, requesting annexation. (*Ibid.*) The Basa here referred to is the same one whose initials were forged to the letter quoted on page 118, *supra.*

[2] "You should not forget what I have stated at the beginning of this letter; because I am of the opinion that those questions should be well considered by all of you. If our people desire independence under the American protectorate, it is necessary that our representatives to the United States be given instructions as to the conditions which we should grant to the United States. The peace negotiations are in full blast, and it is probable that we will be rather late in sending our representatives. Therefore, if you agree to independence under a protectorate, you should recommend it at once. I leave it, however, to your care, as you are better qualified than myself concerning the conditions of our country."—P. I. R., 471. 4.

[3] "My Dear Friend: . . . The last telegrams from Europe which Felipe will send you by this mail are alarming for our future. The preliminaries of peace are announced. The demand of America is, annexation of Porto Rico and the Ladrone Islands, independence of Cuba under an American protectorate and an American coaling station in the Philippines. That is, they will again deliver us into the hands of Spain. On the other hand, all the powers will unite to prevent the annexation of the Philippines, according to the telegrams of Regidor; the American cabinet hesitates about including us in the negotiations for peace from fear of a conflict with us and the Filipinos in Europe advise us to send a message to America giving our unconditional adhesion. If events will be what these telegrams indicate, we have a dark and bloody future before us. To be again in the hands of Spain will mean a long and bloody war, and it is doubtful whether the end will be favourable to us. The treaty of peace sanctioned by the other powers will assure the dominion of Spain. Spain free from Cuba and her other colonies will employ all her energy to crush us and will send here the 150,000 men she has in Cuba. I do not think that the Filipinos will again submit to their tyrants and there will be a long and bloody war. And on account of the treaty the other powers will aid Spain to completely dominate us and place all possible obstacles in our way to prevent shipment of arms and all kinds of revolutionary labours. In view of all this and bearing in mind the present urgency of the matter, it is necessary for that government to establish and publish its policy. We believe that the best for us and the only feasible one, if we want to establish negotiations with America, is independence under an American protectorate."—P. I. R., 453. 3.

Even annexation to the United States was not excluded by Aguinaldo from the possible accepted solutions, for in outlining the policy of the Philippine government to Sandico on August 10, 1898, he wrote:—

> "The policy of the government is as follows: 1st. To struggle for the independence of 'the Philippines' as far as our strength and our means will permit. Protection or annexation will be acceptable only when it can be clearly seen that the recognition of our Independence, either by force of arms or diplomacy, is impossible."[2]

On August 26, 1898, Aguinaldo was still ready to consider annexation if necessary.[3] He was apparently not sanguine at this time as to the result of a continued struggle with Spain. At all events, he wanted the help of the Americans if such a struggle was to come, and desired to know on what terms it could be had.[4]

Meanwhile the Filipinos in Hongkong who favoured annexation made themselves heard. On July 18, 1898, Consul-General Wildman wrote from that place:—

> "I believe I know the sentiments of the political leaders and of the moneyed men among the insurgents, and, in spite of all statements to the contrary, I know that they are fighting for annexation to the United States first, and for independence secondly, if the United States decides to decline the sovereignty of the Islands. In fact, I have had the most prominent leaders call on me and say they would not raise one finger unless I could assure them that the United States intended to give them United States citizenship if they wished it."[5]

We have already noted the action of Basa and the Cortez family who insisted that the Islands must remain American,[6] and that of

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[1] "The policy which you will pursue in the United States is the following one:—

"Make them understand that whatever may be their intention towards us, it is not possible for them to overrule the sentiments of the people represented by the government, and they must first recognize it if we are to come to an agreement. Still do not accept any contracts or give any promises respecting protection or annexaion, because we will see first if we can obtain independence. This is what we shall endeavour to secure; meanwhile, if it should be possible to do so, still give them to understand in a way that you are unable to bind yourself but that once we are independent, we will be able to make arrangements with them."—P. I. R., Books C–1.

[2] P. I. R. 5. 7.

[3] In a letter written on that date to Agoncillo he says:—

"Notwithstanding, I enclose you the credentials as requested; thereby you will see that in addition to your representing us at Washington, you may assist the commission they have formed for the purpose of determining the future condition of the Philippines.

"But you must act in such manner that they may not be able to say that we have accepted the said commission, because it is my wish to protect [protest? D. C. W.] at all times against their being charged with determining our destiny. You must bear in mind that the policy of the government is to obtain absolute independence, and if perchance we should know by the course of events that such cannot be the case, we will then think of protection or annexation."—P. I. R., Books C—1.

[4] On August 30, 1898, Aguinaldo wrote Agoncillo:—

"It is said that General Merritt is going away to take part in the work of the Commission. On this account it is important that you proceed as quickly as possible to America, in order to know what takes place. If perchance we should go back to Spanish control, ask them to help us as the French helped them during their own revolution and ask also the terms."—P. I. R., Books C–1.

[5] Taylor, 18 AJ.

[6] See p. 101 *supra*.

Agoncillo, who cabled President McKinley in Aguinaldo's name and his own, congratulating him on the outcome of the war, commending the occupation of Manila, and assuring the people of the United States of the allegiance and unquestioning support of the Filipinos,[1] but it is to be feared that the sending of this cablegram was only one more move in the Insurgent game of deceit.

There were annexationists in Manila as well as in Hongkong.[2] Indeed, we know that some of the strongest and best of the Filipinos there were in favour of it.

Felipe Buencamino, writing in 1901, said:—

> "In June of 1898, Don Cayetano Arellano[3] addressed to Don Felipe Buencamino and Don Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista a letter written from the town of Pagsanján, province of Laguna, in reply to one addressed to him by those two gentlemen. In this letter Don Cayetano outlined the idea of union with the United States and said: 'Avoid all doing and undoing, and when America has established a stable order of affairs, then it will be time enough to make laws.' Mabini, whose influence at that time was in the ascendant in Aguinaldo's government, paid no heed to this wise advice. In October of 1898, while the Philippine government was established in Malolos, and before congress had promulgated a Philippine constitution, Messrs. Arellano and Pardo[4] still more earnestly advocated union with America, the first as secretary of foreign affairs and the latter as chief diplomat. Their plan consisted in asking the United States to acknowledge the independence of the country under a protectorate through the mediation of General Otis, and this plan was accepted at a cabinet meeting by Don Emilio Aguinaldo. But on the following day Sandico came and told Aguinaldo that he had had a conference with the Japanese consul and had been told by him: 'that if Aguinaldo would support absolute independence the Japanese Government would help.' Aguinaldo believed Sandico's story (which turned out to be absolutely false) and did not carry out the resolution adopted by the cabinet. Messrs. Arellano and Pardo, after this affront, separated themselves from the Malolos government. Aguinaldo told me afterwards that he had received a letter from Agoncillo, dated Washington, assuring him that a majority of the American people were inclined to acknowledge the independence of the Philippines and of Cuba."[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Some time during August, 1898, Sandico wrote a letter to Aguinaldo of which the postscript reads as follows:—

"P.S.—If you think of appointing me as Delegate to Manila, please send me my credentials. There are also annexationists here [*i.e.*, in Manila.—D. C. W.]."—P. I. R., 416. 3.

[3] Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands from 1899 to 1920. He was a man of excellent character, high attainments and great ability. He held important legal positions under the Spanish government. In October, 1898, he was appointed Secretary of Foreign Relations of the "Philippine Republic," but never served as such officer. He was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Yale University in 1904.

[4] Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, one of the most brilliant of Filipinos. He had spent many years in Paris, was a talented physician, and under American rule served for more than seven years as a member of the Philippine Commission.

[5] Taylor, 55 AJ.

But annexationists were not confined, in the Philippines, to the vicinity of Manila. As late as September 6 Consul Williams reported that a delegation from four thousand Visayan soldiers, a delegation which also represented southern business interests, had come to him and pledged loyalty to annexation.[1]

Clearly, then, the situation early in September was as follows: All were agreed that the assistance of the United States was necessary in getting rid of Spanish sovereignty. Under the plan of Aguinaldo and his followers friendly relations were to be maintained with the United States, if possible, until Spain was ousted from her Philippine territory, and then they were to "show their teeth," and see "who was deceiving whom," resorting to "force of arms" if necessary. Protection or annexation would be accepted only when it could be clearly seen that the recognition of independence, won either by force of arms or by diplomacy, was impossible. Other influential and patriotic Filipinos favored annexation to the United States or a United States protectorate, but their views were in the end ignored by Aguinaldo and his following, and as the latter had the guns their ideas prevailed.

The Treaty of Paris, which terminated Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, was signed on December 10, 1898. It is important to bear this date in mind later, when considering the Insurgent records relative to the preparations which were so carefully made for attacking the American troops.

And now let us consider the actual facts as to the coöperation alleged to have been asked by Americans and given by Filipinos. The following points are not in dispute:—

Pratt asked Aguinaldo to coöperate with Dewey.

Aguinaldo was taken to Manila with the understanding that he would do so.

Dewey assisted Aguinaldo by destroying the main Spanish fleet; by bringing him and his associates back to the Philippines; by furnishing them arms and ammunition; by blockading Manila and by keeping at a safe distance the Spanish mosquito fleet, which would have made dangerous, or impossible, the landing of the arms subsequently imported by the Insurgents.

Aguinaldo successfully attacked the Spanish garrisons in the provinces and used the arms and ammunition captured, or brought in by deserters, to equip a force which surrounded and attacked Manila, drove large numbers of people into the walled city, thus rendering the position of the Spanish garrison very difficult in the face of a possible bombardment, and prevented this garrison from betaking itself to the provinces, as it might otherwise have done, leaving Manila to shift for itself.

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[1] Taylor, 26 AJ.

Aguinaldo was powerless to take the place by assault.

It lay at the mercy of Dewey's guns, and it would have been possible for the Admiral to take it at any time, but he could not at first have garrisoned it with United States forces, and never thought of attempting to use Insurgent forces for this purpose.

Did Dewey really want or need Aguinaldo's help? Let us consider his testimony on the subject:—

"*Senator Carmack*. You did want a man there who could organize and rouse the people?

Admiral Dewey. I didn't want anybody. I would like to say now that Aguinaldo and his people were forced on me by Consul Pratt and Consul Wildman; I didn't do anything—

"*Senator Carmack*. Did they have any power to force him upon you?

"*Admiral Dewey*. Yes; they had in a way. They had not the official power, but one will yield after a while to constant pressure. I did not expect anything of them; I did not think they would do anything. I would not have taken them; I did not want them; I did not believe in them; because, when I left Hongkong, I was led to suppose that the country was in a state of insurrection, and that at my first gun, as Mr. Williams put it, there would be a general uprising, and I thought these half dozen or dozen refugees at Hongkong would play a very small part in it."[1]

However, Dewey ultimately yielded to the pressure exercised on him by Pratt and Wildman, and allowed Aguinaldo and some of his associates to be brought to Manila. Having them there he proposed to get assistance from them, not as allies, but as a friendly force attacking a common enemy, in its own way.[2] As to the character and importance of that assistance, Dewey testified:—

"Then he began operations toward Manila, and he did wonderfully well. He whipped the Spaniards battle after battle, and finally put one of those old smoothbore guns on a barge, and he wanted to take this up—wanted me to tow it up so he could attack the city with it. I said, 'Oh, no, no; we can do nothing until our troops come.' I knew he could not take the city without the assistance of the navy, without my assistance, and I knew that what he was doing—driving the Spaniards in—was saving our own troops, because our own men perhaps would have had to do that same thing. He and I were always on the most friendly terms; we had never had any differences. He considered me as his liberator, as his friend. I think he had the highest admiration for us because we had whipped the Spaniards who had been riding them down for three hundred years.[1]

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[1] Senate Document No. 331, part 3, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session, p. 2969. Dewey also testified that he was glad to "get rid of Aguinaldo and the Filipinos" when he moved his squadron from Hong Kong to Mirs Bay. "They were bothering me," he said. (*Ibid.*)

[2] Dewey's whole testimony was to the effect that this was the relationship which he had in mind. (*Ibid.*, pp. 2932 *et seq.*)

How completely Dewey misunderstood the real purposes of Aguinaldo is shown by this testimony. It was not until the arrival of the American troops, in June, that he began to realize that Aguinaldo was seeking to "use" him, as he was "using" Aguinaldo. This is shown by the following testimony:

"*Senator Patterson.* And you found nothing to cause any doubt as to his loyalty up to the time until after Manila surrendered?

"*Admiral Dewey.* His loyalty to whom?

"*Senator Patterson.* To you and to the cause for which he was fighting?

"*Admiral Dewey.* I began to suspect he was not loyal to us about the time our troops arrived, when he demurred at moving out of Cavite to make room for our troops.

"*Senator Patterson.* Do you mean by that that you feared that he was commencing to think more of independence than the success of the American cause?

"*Admiral Dewey.* Yes."[2]

We have seen to what extent Aguinaldo coöperated with the marine forces of the United States. Now let us examine the claim that he coöperated with the land forces after their arrival.

One of the things which the Insurgents are said to have accomplished was the maintenance of an effective land blockade which prevented the entrance of provisions, and produced a very serious food shortage. Both Otis and Dewey have stated that they did this, but we learn from the Insurgent records how erroneous was this conclusion.[3]

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[1] Senate Document No. 331, part 3, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session, p. 2928, Kalaw states that, "Aguinaldo interpreted this friendship shown him as a veritable alliance between his people and the American nation." (Kalaw, p. 106.) Yet the documents quoted by Worcester clearly show that from the time of his arrival in Hong Kong from Singapore Aguinaldo was uncertain of his status with the Americans and was making definite preparations to fight them, if necessary, after the Spaniards had been eliminated from the situation. [Ed.]

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 2052.

[3] The following passage is an extract from an unsigned order dated July 22, 1898:—

"For the preservation of peace and good order in the community and to put an end to the acts of those who within and without the city of Manila and in the neighboring provinces not under the control of the Spanish Government, are evading the orders issued by these Headquarters, and in view of the large number of those who are storing and monopolizing food and other most necessary articles, under the pretence of desiring to sell them to the Americans, but whose real intention is to ship them secretly to Manila where they receive higher prices for their merchandise, without regard for the injury they are doing the cause of our independence, I have seen fit to decree the following: . . ." P. I. R., 45.5 and 125.3.

Relative to this matter, Taylor says:—

"The defection of Buencamino and Pilar had opened the road to Aguinaldo, but at first the blockade was not effective. There were too many natives there with friends and relations in Aguinaldo's camp to make him desire to subject the city to the hardships of an effective siege. And, furthermore, he did not have the force, nor did his men have the necessary discipline, to prevent the ingress of supplies. It was not until the first part of July that the price of provisions increased. It was at no time found necessary by the authorities to take over all the stores of provisions in the city. Indeed, there seems to have been a fairly steady traffic in supplies between Manila and the country to the north. It was a traffic in which it has been charged that certain Spanish

Feeding Filipino Refugees.

Before the Insurgent troops retired from Parañaque near Manila, they plundered their own people and left them without food. Our army fed them. This photograph shows a typical scene when food distribution was about to begin.

The landing of the American troops for the attack on Manila was not actively opposed by the Filipinos, but it was narrowly and distrustfully watched.

Necessary transportation requested by General Anderson was ultimately furnished by Aguinaldo, but only grudgingly after a three weeks' delay, and as a result of threats that it would be seized if not voluntarily supplied.

The necessary positions in the trenches around Manila from which to make the attack on that city were, in part at least, yielded to the Americans by the Filipinos upon the request of the former.

The Insurgents twice informed the Spaniards in advance of projected American attacks.

They carried out their own attack on the city without regard to the plans, or the requests, of the Americans. They secretly treated with the Spaniards in the endeavour to secure the surrender of the city to themselves.

After the capitulation to the Americans had been agreed upon, and on the very morning of the day of the surrender, they endeavoured to push home an attack. Disregarding the request that they keep out of the final assault, they crowded into the city with, and after, the American troops. They fired on Spanish soldiers on the city wall while a flag of truce was flying, provoking a return fire which killed and wounded American soldiers.

They demanded for themselves Malacañan palace and other buildings and a share in "the war booty." They promptly looted the parts of the city which they occupied, and ultimately retired from their positions within the city limits on the evening of their last day of grace after being warned by General Otis that if they did not do so they would be driven out.

I will now quote from the records in support of these statements.

When General Anderson, with the first United States troops of occupation, arrived at Manila Bay, Aguinaldo did not call on him, as an "ally" might have been expected to do. Later, however, Admiral Dewey and General Anderson went to see Aguinaldo, but without any of the ceremony of an official military call, the Admiral saying to General Anderson:—

> "Do not take your sword or put on your uniform, but just put on your blouse. Do not go with any ceremony." [1]

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officers of rank made large sums. Aguinaldo permitted it, and on July 26, 1898, signed an order directing that food should be sent into Manila from the north to prevent starvation in the city, and ordered the heads of the towns in the vicinity not to interfere with this traffic (P. I. R., 1087–4). The entrance of food supplies was confined to the northern line, for then it would not be known to the Americans who, after July 30, occupied the entrenchments in front of San Antonio Abad. It was not expedient for them to see too much of Aguinaldo's methods." (Taylor, 14 AJ.)

[1] Senate Document No. 331, part 3, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session, p. 2976.

And they went in that way.

On July 4, 1898, General Anderson wrote Aguinaldo definitely requesting his coöperation in the following words:—

> "For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations with you, and to have you and your force coöperate with us in the military operations against the Spanish forces."[1]

On July 5 Aguinaldo replied, thanking General Anderson for the

> "amicable sentiments which the natives of these islands inspire in the Great North American nation,"[2]

and also for his desire to have friendly relations with the Filipinos and treat them with justice, courtesy and kindness. There is, however, not a word relative to coöperation in his reply, and Anderson apparently never renewed his request for coöperation in military operations.

On July 6 he wrote to Aguinaldo again, saying:—

> "I am encouraged by the friendly sentiment expressed by Your Excellency in your welcome letter received on the 5th instant, to endeavour to come to a definite understanding, which I hope will be advantageous to both. Very soon we expect large additional land forces, and it must be apparent to you as a military officer that we will require much more room to camp our soldiers and also store room for our supplies. For this I would like to have Your Excellency's advice and coöperation, as you are best acquainted with the resources of the country."[3]

To this letter there was no reply. However, in a letter dated July 9, 1898, to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army, General Anderson says of Aguinaldo:—

> "When we first landed he seemed very suspicious, and not at all friendly, but I have now come to a better understanding with him and he is much more friendly and seems willing to coöperate. But he has declared himself Dictator and President, and is trying to take Manila without our assistance. This is not probable, but if he can effect his purpose he will, I apprehend, antagonize any attempt on our part to establish a provisional government."[4]

Evidently, however, coöperation, even in the matter of getting necessary transportation, did not materialize, for on July 17 Major S. R. Jones, Chief Quartermaster, wrote Aguinaldo as follows:—

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[1] P. I. R., 102–10.

[2] P. I. R., Books C–1.

[3] P. I. R., 102–10.

[4] *Ibid.*

> "We will want horses, buffaloes, carts, etc., for transportation, bamboo for shelter, wood to cook with, etc. For all this we are willing to pay a fair price, but no more. We find so far that the native population are not willing to give us this assistance as promptly as required. But we must have it, and if it becomes necessary we will be compelled to send out parties to seize what we may need. We would regret very much to do this, as we are here to befriend the Filipinos. Our nation has spent millions in money to send forces here to expel the Spaniards and to give good government to the whole people, and the return we are asking is comparatively slight.
>
> "General Anderson wishes you to inform your people that we are here for their good, and that they must supply us with labor and material at the current market prices. We are prepared to purchase five hundred horses at a fair price, but cannot undertake to bargain for horses with each individual owner."

Aguinaldo sent this letter by a staff officer to General Anderson inquiring whether it was sent by authority of the latter, who then indorsed on it in a statement that it was. Nevertheless, Major Jones reported on July 20 that it was impossible to secure transportation except upon Aguinaldo's orders and that the natives had removed their cart wheels and hidden them, from which it is to be inferred that the transportation requested had not been furnished.

Obviously General Anderson was informed that Aguinaldo had given orders against furnishing the transportation desired, for on July 21 he wrote the Adjutant-General of the Army, as follows:—

> "Since I wrote last, Aguinaldo has put in operation an elaborate system of military government, under his assumed authority as Dictator, and has prohibited any supplies being given us, except by his order. As to this last, I have written to him that our requisitions on the country for horses, ox carts, fuel, and bamboo (to make scaling ladders) must be filled, and that he must aid in having them filled."

On July 23 General Anderson wrote Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "GENERAL: When I came here three weeks ago I requested Your Excellency to give what assistance you could to procure means of transportation for the American Army, as it was to fight the cause of your people. So far we have received no response.
>
> "As you represent your people, I now have the honor to make requisition on you for five hundred horses and fifty oxen and ox carts. If you cannot secure these I will have to pass you and make requisition directly on the people.
>
> "I beg leave to request an answer at your earliest convenience.
>
> "I remain with great respect, etc."[1]

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[1] P. I. R., 102. 10.

Aguinaldo then informed Anderson that a misunderstanding had occurred, and that the horses and carts would be furnished, so far as possible.[1]

General Anderson replied:—

> "Your favour of the 26th ultimo in relation to requisitions for cattle, horses, etc., is satisfactory. I regret that there should have been any misunderstanding about it. The people to whom we applied even for the hiring of carromatas, etc., told our people that they had orders to supply nothing except by your orders. I am pleased to think that this was a misapprehension on their part."[2]

From this series of communications it appears that it took three weeks, and a very direct threat to seize transportation, to bring about Aguinaldo's promise of assistance in securing it.[3] What help had he given, meanwhile, in other matters?

Such records as I have been able to find do not show what response, if any, Aguinaldo made to several requests, which General Anderson made of him between July 19 and July 21.[4]

Anderson's original views as to the willingness of the Insurgents to coöperate with him underwent an early change, however, for on July 18, 1898, in a letter to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army he makes the following statement:—

> "The Insurgent chief, Aguinaldo, has declared himself Dictator and self-appointed President. He has declared martial law and promulgated a minute method of rule and administration under it.
>
> "We have observed all official military courtesies, and he and his followers express great admiration and gratitude to the great American republic of the north, yet in many ways they obstruct our purposes and are using every effort to take Manila without us.
>
> "I suspect also that Aguinaldo is secretly negotiating with the Spanish authorities, as his confidential aide is in Manila."[5]

This suspicion was entirely justified, as we shall see later.

On July 24 Aguinaldo wrote a letter to General Anderson in effect warning him not to disembark American troops in places conquered by the Filipinos from the Spaniards without first communicating in writing the places to be occupied and the object of the occupation.[6]

Aguinaldo's assumption of civil authority on July 15, 1899, did not pass unnoticed. On July 21 General Anderson wrote the Adjutant-General of the army concerning it:—

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[1] *Ibid.*, Books C–1.

[2] *Ibid.*, 102–10.

[3] Kalaw advances the following explanation of this incident: "It was not that he [Aguinaldo] did not want to aid the United States. He wanted them to recognize his authority so that the Americans might know that without this authority no effective aid from the natives could be secured." (Kalaw, p. 108.)

[4] P. I. R., 102–10.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] P. I. R., Books C–1.

> "His assumption of civil authority I have ignored, and let him know verbally that I could, and would, not recognize it, while I did not recognize him as a military leader. It may seem strange that I have made no formal protest against his proclamation as Dictator, his declaration of martial law, and publication and execution of a despotic form of government. I wrote such a protest, but did not publish it, at Admiral Dewey's request, and also for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of Major-General Merritt, but I have let it be known in every other way that we do not recognize the Dictatorship. These people only respect force and firmness. I submit, with all deference, that we have heretofore underrated the natives. They are not ignorant, savage tribes, but have a civilization of their own; and although insignificant in appearance, are fierce fighters, and for a tropical people they are industrious. A small detail of natives will do more work in a given time than a regiment of volunteers."

Because he was invited as general rather than as president, Aguinaldo refused to attend a parade and review on the 4th of July. This fact is, in itself, an answer to his claim that the Americans were tacitly recognizing his pretensions.

The landing of American troops at Parañaque and their going into camp near that town on July 15 caused much excitement, and a lively interchange of telegrams between Insurgent officers followed.[1]

They were suspicious of the intentions of the Americans,[2] and trouble soon began.

On July 16 General Noriel telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "An American has come here who says that he is a Colonel of the Army whom we should obey; and that it is your desire. We did not listen to him, awaiting your order."

On the back of the telegram is written the following:—

> "Reply.—You should not obey. What this American Colonel says is a lie. Be cautious so as not to be deceived. You should require from him proof. Be always vigilant, but upright, also all of the officers and soldiers must be strict and not timid." [3]

Obviously there was no real coöperation between American and Filipino troops at this time. General Anderson ignored General Aguinaldo's request for information as to places where American troops were to land in Filipino territory and the objects of disembarking them.

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[1] On July 15 General Noriel telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

"Urgent. Received a telegram from the captain adjutant, who is in Parañaque, of the following tenor: 'I inform your excellency that two cascos of armed Americans have arrived at this point. I await orders from Your Excellency.' Which I hasten to communicate to Your Excellency for the proper action."—P. I. R., 849.

Later on the same day Arévalo telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel Duboce with three hundred men waiting for more troops from Cavite, and also orders, but not to attack."—P. I. R., 849.

[2] Captain Torres telegraphed Aguinaldo on July 15 as follows:—

"I have read all your telegrams and carried out the same, and I incidentally questioned them about their purposes, [they] replying that they will aid; let time demonstrate it. They also intend to encamp over here at Parañaque. I will report to you any occurrence."—P. I. R., 69. 6.

[3] P. I. R., 69. 5.

The Americans proceeded with their plans for the attack upon Manila, and it became desirable to occupy some of the Insurgent trenches. On July 29 Arévalo telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "In conference with General Greene I asked for an official letter, a copy of which I send you: 'Headquarters 2nd Brigade, U. S. Expeditionary Forces, Camp Dewey, near Manila, July 29th, 1898. El Señor Noriel, General de Brigade. Sir: In pursuance of our conversation of yesterday and the message which Captain Arévalo brought to me during the night, I beg to inform you that my troops will occupy the intrenchments between the Camino Real and the beach, leaving camp for that purpose at 8.00 o'clock this morning. I will be obliged if you will give the necessary orders for the withdrawal of your men. Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant, F. V. Greene, Brigadier General, commanding.' "[1]

The attitude of the army officers in the matter of obtaining permission to occupy the trenches needed in preparing for the assault on the city could not have been more correct.

On August 10 General Merritt gave the following emphatic instructions relative to the matter:—

> "No rupture with Insurgents. This is imperative. Can ask Insurgent generals or Aguinaldo for permission to occupy their trenches, but if refused not to use force."

On the same day General Anderson wrote to Aguinaldo, asking permission to occupy a trench facing blockhouse No. 14, in order to place artillery to destroy it. The permission was granted on the following day.

During the early part of August, Aguinaldo seems to have avoided conferences with American officers. On the second of the month Mabini wrote him how he had put off Admiral Dewey's aid with a false statement that he did not know Aguinaldo's whereabouts.[2]

The landing of American troops at Parañaque for the assault on Manila led to the concentration of Insurgent troops at the neighbouring town of Bacoor.[3]

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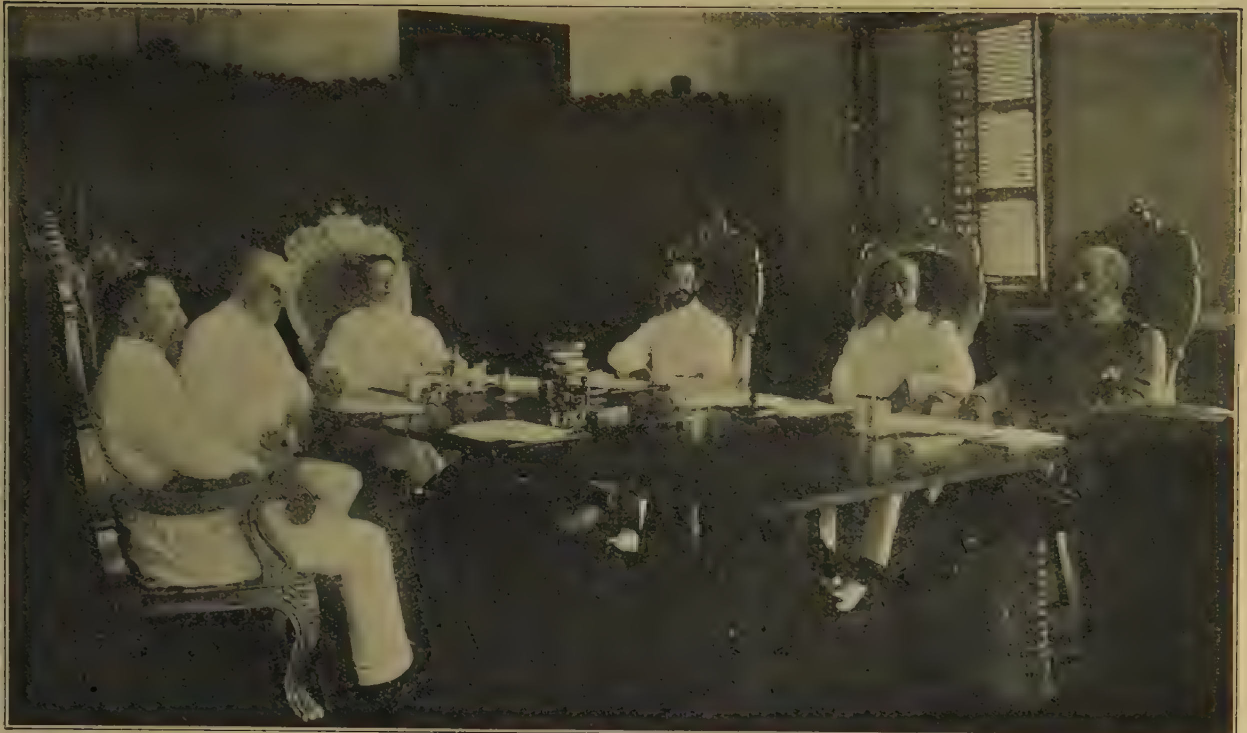
[1] *Ibid.*, 849.

[2] "Admiral Dewey's Aide was here to-day. I told him I was ignorant of your whereabouts and, if he had no objection, he might talk with me as I am your representative; but he said that he could not do so, as he had orders to speak with you personally, about something very important. He then departed."—P. I. R., 1179. 5.

[3] The following telegram was addressed to the President or the Secretary of War by Sulpicio at Bacoor, on August 8, 1898:—

"Last night I received a telegram from General Noriel, asking for 100 cavanes of rice which he needs immediately, since he has ordered to send him all the troops here on account of the landing of Americans in Parañaque. General Mascardo will send



THE FIRST PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

This photograph taken in the room where the commission held its hearings is the only one ever obtained which shows all the members. From left to right: the author, Colonel Charles Denby, President Jacob Gould Schurman, Mr. John R. MacArthur, Secretary to the Commission, Admiral George Dewey and General E. S. Otis.

On August 8 Fernando Acevedo[1] wrote to General Pio del Pilar that the Americans were going to attack the next day and that,—

> "It is requisite and necessary before their attack takes place to-morrow, that you to-morrow or to-night annihilate them, sparing none, for the way they have deceived us, and will again without fail, in the contract signed by Sr. Emilio; and convince yourself, my friend, that it is necessary to do this; and when it is done the whole world will wonder and say that we have done well, and will not be able to give out that the people here are fools spending the time sucking their fingers."[2]

Worse yet, information was sent to the Spaniards of the proposed American attack on the 13th instant, as is shown by the following letter:—

> "(Battalion of Cazadores, No. 2. Expeditionary.
> Office of the Lieutenant-Colonel. Private.)
>
> "SEÑOR DON ARTEMIO RICARTE:[3]
>
> "MY DEAR SIR: I have received to-day your kind letter giving warning of the attack on Manila, and I thank you for your personal interest in me, which, on my part, I reciprocate. I assure you that I am yours, most truly and sincerely,
>
> "LUIS MARTINEZ ALCOBENDAS.
>
> "SINGALON, August 10, 1898."[4]

According to Taylor, this was not the first occurrence of this sort. He says:—

> "The officers of the United States Army who believed that the insurgents were informing the Spaniards of the American movements were right. Sastrón has printed a letter from Pío del Pilar, dated July 30, to the Spanish officer commanding at Santa Ana, in which Pilar said that Aguinaldo had told him that the Americans would attack the Spanish lines on August 2 and advised that the Spaniards should not give way, but hold their positions. Pilar added, however, that if the Spaniards should fall back on the walled city and surrender Santa Ana to himself, he would hold it with his own men. Aguinaldo's information was correct, and on August 2 eight American soldiers were killed or wounded by the Spanish fire."[5]

Taylor continues:—

> "And yet Aguinaldo claimed to be an ally of the Americans. It is not probable that these were the only two such letters written.

---

him the troops which are here. There are 56 bundles [of rice.—TR.] deposited in this storehouse."—P. I. R., 1179. 5.

[1] This man's record is not known to me. Apparently he was an officer in the Spanish army, for he is later reported as surrendering to the Insurgents at Santa Ana on August 13, 1898.

[2] Taylor, 33 AJ.

[3] Artemio Ricarte was one of the ranking Insurgent generals directing operations against Manila.

[4] P. I. R., 1087. 5.

[5] Taylor, 30 AJ.

Aguinaldo had by this time found out that although he could defeat the scattered Spanish detachments, he could not defeat the Spanish force holding the lines of Manila. He did not want the Americans in the Philippines. They were in his way, and he had already made up his mind that if they did not give him what he wanted, he would drive them out by force. He saw very early that it was extremely improbable that he should obtain from them what he wanted; accordingly all losses both among Spaniards and Americans would, from Aguinaldo's point of view, inure to his benefit. The best possible thing for him would be to hold his own force intact while they wore each other out. The Spanish losses, small as they were, occurred in front of the American lines, not in front of the Filipinos. There is no reason, accordingly, for believing that the Filipinos suffered heavily. To arrange that the Spaniards should inflict losses upon the Americans, while he saved his own men, showed ingenuity on the part of Aguinaldo; but it was decidedly not the conduct of an ally."[1]

The feeling toward the American troops at this time is further shown by a telegram from General Pío del Pilar, sent from San Pedro Macati on August 10, 1898:—

"Commandant Acebedo writes that the Spaniards are about to surrender because they want to turn over the place; the Americans want them to leave only the batteries and say that they will station themselves in said batteries. It appears that they want to deceive us; they do not want to give us arms, and if they do not give us arms, we shall attack them and drive them out. I await your reply."[2]

This is perhaps not quite the kind of coöperation that Admiral Dewey and Generals Anderson and Merritt had expected.

The truth is that the Insurgents were determined to capture Manila for themselves, not only because of the "war booty," for which they were hungry, but because of the status which they felt that the taking of the capital of the Philippines would assure them. The great importance which they attached to this plan is shown in communications written by Agoncillo, Aguinaldo and others.[3]

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[1] Taylor, 30 AJ.

[2] P. I. R., 849.

[3] On August 2, 1898, Agoncillo wrote Mabini:—

"I send Don Emilio the information I have been able to obtain here, in order that in view thereof you [plural] may consider the best solution of our present political problem, which is an exceptional case in history. In my opinion, the most critical moment, which I call agonizing, whether correctly or not I know not, is the capture of Manila, where General Merritt will constitute a provisional government, in compliance with the instructions from his Government. It is unnecessary to recommend that you observe great tact, great prudence, when this event occurs. Ascertain the real wishes of the people in this conflict and the war resources at our disposal and those which you may count on during the struggle until its termination."—P. I. R., 451. 3.

In his document entitled "Means for Attaining Filipino Independence" Aguinaldo had written:—

"VIII. Exterior attack. Above everything the Revolutionists must occupy all Manila including the Walled City with the object and purpose that the nation possessing the Philippines according to the decision of the Powers will be forced to come to an understanding with the Filipinos to avoid the shedding of blood."—P. I. R., 457. 5.

Of conditions at this time, Taylor says:—

"On July 7, Aguinaldo appointed Artemio Ricarte and Pantaleón García to negotiate the surrender of Manila by the Spaniards to him (Exhibit 155). On July 5 Pantaleón García was planning to enter Manila by way of Tondo or of Santa Cruz (P. I. R., 243. 7). On the 9th Aguinaldo ordered that rice should be gathered from the towns of Manila Province for the use of his troops in the decisive attack upon Manila which he intended making in a few days (P. I. R., 1087. 5).

"Aguinaldo, finding that his chance of obtaining Manila for himself was growing steadily less, now determined to force himself into the city with the Americans and demand a consideration for the assistance he had rendered them during the siege. It is true he had assisted them, but his assistance had not been intentional. It was the result of the operations he was carrying on for his own ends. The operations of the Filipinos and the Americans were against Spain as a common enemy of both; but the operations were not joint operations, and although their purpose was a common purpose, it was not a mutual one. On August 8 Aguinaldo appointed General Ricarte commander in the operations about Manila, ordered him to respect the property of all foreigners, and told him that in case his troops succeeded in entering Manila they were to carry their flag and plant it there (P. I. R., 703. 2). Judging from an unsigned draft of a letter, he must have warned the foreign consuls in Manila about the same time to gather under the protection of their flags all of their fellow-citizens who had not taken refuge on the vessels in the bay, so that when his troops entered the city no foreign lives would be taken, and no foreign property would be injured. The earnestness with which he urged that all foreigners not Spaniards should take steps to identify themselves and their property shows that he considered the persons and property of Spanish civilians as fair booty of war." [1]

On August 12, the day before Manila surrendered,[2] Buencamino telegraphed Aguinaldo, urging him in the strongest terms to attack that night so that Americans might be obliged to ask him to stop, with the result that the Insurgents would be included in the official negotiations. He further advised Aguinaldo that he must not suspend his attack because the Americans suspended theirs.[3]

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[1] Taylor, 29 AJ.

[2] The Americans had no need of Insurgent assistance in the "assault upon Manila." The surrender of the city had been arranged with the Spaniards for several days before August 12. (Statement of Admiral Dewey, Senate Document No. 331, part 3, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session, p. 2943.)

[3] "I must tell you that I feel as you should feel in regard to our government not having officially participated in the capitulation of Manila. Accordingly the war must be continued with Spain, because, if we attack to-night, the Americans, acting upon the request of the Spaniards and foreigners in addition to those who took part in the capitulation, will have to ask us to suspend operations; hence we shall be included in the negotiations and this will work to our advantage.

"To-night at 2 A.M. you will attack without fail in order that we may be included in the capitulation which the Americans made to-day. You must not stop the attacks because they do, and this is also the opinion of our partisans among the foreigners."

—P. I. R., 1179. 5 & 427. 5.

General Anderson tells us that, on the evening of August 12, he received an order from General Merritt to notify Aguinaldo to forbid the Insurgents under his command from entering Manila. This notification was delivered to Aguinaldo that night, and was received by him with anger.[1]

On the following morning the Insurgents actually made an independent attack of their own, as planned.[2] It promptly led to trouble with the Americans, and at 8 A.M. Aguinaldo received a telegram from General Anderson sternly warning him not to let his troops enter Manila without the consent of the American commander on the south side of the Pasig River.[3]

Aguinaldo apparently took no action in response to this request, except to direct General Riego de Dios, who was at Cavite, to go with Buencamino without losing a moment and ask for an explanation, in writing if possible.[4]

At 10.50 A.M. he telegraphed General Anderson saying that his troops were being forced, by threats of violence, to retire from positions which they had taken, and asking Anderson to order his troops to avoid difficulty with the Insurgent forces. Aguinaldo said that he had directed his men to aid the American forces if the latter were attacked by a common enemy, but was discreetly silent on the subject of their entering Manila.[5]

Fifteen minutes later, at 11.05, he received a reply to his telegram to General Riego de Dios, in which that officer communicated the views of Araneta[6] and Buencamino, who had been unable to find General Anderson. This important communication follows:—

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[1] "Our Rule in the Philippines," The *North American Review,* 1900, No. 170.

[2] General Ricarte to Aguinaldo, August 12, 1898, 11.15 P.M.:

"Have received the telegram from your honourable person regarding attack at four o'clock in the morning, although we will make the attack anyway. I have directed Gen. Pío Del Pilar begin firing cannon at the hour set. At the present time we are making preparations and will also give orders to the chiefs of the columns."—P. I. R., 849.

[3] "August 13, 1898.

"Dated Camp Dewey 13. To General Aguinaldo. Commandling Philippine Forces, Bacoor: Do not let your troops enter Manila without the permission of the American commander on this side of Pasig river. You will be under our fire.

"ANDERSON, Brig. General."
—P. I. R., 102–10.

[4] "Copy: Gen. Riego, Cavite: Have just received a note from Gen. Anderson saying to me he does not permit my troops to enter Manila without permission from the American commander on this side of the Pasig River. They will be under his fire. Go with Señor Buencamino and ask for an explanation, in writing if possible, as to the motive for said note, without losing a moment. August 13, '98. E. A."
—P. I. R., 849.

[5] "I received a telegram. My interpreter is in Cavite. In consequence of this I have not answered until now. My troops are forced by yours, by means of threats of violence, to retire from positions taken. It is necessary to avoid conflict, which I should lament, that you order your troops that they avoid difficulty with mine, as until now they have conducted themselves as brothers to take Manila. I have given strict orders to my chiefs that they preserve strict respect to American forces and to aid them in case they are attacked by a common enemy."

[6] Gregario Araneta, later a member of the Philippine Commission and Secretary of Finance and Justice. He was Secretary of Justice under the Malolos government, and was also secretary of the Insurgent Congress. He was at this time a bright young lawyer of good ability and character.

"Most urgent. Araneta and Buencamino having been consulted in regard to your telegram of to-day, they confirm capitulation, and in regard to the telegraphic note of General Anderson they are of the opinion, first that we should continue hostilities while we ask for an explanation; second, that explanation should be in the following terms: Inquire reason for note and ask why our troops are not to enter Manila without permission of the American commander; third, in case the (terms of ?) capitulation is given as the reason, to answer that we do not suspend our attempt to enter Manila. Its capitulation is not favourable to our independence. General Anderson is not here. General Merritt is probably in Manila. Only Admiral Dewey is in the Bay. We ask authorization to express our explanation in the proposed terms and to have a conference with Admiral Dewey in order to have our claims reach General Merritt."[1]

An indorsement written by Mabini and signed by Aguinaldo on the above paper reads:—

"I authorize every assertion of right, but state that we believe that we have the right to enter Manila without permission as we have a part in the surrender of the Spaniards. They would not have surrendered if our troops had not cut off their retreat to the interior. Besides but for us the landing of troops would have cost them much blood. Obtain an answer as soon as possible in order to lay a protest before the consuls in case it is necessary."[2]

Naturally, trouble followed. At 1.30 P.M. General Ricarte telegraphed to Aguinaldo:—

"Americans wish to put us out. Give directions."[3]

Apparently about the same hour he wired more at length, as follows:—

"Most urgent. American troops rearguard our trenches. Mabolo and San José warn us that they will fire on us when the time comes. Impossible to remain there without disagreeing with them. Since 5 o'clock this morning we have been furiously attacking. Americans firing incessantly, Spaniards silent. No losses yet."[4]

At 3.52 he wired again:—

"General Pío del Pilar informs me of the following: 'Come here, if possible, as our soldiers at the barrio of Concepción are not allowed to go out and we are prohibited to move on any farther. We it was who succeeded in capturing that place. Come here or there will be trouble, since they are driving me away, and refusing to listen to which I say.' I am at this very moment going to aforesaid place."[1]

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[1] P. I. R., 849.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

At 5 P.M. another was sent by Ricarte to Aguinaldo as follows:—

"Colonel San Miguel arrived here from Ermita. Regional Exposition, Agricultural College and other buildings are ours. Our flag flies already at Ermita. Colonel Agapito Donzón with his troops is in the Pérez building, Paco. Colonels Julian Ocampo and Isidoro Tolentino are in the convent of Ermita. All houses without flag are guarded by our soldiers."[2]

At 6.15 P.M. he telegraphed as follows:—

"I inform you that the chiefs of our troops have reported to me that our flag at Singalong church (*visita*) was removed by the Americans and they hoisted theirs instead, not allowing us to approach thereto. General Pío del Pilar is at present at the barrio of Concepción. Americans prohibited him to move on any farther. How can he enter Manila?"[3]

No attention was paid to General Anderson's request that the Insurgent troops should not enter Manila without permission. They crowded forward with and after the American forces. Coming out on Bagumbayan drive, they found American and Spanish troops confronting each other but not firing, the former on the drive, the latter on the neighbouring city wall. A flag of truce was waving from the south bastion, nevertheless the Insurgents fired on the Spanish forces, provoking a return fire which killed and wounded American soldiers. Of this incident General Greene has said:—

"At this point the California regiment a short time before had met some insurgents who had fired at the Spaniards on the walls, and the latter, in returning the fire, had caused a loss in the California regiment of 1 killed and 2 wounded."[4]

Some of these matters must have come to the attention of General Anderson, for he sent Aguinaldo a telegram, received by the latter at 6.35 P.M., as follows:—

"Dated Ermita Headquarters 2nd Division 13 to Gen. Aguinaldo. Commanding Filipino Forces.—Manila, taken. Serious trouble threatened between our forces. Try and prevent it. Your troops should not force themselves in the city until we have received the full surrender then we will negotiate with you.

"ANDERSON, commanding."[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1179. 5. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Report of War Dept., 1898, Vol. I, part 2, p. 69.

[5] Taylor, Exhibit 739.

THE SECOND PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

From left to right: General Luke E. Wright, Professor Dean C. Worcester, Professor Bernard Moses, Judge William H. Taft, and Judge Henry C. Ide.

Aguinaldo and his associates, however, pressed the demand for joint occupation.[1] On August 13 Admiral Dewey and General Merritt informed the government that since the occupation of Manila and its suburbs the Insurgents outside had been insisting on this, and asked how far they might proceed in enforcing obedience in the matter.

They were informed by a telegram dated August 17 that the President of the United States had directed:—

> "That there must be no joint occupation with the Insurgents. The United States in the possession of Manila city, Manila bay and harbor must preserve the peace and protect persons and property within the territory occupied by their military and naval forces. The insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States and the cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the President. Use whatever means in your judgment are necessary to this end."[2]

This left the military and naval commanders no option in the premises, and in any event dual occupation was out of the question because of the lawlessness of the Insurgent troops.

At this very time they were looting the portions of the city which they occupied, and as is abundantly shown by their own records were not confining their attacks to Spaniards, but were assaulting their own people and raiding the property of foreigners as well.[3] The continuation of such a condition of affairs was manifestly impossible.

The Insurgents promptly demanded their share in the "war booty," and asked certain other extraordinary concessions as follows:—

> "(4) Our sacrifices in coöperating in the siege and taking of Manila being well known, it is just that we should share in the war booty.
>
> "(5) We demand for our use the palace of Malacañang and the Convents of Malate, Ermita and Paco or San Fernando de Dilao.
>
> "(6) We demand that the civil offices of Manila be filled by North Americans and never by Spaniards; but if General Merritt should require some Filipinos we should be pleased if he will grant our President, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, the favour of recommending select and skilled Filipinos. The jurisdiction of the authorities of Manila shall not be recognized beyond the municipal radius.
>
> "(7) The American forces shall not approach nor penetrate our military positions without permission of the respective commanders thereof and shall evacuate all the positions which they occupy at the present time beyond the municipal radius; Spaniards who pass our lines without permission of the commander will be considered as spies.

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[1] Telegram from Aguinaldo to General Anderson, August 14, 1898. Taylor, 58 HJ.

[2] *Ibid.*, 59.

[3] See footnote 5 p. 140, *infra.*

"(10) Lastly we state clearly that our concessions and petitions do not signify on our part that we recognize the sovereignty of North America in these islands, as they are made necessary by the present war." [1]

Under the instructions of the President these demands could not be acceded to. Nor could they have been acceded to had there been no such instructions. In this connection the following extract from General Jáudenes's cablegram for June 8th to his home government is highly significant:—

"Population of suburbs have taken refuge in walled city from fear of outrages of insurgents, preferring to run risks of bombardment, which has not yet begun." [2]

It would seem that the population of the suburbs did not have a high idea of Insurgent discipline.

That their apprehensions were not groundless is shown by a passage in a letter sent the following day to Governor-General Augustin by Buencamino:—

"Manila being surrounded by land and by sea, without hope of assistance from anywhere, and Señor Aguinaldo being disposed to make use of the fleet in order to bombard, if Your Excellency should prolong the struggle with tenacity, I do not know, frankly, what else to do other than to succumb dying, but Your Excellency knows that the entrance of 100,000 Indians,[3] inflamed with battle, drunk with triumph and with blood, will produce the hecatomb from which there will not be allowed to escape either women, children, or Peninsular friars,—especially the friars; and, I believe that the rights of humanity, imperilled in such a serious way, should be well considered by Your Excellency, for however dear glory and military duty may be, although worth as much or more than existence itself there is no right by which they should be won at the cost of the rights of humanity, and the latter outweigh every consideration and all duty." [4]

Don Felipe knew his own people. He also knew, none better, what they had in mind at this time.

As it was the Insurgent forces made the most of such opportunity as they had, and their own records show it.

In the suburbs of Manila they sacked and committed outrages, threatening people with their arms, and this was still going on a week after the fall of Manila.[5]

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[1] P. I. R., Books C–1.

[2] Taylor, 15 AJ.

[3] The word Indios, here translated "Indians," means Malayan Filipinos of pure blood as distinguished from *mestizos* or people of mixed blood.

[4] P. I. R., 918. 2.

[5] The following telegram was sent by Colonel José to Aguinaldo:—

"Urgent. August 20, 1898: Colonel López reports that our troops are still sacking and committing outrages in Malate, Paco and Ermita, even menacing people with their arms. Urge you to take proper measures to stop these abuses."—P. I. R., 1167. 3.

General Pío del Pilar was believed to be responsible for much of this misconduct, and Mabini proposed that as it was necessary for him to leave the vicinity of Manila, and they could not remove him by force, he be promoted.[1]

Some time during this month Sandico wrote Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "The Americans have already heard of the frequent cases of kidnapping (*dukut*) occurring in Tondo, San Sebastián and San Miguel. Last night some of ours were surprised in the act of kidnapping a person. I have also heard that many persons are asking for contributions of war. I tell them[2] that you know nothing of all this and that if some persons are kidnapped it is due to the hate of the natives for the Spanish spies and secret police, which is great."[3]

Evidently Sandico continued to interest himself in the matter of preventing disorder, for on September 24, 1898, he wrote Aguinaldo from Manila as follows:—

> "By authority of General Don Pío del Pilar and accompanied by the War Auditor, Señor Urbano, we entered a prison where the individuals Mariano de la Cruz and Mariano Crisóstomo were kept. They were almost prostrated. They had lately been released from Bilibid where they had been confined for political crimes. On being asked the reason for their imprisonment they began by showing us their bodies from which blood still issued as the result of the barbarous treatment received from Major Carmona who, by the way, is the same person of whom I spoke to you in one of my previous letters; I declared to you then that he had assaulted, revolver in hand, a man in the middle of one of the most frequented streets of the suburb of Paco on pure suspicion.
>
> "The prisoners in question stated that if they admitted the accusations made against them it was for fear of greater punishments promised by said Major. The officer of the guard took the liberty of striking with his fist the one who dared to express himself so.
>
> "Before such a spectacle Major Bell found himself forced to tell them that brutal acts are not precisely a recommendation for a country that wished to be free and that they, the Americans, do not arrest any one without just cause.[4]

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[1] Extract from a letter of August 20, 1898, from Mabini to Aguinaldo:

"Señor López, your adjutant, arrived and told me of many complaints regarding the behaviour of the soldiers. He says that our officers carry off many horses, some of them belonging to foreigners. If the foreigners should enter a protest against such doings, I do not know what will be thought of our government.

"It is also absolutely necessary that a stop should be put to the passes, and that the tax on merchandise entering Manila, should no longer be exacted. It is absolutely necessary, if you think well of it, for us to promote General Pío, and make him your second in command. It is necessary for him to leave the vicinity of Manila, as we cannot remove him by force; and do not reprimand him.

"If you approve, I will write a Decree, but I reflect that nothing will succeed, if our commanders are not obliged to comply."—P. I. R., 472. 13.

[2] *I. e.* the Americans.

[3] P. I. R., 458. 8.

[4] Major J. F. Bell accompanied Sandico on this trip.

"I take the liberty of calling your attention to the matter in question and other abuses in order that the measures you may think fit be adopted to remedy this evil. In fact, we are making a target of ourselves in the sight of all nations, especially so in that of the Americans who note any act of ours and judge us secretly now in order to do so later in public. To make light of this is to plant a seed of future injury to us, because many will desire to place themselves under the protection of the American flag, seeing that ours refuses to defend the citizens' individual rights.

"I, for my part, ask that Major Carmona be arrested together with his accomplices in the matter so that it may serve as a lesson not only for him but also for those who think like him."[1]

Obviously Sandico's protest of September 24 did not produce the desired result, for on September 28 he wrote Aguinaldo a long letter complaining that in Manila personal security did not exist, people were being tortured and murdered, kidnapping and theft were very frequent, and these abuses were being committed by Filipino officers and men. Some of the things which had come to his knowledge were of such a nature that he preferred to speak to Aguinaldo privately about them.[2]

Murder, pillaging, torture of prisoners, kidnapping, theft—these are not pleasant things, but they continued to occur, and Aguinaldo, who apparently desired to prevent them, was powerless to do so. He did not dare discipline General Pío del Pilar, nor remove him from the vicinity of Manila, and the soldiers of that officer continued to work their will on their own unfortunate and helpless people.

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[1] P. I. R., 1166. 12.

[2] "I regret very much to have to inform you that as long as personal property is not respected here in Manila especially, by some of our men, as long as personal security does not exist and as long as prisoners are tortured, we cannot hope to deserve the confidence of the other governments. Murders, thefts of carriages and horses, are very frequent here, as is kidnapping, . . .

"Sergeant Barcena, of the Fifth Company of the Second Zone, that is the zone of General Pío del Pilar, informed me that the cruel officers of that Zone, were Major Carmona and a lieutenant who was formerly a barber.

"I know that the Government has ordered that private persons and property be respected and has withdrawn from the military the power of trying civilians; but in view of the fact that notwithstanding this restriction some of them continue to discharge powers of which they have been divested, I find it necessary to call your attention thereto, in order that more energetic measures may be adopted so that other nations may not be led to believe that our government is very weak.

"In the jurisdiction of the Americans, I have surprised small groups of officers, who devote themselves to summoning persons before them and arresting them. These groups can be found in Binondo, Tondo and Trozo. I have used all friendly measures to secure their dissolution, but if they continue their conduct, I shall be obliged to turn them over to the American authorities, although I inform you that I shall not make use of such measures, until diplomatic means are exhausted.

"I understand very well that in endeavouring to stop the abuses committed by our officers and by the Filipinos who claim to belong to us, in Manila, I expose myself to becoming a victim of their vengeance; nevertheless, this does not terrify me, because my duty to the country requires it.

"I beg of you that if you take any steps against Major Carmona and the barber lieutenant, to be very careful and call General Pío del Pilar and come to an understanding with him as to the mode of punishment of these officers. . . .

"I have discovered grave cases which are occurring in the Presidio of Manila, which I propose to relate to you when I shall have the honor to see you personally. The Americans are already aware of these cases, and are working in their own interests untiringly.

"I could tell you a good many other things, but I do not do so on account of lack of time, and because I wish to reserve them until I can speak to you privately. In the meantime, order me as you will, etc."—P. I. R., 416. 7.

Aguinaldo at first flatly refused to direct the disorderly Insurgent forces to leave Manila. The American commander showed great forbearance and negotiations continued.

On August 16, 1898, the Diplomatic Commission (Buencamino and Gregorio Araneta) telegraphed Aguinaldo that a clause in a proposed agreement requiring prior permission of Insurgent officers before American troops could pass or approach their lines had greatly displeased General Anderson who declined to treat until after the withdrawal of Noriel's troops from Manila.[1]

Aguinaldo's reply, sent on August 17, 1898, shows that he had already made up his mind to fight the Americans, for it contains the following significant words: "The conflict is coming sooner or later and we shall gain nothing by asking as favours of them what are really our rights." [2]

While negotiations were pending General Merritt sent Major J. F. Bell to Aguinaldo with a letter and also with a memorandum in which were the words:—

> "In case you find Aguinaldo inclined to be generous in his arrangements with us, you may communicate to him as follows: . . ."

There follow six paragraphs, of which the third is of special importance. It reads as follows:—

> "(3) That I have every disposition to represent liberally the Government at Washington, which I know is inclined to deal fairly with him and his people; but not knowing what the policy of that Government will be, I am not prepared to make any promises, except that in the event of the United States withdrawing from these islands care will be taken to leave him *in as good condition as he was found by the forces of the Government.*" [3]

Relative to the italicized portion of this statement Major Bell says:—

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[1] "General Anderson received us very well, but in the proposed agreement the clauses requiring the prior permission of our commanders before American troops could pass or approach our lines displeased him very much. Gen. Anderson refuses to treat until after the withdrawal of Noriel's troops. I think it prudent to yield. This telegram is in amplification of another which, at the request of Gen. Anderson, we sent through his telegraph station to your excellency."—P. I. R., 849.

[2] "It is impossible to order General Noriel to fall back because if we order it they will ask the same thing from General Pío and we shall get nothing ourselves. And the worst is that after we have evacuated Manila and its environs they will follow us up to our new positions to take them too without our being able to obtain from them any formal statement of the concession signed in due form. The conflict is coming sooner or later and we shall gain nothing by asking as favours of them what are really our rights. We shall maintain them as long as we are able, confiding in Providence and in Justice. I confirm my last telegram. Tell General Anderson that we shall hold a meeting of the council of Government in order to decide. Please return here soon with your companions. I inclose the map which I hope you will return."—P. I. R., 427. 1.

[3] Senate Document No. 208, 56th Congress, 2d Session, p. 22.

"I was pressed to explain further just what meaning General M. meant to convey by the underscored portion of this remark, but I replied that I had repeated the language General M. had used to me, and I preferred they should seek any further explanation from him, lest I might unwittingly fall into error if I undertook to explain his meaning myself. Their lack of definiteness and my unwillingness to comment upon the language seemed to arouse their apprehensions and suspicions. They have been trying ever since to obtain in writing some definite promise on this subject." [1]

Aguinaldo ordered that the machinery of the water works be started up at once, a thing which was very necessary as Manila was suffering from lack of water. I should be glad if I could leave this matter here, but I cannot, for Major Bell elsewhere makes the further statement:—

"Attention is invited to General Merritt's promise made known to Aguinaldo by me verbally, namely, that in the event of the United States withdrawing from these islands, care would be taken to leave Aguinaldo in as good condition as he was found by the forces of the Government. From a remark the General made to me I inferred he intended to interpret the expression 'forces of the Government' to mean the naval forces, should future contingencies necessitate such an interpretation." [2]

Let us hope that Major Bell misunderstood General Merritt's intention. If this is not the case, I must say in all frankness that in my opinion it was General Merritt's intention to indulge in sharp practice.

Obviously, the American naval forces did not find Aguinaldo in any "condition," in the sense in which General Merritt uses the term. On the contrary, they brought him from Hongkong and assisted him in starting a revolution. The negotiations in question were relative to the positions held by the Insurgents at the time the negotiations took place, and General Merritt's promise could not legitimately be interpreted to refer to anything else.

Had Aguinaldo accepted his offer, a most embarrassing situation would have resulted. General Merritt was obviously not authorized to make such a proposition in the first instance, and the only honourable course left open to him would have been to advise Washington of his improper action and beg the Government to support him in it and thus save the honour of the country. Fortunately, Aguinaldo did not act upon the promise nor accept the offer. On the contrary, he promptly and indignantly denied that he was committed to anything, and sought to impose new conditions which were not acceded to.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The Return of Mr. Taft.

This photograph, taken on the occasion of the return of Mr. Taft to the Philippines after his appointment as secretary of war, shows him in a stand on the Luneta reviewing the procession organized in his honor, in which thousands of Filipinos participated.

Meanwhile some one doubtless got hold of General Merritt and called his attention to the fact that in making this offer he had grossly exceeded his authority, for in his reply to Aguinaldo's protest General Merritt says:—

> "So far as any promises as to what should be done in the event of a conclusion of a treaty between the United States and Spain are concerned, it is utterly impossible for me as the military representative only of the United States to make any promises such as you request. As you have already been informed, you may depend upon the good will of the Americans out here and the Government, of which you already know the beneficence, to determine these matters in the future."[1]

Coming, as this statement did, after the offer made in the memorandum hereinbefore referred to, it must have aroused the suspicions of Aguinaldo and his associates, and in my opinion Merritt's conduct in making such a proposal in the first instance was inexcusable. Before he could terminate the negotiations which followed he was called away, and turned this matter, together with other unfinished business, over to his successor, General E. S. Otis.

On August 31, 1898, the latter official wrote to Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "GENERAL AGUINALDO, BACOOR:
>
> "Referring to promise made by General Merritt to reply to your letter of August 27 within four days, I desire to state that he was unexpectedly ordered away and had not opportunity to reply. Being unacquainted with the situation, I must take time to inform myself before answering, which I will do at the earliest opportunity.
>
> "OTIS."

On September 7, 1898, General Otis cabled to Washington that Admiral Dewey and he considered conditions critical, and that the number of armed Insurgents in the city was large and rapidly increasing. He stated that on the eighth he would send a notification to Aguinaldo that unless the latter's troops were withdrawn beyond the line of the suburbs of the city before September 15 he would be obliged to resort to forcible action and that the United States would hold Aguinaldo responsible for any unfortunate consequences which might ensue.

On the following day Otis dispatched this notification to the Filipino leader. His communication was a lengthy one, and embodied a fair and judicial statement of the situation which then existed with reference to the occupation of Manila. It ended with an ultimatum.

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[1] Senate Document No. 208, 56th Congress, 2d Session, p. 24.

The American commander set forth and rationally supported the following propositions: [1]

By the laws of war and international precedents the United States possessed full authority over Manila and its defences and was responsible for the safety of the lives and property of the inhabitants of the city.

The equitable claim of the Filipinos to joint occupation was weak because the capitulation of the city had been brought about by American, not Filipino military power.

Apart from legal and equitable considerations, joint occupation of Manila by American and Filipino forces was impractical because it would result in friction and conflict between the two, and because Insurgents were already committing abuses against the inhabitants of the city.

"Booty," such as that claimed by Aguinaldo, was not recognized by the United States.

For legal and practical reasons, the United States was unable to meet Aguinaldo's two conditions precedent to the withdrawal of his troops: protection to Filipino shipping and the free navigation of their vessels; and restitution to Aguinaldo's forces of all positions then occupied by them in the event that the United States should return the Philippines to Spain.

After thus replying to Aguinaldo's proposals, Otis informed the Insurgent commander that he had received no instructions as to the policy which the United States intended to pursue, "in regard to its legitimate holdings here," and served notice upon him that "unless your troops are withdrawn beyond the line of the city's defences before Thursday the 15th instant, I shall be obliged to resort to forcible action." [2]

Otis's calm and temperate discussion of the situation, coupled with the firm statement of intention with which it closed, produced a decided effect upon Aguinaldo. The Filipino commander, however, feared that he would be unable to move his troops upon a demand, and requested that the American's letter be withdrawn and replaced by a simple request unaccompanied by any threat of force. Otis refused to withdraw his communication, but furnished Aguinaldo with the request which the latter needed. On the evening of the fifteenth of September the Filipino troops were withdrawn from Manila and its suburbs. "The withdrawal," Otis recorded, "was affected adroitly, as the insurgents marched out in excellent spirits, cheering the American troops." [3]

I have given the facts concerning the evacuation of Manila by the Insurgent forces for the reason that this is the one instance I have found in which a promise was made, fortunately in the form of an offer which was not accepted, and then withdrawn. It has seemed to me that the reasons why General Merritt should never have made it, and why General Otis could not possibly have renewed it, should be fully set forth.

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[1] The editor has summarized Worcester's extensive quotations from this document.
[2] Report of War Department, 1899, Vol. I, part IV, pp. 5-10.
[3] *Ibid.*

Even after he had been forced out of Manila Aguinaldo still hoped to obtain recognition of his government by the United States, but did not consider such recognition probable, and pushed preparations to attack if a favourable opportunity should offer.

Before occupying ourselves with these preparations, let us briefly review the results of our investigations as to Insurgent coöperation with the American forces up to this time.

Taylor has made the following excellent summary of the case:—

> "Up to this time Aguinaldo had continued a desultory warfare with the Spanish troops in Manila. That none of his attacks were very serious is shown from the Spanish reports of casualties; but although he had failed to secure the surrender of the city to himself, he had kept its garrison occupied and within their works. The American force on land was now strong enough to begin offensive operations. So far the relations between the Americans and Aguinaldo had not been really friendly. They were in his way, and yet he could not break with them, for he hoped to use them for the attainment of the designs which he had by this time frankly declared. The Americans had listened to these declarations, and had not answered them, nor was it possible to answer them. The American forces were there under the instructions of the President to make war on Spain and to establish a military government in the Philippines. Aguinaldo had declared himself a dictator and the Philippines independent. To have recognized him in his civil capacity, to have dealt with him in his civil capacity, would have meant a recognition of his government by the military commander in the field—a thing impossible and unlawful.

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> "It has been claimed that Aguinaldo and his followers received the impression at this time from their conversation with American officers that the United States would undoubtedly recognize the independence of the Philippines, and that the coöperation of the insurgents was due to this impression. There was no coöperation. That he attempted in vain to secure the surrender of Manila to himself was not coöperation. That he refrained from attacking the Americans and occasionally permitted them to be furnished supplies, for which they paid, was not coöperation. The fact that for a time their plans and his plans were parallel does not mean coöperation. Aguinaldo was forced by the exigencies of the situation, by the necessity of strengthening his hold upon the people, by the necessities of his operations against the Spaniards, to make Spaniards and natives alike believe that all

that he did was with the aid of the Americans by whom he would be supported in all his acts. He needed their support, and if he could not obtain that he needed the appearance of their support for the attainment of his ends; and this he was forced to purchase by compliance, or apparent compliance, with their demands. But his compliance with them, as all American officers serving there well knew, was never willing, was never complete, and was never given except under pressure.

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"No report of operations or returns of strength were rendered by Aguinaldo at this or any other time to any American commander, and no American commander ever rendered such returns to him. At the time of General Merritt's arrival, and until Manila was occupied by the Americans, the insurgents and United States troops were united solely by the fact that they had Manila as a common objective. Conditions were such that the Americans, in order to obtain its surrender, had to avoid doing anything which might cause the insurgents to attack them and perhaps make terms with Spain; while Aguinaldo and his followers, in order to accomplish the surrender of Manila to themselves, had to maintain such relations with the Americans as would induce the Spaniards to believe that their fleet was at his disposal,[1] and also such apparent harmony and coöperation with them in the execution of their plans that the recalcitrant among the Filipinos would be forced to believe that the Americans would in all ways use their forces to support Aguinaldo in the attainment of his desires."[2] . . .

All that the Insurgents and the Americans ever had in common was an enemy. They each fought that enemy in their own way. There was no coöperation. On the part of the Insurgents there was treachery. I will submit further evidence of this fact.

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[1] See Buencamino's letter to Governor-General Augustin, p. 140.

[2] Taylor, 36 AJ *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV

THE PREMEDITATED INSURGENT ATTACK

IT will be remembered that the minutes of the session of the Hongkong junta at which Aguinaldo reported the result of his negotiations with Pratt and received his instructions relative to the trip to Manila, recorded the fact that there would be no better occasion for the expeditionary forces "to arm themselves at the expense of the Americans," and that provided with arms the Filipino people would be able to oppose themselves to the United States and combat their demands if they attempted to colonize the country.[1]

On August 24 an American soldier was killed and others were wounded in Cavite by Insurgent troops who fired from behind. An Insurgent officer in Cavite at the time reported on his record of services that he—

> "took part in the movement against the Americans on the afternoon of the 24th of August, under the orders of the commander of the troops and the adjutant of the post."

This shows that the movement was ordered; but the Insurgents promptly realized that it was ill advised.

The Insurgent records show that between August, 1898, and the following February the radical Filipino leaders regarded armed conflict with the United States as increasingly probable; that they made active preparations to attack the Americans should the latter seek to establish their sovereignty in the Philippines; and that Aguinaldo had great difficulty in restraining many of his subordinates until he was prepared to strike. It has already been noted that on August 8 Fernando Acevedo wrote General Pío del Pilar recommending that he attack and annihilate the Americans; that on August 10 del Pilar suggested to Aguinaldo that the Americans be attacked; and that on August 17 Aguinaldo stated: "The conflict is coming sooner or later."[2] In a letter dated September 21 Apacible repeated this phrase and asked Aguinaldo if "it would not be better for us to provoke the conflict while the Americans have not as yet concentrated their troops there?"[3]

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[1] See p. 104 *infra*.

[2] P. I. R., 427. 1.

[3] "The insolent commentary of the American Consul here, if it is true, clearly shows the intention of America to impose her will upon us by force. In this case, the conflict

On September 9 American troops made a reconnaissance through the fields at Sampaloc. Aguinaldo thereupon instructed General Garcia to place troops in front of the American position, to order them to leave, and to warn the bolo men.[1]

An unsigned draft of an order in Aguinaldo's handwriting dated Malolos, September 13 (?), 1898, shows that Aguinaldo was seriously considering the advisability of fighting rather than yielding to Otis's ultimatum to withdraw from Manila on September 15. This document contains instructions to General Pío de Pilar, General P. Garcia, and General Noriel or Colonel Cailles to post troops and prepare intrenchments along prescribed lines within the suburbs of Manila, and to be prepared for action on the 14th, 15th and 16th. "Keep strict vigilance at all hours," General del Pilar was warned. "In case you receive orders to leave that place, do not do so on any account without my orders, happen what may. . . . Concentrate all of your forces in Santa Ana before the day arrives." [2] The orders to the other commanders were in the same tone. Obviously, the maintenance of peace upon this occasion hung by a very slender thread.[3]

But war was not to begin at this time. On September 23 Bray wrote to Aguinaldo advising him to maintain a defensive attitude until the result of the negotiations at Paris should become known, giving way to the Americans and not showing his teeth. He could take the offensive later if advisable and should have little difficulty in settling accounts with the American soldiers.[4]

Bray suggested the possibility of an alliance between the American and the Spanish soldiers if a conflict should arise before the departure of the latter.[5]

Meanwhile preparations for the attack progressed. During September, Sandico wrote Aguinaldo suggesting the urgent necessity of

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will come sooner or later. Would it not be better for us to provoke the conflict while the Americans have not as yet concentrated their troops there? Or would it be better to wait for the results of the Congress of Paris? This question should be answered immediately by the committee on foreign relations of the Congress of representatives and the decision should be sent at once to us so that we can proceed according to your instructions."—P. I. R., 453. 11.

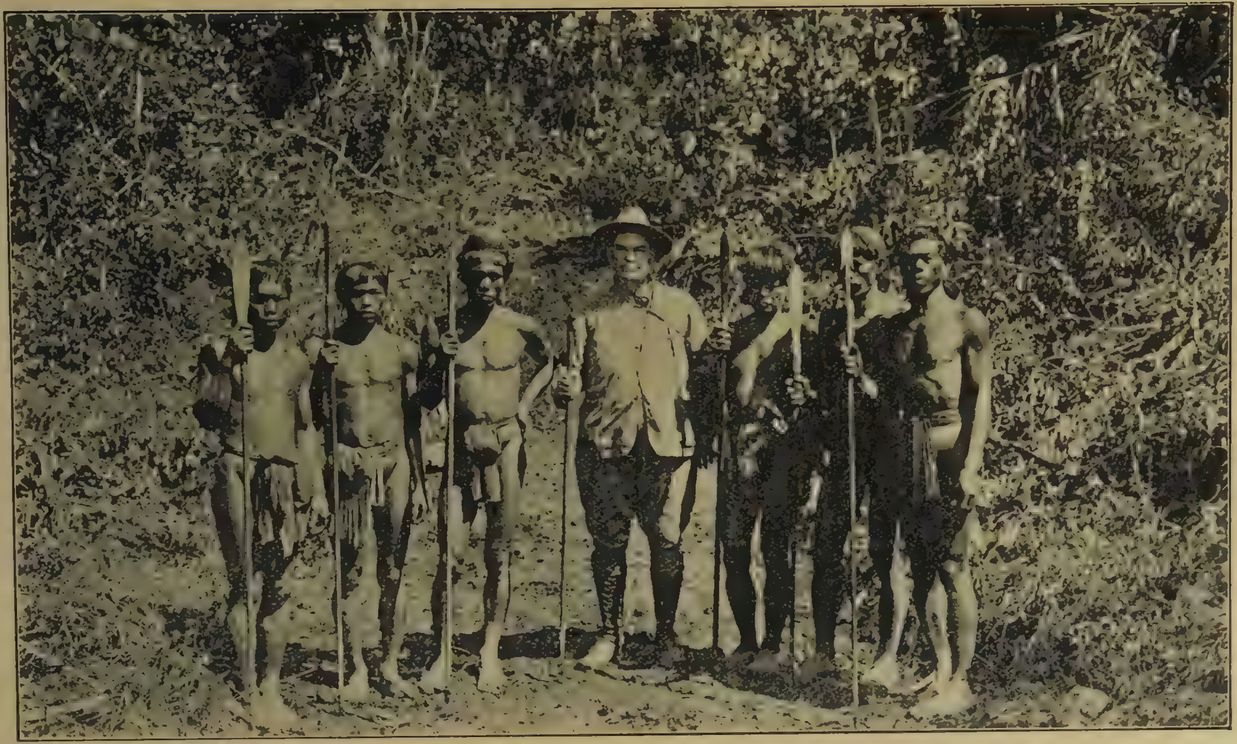
[1] "I gave an order long ago not to permit our line to be passed, and to say frankly that it was by my order. To be prepared to defend our rights you are ordered to place troops in front of American position at Sampaloc and to tell them plainly to leave, to warn the Sandatahan [bolo men.—D. C. W.] and get everything ready; you must warn the commanders of the zones about Manila. Do not forget, whenever in doubt."
—P. I. R., 849.

[2] P I. R., 88. 9.

[3] On September 14 the governor of Cavite telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows: "Most urgent. I desire to know from you the result of the ultimatum. Advise me if we must prepare our troops for action tomorrow. I await a reply."—P. I. R., 849.

[4] "Until the decision of the Paris Congress is known, all of us here are of the opinion that you should maintain a defensive attitude regarding the Americans, giving way to them with regard to Manila and its suburbs or in anything they may wish, although apparently only, and not show them your teeth. After the decision of the Congress is known, you may take the offensive if advisable. and according to the information we may have of the American soldiers it should not be difficult for you and your army to settle accounts with them."—P. I. R., 398. 6.

[5] "If you and the Americans should happen to come in conflict before the departure of the Spanish soldiers, it might happen that the Yankees would enter into an alliance with them to combat the Filipinos. Think well over this."—P. I. R., 398. 6.



Governor-General James F. Smith with a Bontoc Igorot Escort.

Up to the time of Governor-General Smith, no governor-general had ever penetrated the land of the Luzon head-hunters. He crossed Bontoc and Ifugao, in company with the author, in 1907. This photograph shows him on the crest of the Polis range, at the boundary line between these two sub-provinces, sixty-four hundred feet above the sea.

reorganizing the "masons" and the Katipúnan,[1] and that all be furnished with knives, to be kept hidden so that they might be "ready for any event."

In spite of efforts to keep the Insurgent soldiers in hand, feeling among them ran high, and they wanted to fight.[2] On November 30, 1898, General Mascardo telegraphed from San Fernando to Aguinaldo asking if he might begin firing in order to prevent the American troops from disembarking, and Aguinaldo promptly answered in the affirmative.[3]

On December 5 Malvar telegraphed from Lipa that according to a despatch from Batangas, American divers were working unceasingly and that a subordinate had ordered that they be fired on if they attempted to land. Aguinaldo replied that he did not mind their working at sea, but that they must not be allowed to land under any circumstances.[4]

On December 6 Sandico telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "The difficulty of last night at the San Juan picket with the American troops has been adjusted without prejudice. Our preparations ought to continue. Awaiting orders."[5]

San Juan was where the firing commenced on February 4, 1899.

On December 9 Cailles wired Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "Report to you that there are 3000 Americans in front of our position at Singalong. I do not know what they wish; if they enter Pineda I open fire."[6]

By this time the Insurgents had made up their minds that the Americans, who had been bearing their insults in silence, were cowards. Aguinaldo's indorsement on this telegram reads:—

> "Answered: Nevertheless the 3000 American soldiers are few against my Colonel and his 300 soldiers, and I believe you have more than that number. E. A., Dec. 12, 1898."[7]

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[1] "It is also of urgent necessity, Señor President, to reëstablish committees in all the suburbs and that the masons and the Katipúnan be reorganized, and it is advisable that all be provided with knives ready for any event, but it is proper that these arms be hidden."—P. I. R., 466. 9.

[2] "Our soldiers are always desirous of fighting in order to bring affairs to an end, as they are very resentful with regard to the evacuation of the suburbs mentioned."
P. I. R., Books C–1.

[3] "Most urgent. Have received telegraphic order from War Dept., which says: 'Prevent American troops from disembarking.' In case they insist what am I to do? May I begin firing?"

This telegram was indorsed by Aguinaldo:—

"Answered affirmatively December 1, 1898."—P. I. R., 849.

[4] "Most urgent. According to despatch from Captain detached at Batangas, American divers are working unceasingly. He says that he ordered them to be fired on in case they try to land. Await your reply."

Aguinaldo's reply ran as follows:—

"I do not mind their working at sea, but you must under no conditions allow them to land troops; be brave for the sake of your Tagálog heart. Approve your action."
P. I. R., 1179. 2.

[5] P. I. R., 849.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

Relative to the insults which were at this time showered upon Americans, Taylor has made the following statement:[1]—

> "Fortune had been good to Aguinaldo and his associates in the eight months during which the United States had prevented Spain from relieving her beleaguered garrisons in the Philippines, and she might still be kind. The men about Aguinaldo who had risen farthest and fastest could not endure the thought of having to accept subordinate positions in a government not directed by themselves. The halberdiers at the door of the palace of the president saluted them as the halberdiers at the doorway of his lordship the governor-general in Manila had struck the marble steps with their halberds at the coming of the Spanish generals. They swaggered down the streets of Malolos, clashing their swords behind them, and they knew that if they won, the Philippines would be divided into fiefs which they, as dukes and marquises, would hold in feudal tenure from a Malay potentate. They were confident. They held Luzón. They held the people. They had no intention of returning to office stools or to the life of outlaws and hunted men. The United States force in Manila was small and America was far. It was true that they might have to fight for the prize which they had seized, but the military leaders about Aguinaldo were confident of winning in case they fought. They believed the Americans were afraid of them and would be easily beaten. American soldiers had been seized and had been insulted by the followers of Aguinaldo and no resort had been made to force. The Americans had been ordered to avoid bringing on an engagement and had obeyed. It is also probable that many of the insults to which they had been subjected were not appreciated by them. A tall soldier from western America paid no attention to the insults hurled at him in a language which he did not understand. And yet the small excited Filipinos might retire feeling that the American had tamely submitted to insult worse than a blow."

By the middle of December, Aguinaldo had placed in position in the vicinity of Manila all of the field guns in his possession.

The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10. It provided for the termination of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines. This was what the Insurgents had been waiting for, and thereafter things moved rapidly. It is obvious that an attack was definitely planned for at this time, for on December 21, Commandant F. E. Rey telegraphed Aguinaldo that the second chief of the second zone of Manila had directed him to assist by entering that city as soon as they opened fire against the American troops.[2]

On the following day Cailles reported that he had occupied blockhouse No. 12, which was within the American lines, and added the following significant statement:—

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[1] 56 Taylor AJ.

[2] "We are constantly alarmed here by American troops who wish to come within the military line. To-day received word from second chief, second zone, Manila, that as soon as they opened fire against the American troops I assist by entering Manila. I have no orders in this matter; I await your directions."—P. I. R., 849.

> "The order of yesterday was, on hearing the first shots from Santa Ana, for my whole force to hurl themselves on the American line of trenches, and to follow the living to Manila. The dead can lie with the dead. Yesterday we were content waiting for the arming of San Quintin."[1]

San Quintin's Day was the anniversary of the Sicilian vespers, the massacre of the French in Sicily in 1268. Obviously the Insurgents were planning something similar for Manila.

For some reason the attack was not made as planned, but there was no intention of abandoning it. Within fifteen days of January 1 some 40,000 Filipinos left Manila. Why? On January 7, Aguinaldo wrote to Señor Benito Legarda at Manila, saying:—

> "I beg you to leave Manila with your family and come here to Malolos, but not because I wish to frighten you—I merely wish to warn you for your satisfaction, although it is not yet the day or the week."[2]

Many details of the plan of attack have come into our possession. Doctor Manuel Xeres Burgos wrote Aguinaldo during January relative to a plan for an uprising of the prisoners in Bilibid Prison, saying that it should by all means come "before the movement is begun anywhere else," and calling attention to the necessity of stationing men to prevent the American soldiers near by in the Zorilla theatre from coming to the rescue. On the back of this letter there is a sketch plan showing where bolo men were to be stationed, ready to attack these soldiers.[3]

In his message to the Malolos Congress dated January 1, 1899, Aguinaldo said:—

> "I consider arguments unnecessary in support of the proposed amendments, every one knows that our newborn Republic now has to fight for its existence against giants in ambition and in power."[4]

An unsigned letter addressed to Apacible on January 4, 1899, contains the following statement:—

> "It appears that conflict with the Americans is imminent and inevitable. Several of their vessels with thousands of soldiers commanded

[1] P. I. R., 849.

[2] Taylor, 70 AJ.

[3] "It is absolutely necessary that an order be received here permitting the uprising of those in prison before the movement is begun anywhere else; in the prison the word shall be given at the moment the bugle sounds retreat; it is indispensable that some of our party be prepared in the vicinity of the Iris bridge, San Pedro street and Dulumbrayan bridge, in order to prevent the Americans quartered in the Pennsylvania barracks (Zorilla theatre) from aiding those in the prison."—P. I. R., 73. 3.

[4] P. I. R., 40. 8.

by General Miller were sent to Iloilo on December 20th last to take that port together with the whole of Visayas and Mindanao." [1]

On January 4 the following significant telegram was sent out:—

"Circular Telegram from the Secretary of the Interior to Provincial Presidents, wherever there may be Telegraphic Service, to be communicated to the Local Chiefs of each Town.

"MALOLOS, January 4, 1899, 9.35 A.M.

"To the Provincial President of the Province of Pangasinán:

"Hasten the preparation of all the towns in order to oppose the American invasion. See that all the inhabitants prepare their bolos and daggers; also that in each street and barrio national militia is organized, each six of whom should be commanded by a corporal, each thirteen by a sergeant, each twenty-six by a second lieutenant, each fifty-two by a first lieutenant, and each one hundred and four by a captain, directing that the soldiers of the national militia elect their own officers, informing all that upon our attitude depends our salvation.

"LINGAYEN, January 4, 1899."

There is a note thereon which reads:—

"Communicate this to all of the local chiefs, and to the commanding general."

(Signed by initials which are illegible, but evidently those of the Provincial President.) [2]

On January 5, 1899, Aguinaldo issued a proclamation which contains the following statement:—

"The said generals accepted my concessions in favor of peace and friendship as indications of weakness. Thus it is, that with rising ambition, they ordered forces to Iloilo on December 26, with the purpose of acquiring for themselves the title of conquerors of that portion of the Philippine Islands occupied by my government.

* * * * * * *

"My government cannot remain indifferent in view of such a violent and aggressive seizure of a portion of its territory by a nation which has arrogated to itself the title, 'champion of oppressed nations.' Thus it is that my government is ready to open hostilities if the American troops attempt to take forcible possession of the Visayan Islands. I announce these rights before the world, in order that the conscience of mankind may pronounce its infallible verdict as to who are the true oppressors of nations and the tormentors of human kind.

"Upon their heads be all the blood which may be shed." [3]

Three days later this proclamation, which was rather dangerously like a declaration of war, was reissued with a significant change in the last one of the passages quoted, the words "attempt to take forcible possession of any part of the territory submitted to its jurisdiction" being substituted for the words "attempt to take forcible possession of the Visayan Islands."

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[1] *Ibid.*, Books C-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1141. 3.

[3] P. I. R., 1186. 10.

On January 8, 1899, at 9.40 P.M., Sandico telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

> "NOTE.—In consequence of the orders of General Rios to his officers, as soon as the Filipino attack begins the Americans should be driven into the Intramuros district and the Walled city should be set on fire." [1]

Preparations for the attack, which was to begin inside the city of Manila, were now rapidly pushed to conclusion. Taylor's excellent summary of them shows that within the city Aguinaldo's lieutenants had organized a force of between 6,000 and 10,000 *sandatahan,* or bolo men. These individuals were without military training or discipline and, for the most part, were armed with long knives and daggers. They were to include the criminals who were confined in the Bilibid, from which penitentiary the political prisoners had already been released.[2] On January 9, 1899, Aguinaldo wrote his instructions for the rising of the *sandatahan*. Taylor describes these orders and the purpose and philosophy behind them, as follows:

> "Members of this body were to enter the houses of the American officers on the pretext of bringing them presents. Once in they were to kill. The sentinels at the gates of the barracks were to be approached by men dressed as women and killed. The gates of the barracks held and as many officers as possible treacherously murdered, the sandatahan were to rise throughout the city, and by attacking

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[1] *Ibid.,* 849. On January 9 and January 29 five conferences "with the aim of reaching an agreement upon questions affecting the relations between the Americans and the Filipinos" were held in Manila between commissions composed, respectively, of American army officers and representatives of the Malolos government. No agreement was reached, however, because the purposes of the Mabini group, then in the ascendency in Aguinaldo's cabinet, and those of the United States were fundamentally in opposition. Le Roy presents an excellent, and well documented account of this effort to avert a conflict. (Le Roy, I, 407–416.)

Le Roy's conclusion concerning these negotiations is as follows: "At that time the 'war party' had, by resolution, confirmed Aguinaldo in the presidency, and had finally put through the clauses which virtually put it in his power to declare war as well as to make laws dictatorily. The chance for adjustment was past. Having failed to entrap the Americans in his childish snare and to secure quasi-recognition for his government, Mabini, who at heart desired little or no American 'protection,' and readily believed it unnecessary, became convinced that the Americans were bent on aggression; and, having carried his will at Malolos, he was now anxious to strike before American reinforcements arrived." (*Ibid.,* pp. 414–415. The official minutes of the conferences are to be found in Sen. Doc. 331, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 2709–2751.)

That the Americans were not wholly without guile in their dealings with the Filipinos at this time is suggested by the following statement subsequently made by General R. P. Hughes, the ranking American commissioner: "We were very sorry, at least I was, to have the conferences stopped, because I was trying to prolong them until General Lawton's ship could get in with four battalions, which we needed very much. But we could not stretch it out any longer." (*Ibid.,* p. 572.) [Ed.]

[2] Worcester's original work makes extensive quotations upon this subject from Taylor's narrative, Vol. I, pp. 137–39.

in the rear the United States troops on the outer line were to aid in opening a way for Aguinaldo's force. To further increase the confusion and perhaps to punish the natives who had not joined them, the sandatahan were to fire the city.

* * * * * * *

"It is a fair deduction from Luna's orders for an uprising in Manila, from Aguinaldo's instructions for the sandatahan, from other documents among the papers of the insurgents and from what was done in Manila on February 22 that Aguinaldo and his advisers about the middle of January, 1899, drew up a plan of attack upon Manila which would, if carried out, have inflicted a severe blow upon the Americans. It was not carried out, but that was not the fault of Aguinaldo or of Luna.

"It is true that the instructions were general; but that particular instructions were given by Aguinaldo himself for the murder of General Otis is shown by his note on the back of a document presented to him.[1]

". . . And then there was nothing abhorrent to Aguinaldo and the men about him in beginning a war by the murder of the commanding general on the other side.

* * * * * * *

". . . Aguinaldo and all his followers have declared that on February 4 the Americans attacked the unsuspecting Filipinos who were using their utmost efforts to avoid a war. And yet here in Aguinaldo's own handwriting is the record of the fact that on January 10, 1899, he ordered the murder of the American commander.

"The attack which Aguinaldo was preparing to deliver upon and in Manila was not to be a mere raid such as the bandits of Cavite were in the habit of making upon the defenceless towns. The plan was a piece of calculated savagery in which murder and outrage were considered means to accomplish a purpose. The servants were to kill their employers; organized bands, dressed in the dress of civilians, living in the city of Manila under the government of the Americans, in many cases employed by the Americans, were to suddenly fall upon the barracks of the American soldiers and massacre the inmates; all Americans in the streets were to be killed, the city was to be fired and its loot was to be the reward of loyalty to Aguinaldo. If this plan had been carried out no white man and no white woman would have escaped. The reënforcements from the United States would have arrived to find only the smoking ruins of Manila. Buencamino had warned General Augustín what the fate of Manila would be if taken by a horde of Indians drunk with victory. That fate was now deliberately planned for the city. Aguinaldo planned to occupy the capital not as it had been occupied by the Americans. He planned to take it as Count Tilly took Magdeburg.

"The authors of this plan were not savages. Mabini, Sandico, and

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[1] See p. 228 for this document and the argument of a Filipino scholar that Aguinaldo did not mean that Otis should be assassinated.

Governor-general Forbes in the Wild Man's Country.

Mr. Forbes has made frequent trips through the wild man's country in Northern Luzon, and knows it from end to end. Its people know and like him. This photograph shows a crowd of Ifugaos welcoming him on his arrival at Banaue in May, 1913. They are clapping their hands over their heads in true Ifugao fashion.

Luna, Asiatics educated in European schools, were men of trained and subtle minds. With them cruelty and assassination was not a matter of savage impulse but of deliberate calculation; with them assassination was employed as an effective addition to political propaganda, and murder as an ultimate resource in political manœuvres." [1]

The Filipinos were now ready to assume the offensive, but desired, if possible, to provoke the Americans into firing the first shot. They made no secret of their desire for conflict, but increased their hostile demonstrations and pushed their lines forward into forbidden territory. Their attitude is well illustrated by the following extract from a telegram sent by Colonel Cailles to Aguinaldo on January 10, 1899:—

"Most urgent. An American interpreter has come to tell me to withdraw our forces in Maytubig fifty paces. I shall not draw back a step, and in place of withdrawing, I shall advance a little farther. He brings a letter from his general, in which he speaks to me as a friend. I said that from the day I knew that Maquinley (McKinley) opposed our independence I did not want any dealings with any American. War, war, is what we want. The Americans after this speech went off pale." [2]

Aguinaldo approved the hostile attitude of Cailles, for there is a reply in his handwriting which reads:—

"I approve and applaud what you have done with the Americans, and zeal and valour always, also my beloved officers and soldiers there. I believe that they are playing us until the arrival of their reënforcements, but I shall send an ultimatum and remain always on the alert.—E. A. Jan. 10, 1899." [3]

On this same day Aguinaldo commissioned Feliciano Cruz and Severino Quitiongco to assassinate General Otis.[4]

On January 13 Noriel and Cailles telegraphed Aguinaldo as follows:—

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[1] Taylor, 68–9 AJ. Extracts from Aguinaldo's instructions quoted in the earlier editions of this work, pages 140-142, contain detailed instructions which fully support Taylor's characterization of the rising which was planned. Yet Aguinaldo, in this instance as in many others, directed his followers to avoid conduct which would bring the Filipinos into disrepute in the outside world. Article 12 of his instructions contained the following injunction:

". . . Neither will you forget your sacred oath and immaculate banner; nor will you forget the promises made by me to the civilized nations, whom I have assured that we Filipinos are not savages, nor thieves, nor assassins, nor are we cruel, but on the contrary, that we are men of culture and patriotism, honourable and very humane." (P. I. R., 206–207.)

He also declared to his subordinates:

"Above all I expect that you will respect the persons and goods of private persons of all nationalities, including the Chinese; that you will treat well the prisoners and grant life to those of the enemy who surrender. And that you be on the sharp lookout for those traitors and enemies who, by robbery, will seek to mar our victory."

[2] P. I. R., 849.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] For the document on which this statement is based and a Filipino interpretation of it, see p. 228.

"We desire to know results of ultimatum which you mention in your telegram, and we also wish to know what reward our Government is arranging for the forces that will be able first to enter Manila."

This telegram is indorsed in Aguinaldo's handwriting:

"As to the contents of your telegram, those who will be the heroes will have as their rewards a large quantity of money, extraordinary rewards, promotions, crosses of Biak-na-bató, Marquis of Malate, Ermita, Count of Manila, etc., besides the congratulations of our idolizing country on account of their being patriotic, and more, if they capture the regiments with their generals, and, if possible, the chief of them all who represents our future enemies in Manila, which (lot?) falls to you, or better said, to General Noriel and Colonel Cailles.

"The ultimatum has not been sent, but it will be within a few days.

(Signed) "E. A.
"MALOLOS, Jan. 14, 1899." [1]

On January 14, 1899, the people at Aparri shouted: "Death to the Americans," and held a review to celebrate the rupture of friendly relations with the United States.[2]

At this time Aguinaldo had a dream about a victorious attack upon Manila and telegraphed it to some of his officers. General García replied from Caloocan on January 17 that the dream would come true as soon as the conflict with the Americans began.[3]

On January 21, 1899, Aguinaldo was still not quite ready, and ordered that the Filipino soldiers in the walled city keep on good terms with the Americans, in order to deceive them, "since the hoped-for moment has not yet arrived." [4]

The Insurgents grew surer and surer that the Americans were cowards,[5] and openly boasted that when the attack began they would drive them into the sea.

[1] P. I. R., 849.

[2] Taylor, 81 AJ.

[3] "In reply to your telegram concerning your dream of entering Manila after four hours of combat. I have the honour to inform you for myself and the officers and soldiers under my command that your dream will come true as soon as the conflict with the Americans begins, since we shall advance at any cost."—P. I. R., 849.

[4] On January 21, 1899, the commander of the fourth zone, Caloocan, wired Aguinaldo that:

"Julian Santo, commander of the territorial militia of Trozo, informs me that 400 native soldiers of the Spanish army to-day incorporated in his militia. He lives in the walled city, and he wants to know your opinion upon the present situation, since the Americans want to hold them as prisoners or confine them in Bilibid prison."

(Indorsed, handwriting of Aguinaldo:) "Tell the Filipino soldiers in the walled city affiliated to our cause that they must keep on good terms with the Americans, in order to deceive them, and prevent their confining them, since the hoped-for moment has not yet arrived."—P. I. R., 849.

[5] On January 20, 1899, a correspondent wrote to one of the Insurgents abroad:

"In some places (Manila) there have been fights with bolos between Filipinos and Americans who wanted to tear down the proclamation of our president while the people defended it with their bolos. They say that it amuses them to see the Americans run when they draw their knives. It is said that some 10,000 servants have gone on strike. Some Americans have already disappeared by the method of 'dukut' but it will not be proper to publish this in my opinion."—P. I. R., 980. 82.

On January 21 General Otis wrote to Admiral Dewey that:—

> "The insurgents will not now permit us to cross their lines and have been very insulting to our officers, calling to them that very shortly they will give us battle. My best information is that they have fully determined to attack both outside and within the city before our additional troops arrive, and the least spark may start a conflagration."[1]

As the date of the proposed attack drew near, the work of strengthening the Insurgent positions around Manila was pushed with all possible speed.[2]

About the middle of January General Otis stationed the First Nebraska Regiment upon the high ground at Santa Mesa for sanitary reasons. Of conditions at this time, and of the circumstances leading to the actual outbreak of hostilities Taylor says:—

> "During the latter part of January General Otis was informed on good insurgent authority that the insurgents meditated an attack upon those troops, and he was advised to remove them, as in their exposed position they would kill them all. General MacArthur, under whose command the regiment was, placed two guns in position there, as it was fully expected that the insurgents would direct their attack upon that point, as in fact they did. On February 4, 1899, the tents of the regiment covered the ridge, and its outposts extended along the San Juan River, a small stream which formed part of the line of delimitation between the Americans and the insurgents.
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> "For some days before the outbreak of hostilities the pressure of the insurgents was constant along this position, so constant indeed that in the light of subsequent events it indicated a premeditated purpose on the part of some one in the insurgent army to force a collision at that point. On February 2 General MacArthur, commanding the Second Division of the Eighth Army Corps, wrote to the commanding general of the Filipino troops in the third zone in front of him that—
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> " 'An armed party from your command now occupies the village in front of blockhouse No. 7, at a point considerably more than a hundred yards on my side of the line, and is very active in exhibiting hostile intentions. This party must be withdrawn to your side of the

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[1] Taylor, AJ. 73.

[2] (Telegram received by E. Aguinaldo:)

"To the President of the Republic, Malolos, from the Provincial Governor of Manila, San Juan del Monte, Jan. 29, 1899, 10.25 A.M.: I yesterday visited the military road in process of construction, Santa Ana to Pineda. To-morrow it will be sufficiently completed to permit passage, and in two days after it will be finished. Considering opening another military road direct from Caloocan to San Juan. Desire authority."

(Indorsed, handwriting of Aguinaldo:) "Telegram received. I am very much satisfied, and in the name of the government I congratulate you and the presidents of Santa Ana and Pineda with their inhabitants for their efforts for the public good. You are authorized to open another military road from Caloocan to San Juan del Monte, and I want you to endeavor to finish it this week, as I am certain you will."—P. I. R. 849.

(Telegram received by E. Aguinaldo:)

"To the Secretary of the Interior, Malolos, from San Juan del Monte—Received Feb. 3, 1899 from the Provincial Governor Manila: Road marked out; work began Wednesday. I shall put forth every effort to finish by middle of the coming week."—P. I. R., 849.

line at once. From this date if the line is crossed by your men with arms in their hands they must be regarded as subject to such action as I may deem necessary.'

"Colonel San Miguel, who commanded at San Juan del Monte, replied upon the receipt of this communication that the action of his troops was foreign to his wishes and that he would give immediate orders for them to retire. At about half past 8 on the night of February 4 a small insurgent patrol entered the territory within the American lines at blockhouse No. 7 and advanced to the little village of Santol in front of an outpost of the Nebraska regiment. This was the same point from which the insurgents had been compelled to retire on February 2. An American outpost challenged, and then as the insurgent patrol continued to advance the sentinel fired, whereupon the insurgent patrol retired to blockhouse No. 7, from which fire was immediately opened upon the Americans. This fire spread rapidly down the American and insurgent lines and both forces at once sprang to arms." [1]

General Otis's account of the opening of active hostilities is in agreement with this account. It concludes with the following interpretation of the Filipino aggression:—

"The insurgents had thus succeeded in drawing the fire of a small outpost, which they had evidently labored with all their ingenuity to accomplish, in order to justify in some way their premeditated attack. It is not believed that the chief insurgent leaders wished to open hostilities at this time, as they were not completely prepared to assume the initiative. They desired two or three days more to perfect their arrangements, but the zeal of their army brought on the crisis which anticipated their premeditated action. They could not have delayed long, however, for it was their object to force an issue before American troops, then en route, could arrive in Manila." [2]

Thus began the Insurgent attack, so long and so carefully planned for. We learn from the Insurgent records that the shot of the American sentry missed its mark. There was no reason why it should have provoked a hot return fire, but it did.

The result of the ensuing combat was not at all what the Insurgents had anticipated. The Americans did not drive very well. It was but a short time before they themselves were routed and driven from their positions.

Aguinaldo of course promptly advanced the claim that his troops had been wantonly attacked. The plain fact is that the Insurgent patrol in question deliberately drew the fire of the American sentry, and this was just as much an act of war as was the firing of the shot.

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[1] Taylor, 73 AJ.

[2] *Ibid.*, Cf. also Le Roy, II, pp. 1–19.

Whether the patrol was acting under proper orders from higher authority is not definitely known.

In this connection the following telegram sent by Captain Zialcita from Santa Ana on February 4, 1899, at 9.55 P.M., to Major Gray, San Juan del Monte, is highly interesting:

> "I received the telegram forwarded from Malolos. General Ricarte is not here. I believe (that if the) Americans open fire we shall attack. Will ask instructions (of) Malolos."[1]

This looks as if Zialcita at least knew that something was to be done to draw the American fire.

There is other correspondence which throws light on the situation which existed immediately prior to the outbreak of hostilities. On January 25, 1899, Agoncillo cabled from Washington to Apacible in Hongkong: "Recommend you await beginning American aggression, justifying our conduct nations."[2]

Apacible apparently did not take this view of the matter, for on January 31 he wrote to Aguinaldo that the Senate in Washington would take final vote upon the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain on February 6, and said:—

> "It is urgently necessary for America to answer us immediately before the ratification of the treaty. A conflict after the ratification of the treaty would be unfavorable to us in public opinion."[3]

Obviously this letter might be interpreted as a recommendation that hostilities begin before February 6 if America did not answer meanwhile. It was evidently well understood in Hongkong that Aguinaldo's receipt of Apacible's letter might cause war to begin, for on February 3, 1899, Bray, anticipating the outbreak of hostilities of the following day, cabled Senator Hoar at Washington as follows:—

> "Receive caution news hostilities Manila discredited here denied Filipino circles supposed political move influence vote Senate to-day any case insignificant skirmish due intentional provocation.
>
> "BRAY."[4]

The extracts from the Insurgent records above quoted leave no escape from the conclusion that the outbreak of hostilities which occurred on February 4, 1899, had been carefully prepared for and was deliberately precipitated by the Filipinos themselves.[5]

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[1] P. I. R., 2018.

[2] P. I. R., 453. 4.

[3] P. I. R., 453. 2.

[4] P. I. R., 493. 12.

[5] American and Filipino authorities, however are practically agreed that the actual Filipino attack was made prematurely, and without actual orders from the Malolos government. Le Roy says on this point, "While, therefore, it has been shown that the Malolos party and their military commanders were practically ready to break the peace, the evidence at hand goes to show that they were caught off their guard by the

The Insurgents fully believed at this time that they could establish their independence by force of arms.[1] We have seen how they held their soldiers in check until after Spain had been ousted from the Philippines by the Treaty of Paris as they had originally planned to do. It now only remained to carry out the balance of their original plan to get rid of the Americans in one way or another.

General Otis states that "when Aguinaldo had completed his preparations for attack he prepared the outlines of his declaration of war, the full text of which was published at Malolos on the evening, and very shortly after, hostilities began. This declaration was circulated in Manila on the morning of February 5."[2]

The Insurgents brought down upon themselves the punishment which they received on February 4 and 5.

Blount has stated[3] that if the resolutions of Senator Bacon introduced on January 11, 1899, had passed, we never should have had any war with the Filipinos. The resolutions in question concluded thus:—

> "That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands except for the pacification thereof, and assert their determination when an independent government shall have been duly erected therein entitled to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people."

I must take issue with Blount as to the effect which these resolutions might have had if passed. The Insurgents felt themselves to be fully competent to bring about such pacification of the islands as they deemed necessary. At the time the resolutions were presented in the Senate their soldiers were straining at the leash, ready to attack their American opponents upon the most slender excuse. Aguinaldo himself could not have held them much longer, and it is not impossible that they got away from him as it was. They would have interpreted the passage of the Bacon resolutions as a further evidence of weakness, and hastened their attack. As we have seen, "war, war, war" was what they wanted.

Blount has endeavoured to shift the responsibility for the outbreak

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fight of February 4. Nevertheless, Aguinaldo seems to have had a draft of a proclamation of war all ready, and at the first tick of the telegraph reporting the trouble in front of Manila, it was reeled off the old press at Malolos." (Le Roy, II, pp. 18–19.) See also, Elliott, pages 450–453. [Ed.]

[1] Kalaw states upon this point: "It has often been claimed that the Revolutionary Government entertained the idea at the beginning that the Filipinos could triumph over the Americans. While this feeling may have been shared by the soldiery and lower officials, Aguinaldo, Mabini and others, certainly never for a moment thought that this was possible. This is borne out by many proofs." (Kalaw, p. 216.)

[2] Taylor, 86A.J.

[3] Blount, p. 175.

THE PHILIPPINE SUPREME COURT.

From left to right, Justice Moreland, Justice Johnson, Justice Torres, Chief-Justice Arellano, Justice Mapa, Justice Carson, and Justice Trent. The court is shown as constituted between 1909 and 1913.

of hostilities to the United States by claiming that certain words italicized by him in what he calls the "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" were necessarily, to the Insurgents, "fighting words." The expressions referred to have to do with the establishment of United States sovereignty and the exercise of governmental control in the Philippine Islands.

These words were not "fighting words," the Insurgent policy being, as I have shown by the records, to consider the acceptance of a protectorate or of annexation in the event that it did not prove possible to negotiate absolute independence, or probable that the American troops could be driven from the islands.[1]

The growing confidence of the Insurgents in their ability to whip the cowardly Americans, rather than any fixed determination on their part to push a struggle for independence to the bitter end, led to their attack.

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[1] Kalaw's view as to the effect of the "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" is as follows: "From this document the Filipino people learned in an unmistakable manner that they were to be deprived of the boon for which they were fighting—independence. . . . In spite of the changes made by General Otis the Revolutionary Government received the document with anger. . . . The minute the United States decided to retain the Philippines unconditionally, without any promise, express or implied, that the Filipino people would in time be an independent nation, and that in pursuance of the decision she was determined to extend her sovereignty at all cost over the country—from that time on war was inevitable." (*Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170, 175.)

The editor believes that Kalaw's statement is probably correct. It is his opinion that in the last paragraphs of this chapter Worcester fails to take adequate account of the power of Mabini and his supporters who, in January, 1899, were really determined "to push a struggle for independence to the bitter end," rather than to yield unconditional submission to American sovereignty. The attack upon the American troops resulted from a combination of circumstances in which both this determination and "the growing confidence of the Insurgents in their ability to whip the cowardly Americans" were important factors.

Le Roy concludes his discussion of the events which led up to the outbreak on February 4 with the following observations. "Still, when two armies face each other in the attitude which these two had now assumed, the blame for trouble, when trouble comes, *is to be found rather in the condition existing between them than in the attitudes of the respective commanders or forces themselves.* (Italics the editor's.). . . . One side was waiting, with trigger drawn and aim taken, only for the other to convert bluster into action. Their opponents, less restrained by discipline, and excited by belief in an easy victory over men they were being trained to hate as white barbarians, might at any time disregard the word from above, which was still the cautious 'It is not yet time.' Peace must now be obtained by an effort; war would come of itself." (Le Roy, I, pp. 423–424.)

Speaking of the inability of the Otis and Aguinaldo commissions to reach an agreement during the January negotiations, Fernandez states (p. 151): "The attempt to preserve 'peace and harmonious relations' failed, and under the circumstances any such attempt was bound to fail. Then, more than ever, was it clear that American 'designs' were in conflict with 'Filipino pretensions.'"

This statement goes to the heart of the whole matter. Neither party was willing to give way: hence the war. What would have happened had the United States adopted and announced the policy expressed in Senator Bacon's resolution is, of course, pure speculation. [Ed.]

CHAPTER V

INSURGENT RULE AND THE WILCOX-SARGENT REPORT

THE Good Book says, "By their fruits ye shall know them, whether they be good or evil," and it seems proper to apply this test to the Insurgents and their government.

The extraordinary claim has been advanced that the United States destroyed a republic in the Philippines and erected an oligarchy on its ruins. Various writers and speakers who have not gone so far as this have yet maintained that Aguinaldo and his associates established a real, effective government throughout the archipelago during the interim between his return and the outbreak of hostilities with the United States.

Sweeping claims as to the excellent state of public order in the Insurgent territory at this time have been based upon a report of Paymaster W. E. Wilcox and Naval Cadet L. R. Sargent of the United States Navy, who between October 8 and November 20, 1898, made a long, rapid trip through northern Luzon, traversing the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Pangasinán, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Cagayan, South Ilocos and Union, in the order named, thence proceeding to Dagupan and down the railroad through Pangasinán, Tarlac, Pampanga and Bulacan to Manila.[1] It has been asserted that these gentlemen found the authority of Aguinaldo's government universally acknowledged, the country in a state of perfect tranquillity and public order, with profound peace and freedom from brigandage and the like.

Now if it be true that Aguinaldo established complete machinery of government throughout all of Luzon outside of Manila for all matters of justice, taxes and police, so that life and property were safe and peace, tranquillity and justice assured, we may well dispense with quibbling as to whether "republic" was the proper name to be applied to such government. But did he?

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[1] The Wilcox-Sargent report has been relied upon by a number of authors as evidence of the beneficent control exercised by Aguinaldo's government over the territory under its authority. Among these may be mentioned Blount, who based a number of his most important conclusions upon it, and, subsequently, Kalaw (p. 183), and Fernandez (p. 141). Le Roy, in the course of an extended discussion of the report and the articles written by Wilcox and Sargent, makes the following statements concerning its worthlessness as depicting the conditions then existing in Insurgent territory: "They are, in fact, remarkable, not for what the naval officers saw and learned, but for what they did not see . . . but it is plain that these Americans saw and learned only what the Filipino military officials intended for them to learn. . . . Some of the Americans' observations are interesting and are valuable in a confirmatory way; but their report is not a document upon which, by itself, to base conclusions of any importance. . . . The Wilcox and Sargent documents are only of value as interesting little bits of travel at an interesting time;" . . . (Le Roy, I, p. 334, n. 1.) The Wilcox-Sargent report appears as *Report of Tour Through the Island of Luzon*, Senate Document No. 66, Fifty-sixth Congress, First Session, pp. 24–44. Magazine articles by the authors of the report are also printed in this document, pages 1–24.

The material in Chapters V, VI and VII of the earlier editions of Worcester's work has been somewhat condensed by the editor.

Let us examine with some care the history of the Wilcox-Sargent trip, and see if we can gain further light from other sources relative to the condition of public order in the territory which they traversed. I propose, for the most part, to let the captured Insurgent records speak for themselves, as it is fair to assume that Insurgent officers were at no pains to represent conditions as worse than they really were. In view of the fragmentary character of these records, we may also assume that the complete story would be still more interesting and instructive than the one which I have been able to reconstruct.

Messrs. Sargent and Wilcox were almost everywhere hospitably received, and were entertained with dinners and dances after the inimitable fashion of the hospitable Filipino everywhere. They gained a very favourable impression of the state of public order in the provinces through which they passed for the reason that from the very start their trip was strictly personally conducted. They saw exactly what it was intended that they should see and very little more. Their progress was several times interrupted for longer or shorter periods without adequate explanation. We now know that on these occasions the scenery so carefully prepared in advance for them had become a little disarranged and needed to be straightened up. Facts which I will cite show that most shocking and horrible events, of which they learned nothing, were occurring in the territory through which they passed.

For a considerable time before their departure American visitors had been carefully excluded from the Insurgent territory, but the Filipino leaders decided to let these two men go through it to the end that they might make as favourable a report as possible. How carefully the way was prepared for American visitors is shown by the following telegram:—

"San Pedro, Macati,
"July 30, 1898.

"To the Local Presidente of Pasig:

"You are hereby informed that the Americans are going to your town and they will ask your opinion [of what the people desire.—Tr.] You should answer them that we want a republican government. The same answer must be given throughout your jurisdiction.

(Signed) "Pío del Pilar,
"General of the Second Zone."[1]

Admiral Dewey has been quoted as having stated shortly after the return of Wilcox and Sargent that in his opinion their report "contains the most complete and reliable information obtainable in regard to the present state of the northern part of Luzon Island."[1] This was true. The admiral might have gone further and said that it contained practically the only information then obtainable in regard to conditions in the territory in question, but as I shall conclusively show it was neither complete nor reliable.

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[1] P. I. R., 958. 11.

Judge Blount in describing the experiences of Messrs. Wilcox and Sargent naïvely makes the statement that:

> "The tourists were provided at Rosales by order of Aguinaldo with a military escort, 'which was continued by relays all the way to Aparri.'"[2]

It certainly was!

Very little Spanish was then spoken in Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela or Cagayan. What opportunity had these two men, ignorant as they were of the native dialects, to learn the sinister facts as to what had been and was occurring in the territory which they visited?

No one can fail to be delighted with Filipino hospitality, which was lavishly bestowed upon them everywhere, and it is only natural that they should have reported favourably upon what they saw. It was about this time that an order was issued[3] that fronts of buildings should be whitewashed, streets cleaned and fences repaired with a view to showing every one, and especially travellers through the territory of the Insurgents, that they were "not opposed to a good such as a refined and civilized people should have." Doubtless the report of the two men from Dewey's fleet was made in the best of faith. I will now endeavour to show what were some of the actual conditions in the territory through which they passed.

Wilcox and Sargent first visited Bulacan. The Insurgent records show that in this province funds for the revolutionary cause were being systematically extorted from the Chinese merchants, who had been ruthlessly abused both by the Insurgent colonel in charge of the collections and the local Tagalogs.[4] In Pampanga, far from having "his whole people a unit at his back," Aguinaldo had already been opposed by the residents of the town of Macabebe and vicinity.[5] It was from these people that the famous Macabebe Scouts who served the Americans so loyally and effectively were recruited. Late in July the head of this province protested in writing that, "the punishment of beating people in the plaza and tying them up so that they would be exposed to the full rays of the sun should be stopped." He argued that such methods would not lead the people of other nations to believe that the reign of liberty and fraternity had begun in the Philippines.[1]

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[1] Blount, p. 108.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[3] "With a view to showing every one and especially foreigners travelling through the territory of the Republic, that we are not opposed to a good such as a refined and civilized people should have, the fronts of buildings should be whitewashed, streets should be cleaned and fences repaired."—P. I. R., 292. 3.

[4] P. I. R., 255. 11; 1187. 4. Colonel Ignacio Paua, the officer concerned, was of Chinese blood. He was later made a general.

[5] The records show that as early as June 26 the Macabebes had refused to send delegates to an Insurgent gathering of all the Pampanga municipalities. P. I. R. 223.

In Tarlac disorder was more serious and more general and it is hard to understand how the two American travellers could have failed to hear something of the seriously disturbed conditions if they so much as got off the train there. Serious resistance to Aguinaldo's agents and abuses against the inhabitants had occurred during the previous August and September.[2] On November 30 General Macabulos telegraphed Aguinaldo information concerning an armed uprising, and on December 18 the same officer reported that an Insurgent detachment at Camlin had been under fire for four hours from a band of Tulisanes (robbers).[3]

The following excerpt from a letter, dated December 27, 1898, to Aguinaldo from Juan Nepomuceno, Representative from Tarlac, speaks for itself as to conditions in the province shortly after the two Americans had passed through it on their return to Manila:—

> "I regret exceedingly being compelled to report to you that since Sunday the 25th instant scandalous acts have been going on in the Province of Tarlac, which I represent. On the night of the Sunday mentioned the entire family of the Local Chief of Bamban was murdered, and his house and warehouse were burned. Also the Tax Commissioner and the Secretary, Fabian Ignacio, have been murdered. Last night Señor Jacinto Vega was kidnapped at the town of Gerona; and seven travellers were murdered at O'Donnel, which town was pillaged, as well as the barrio of Matayumtayum of the town of La Paz. On that day various suspicious parties were seen in the town of Panique and in the same barrio, according to reliable reports which I have just received." [4]

Other official Insurgent reports to Aguinaldo despatched from Tarlac at about the same time confirm this account of chaotic conditions and show that the province was in a state of general demoralization. Indeed, the secretary of the interior recommended that the province should be declared to be in a state of siege,[5] the secretary of agriculture urged that Gregorio Aglipay, an extremely influential Ilocano religious leader be sent to quiet the district, and even offered to go there himself; [6] while Mabini summoned Aguinaldo to Malolos to decide what should be done to bring Tarlac under control.[1] Eventually civil and military commissioners supported by six companies of soldiers were sent to deal with the situation.[2]

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[1] P. I. R., 196. 3. When it is remembered that persons tied up and exposed to the full rays of the sun in the Philippine lowlands soon die, in a most uncomfortable manner, we shall agree with the head of this province that this custom has its objectionable features.

[2] P. I. R., 849.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] P. I. R., 944.

[5] P. I. R., 849.

[6] *Ibid.* Gregorio Aglipay is one the most remarkable men of his generation in the Philippines. A former priest of the Roman Catholic church, he formed a Philippine nationalist church which in 1918 had almost 1,500,000 adherents (*Census,* 1918, II, p. 51.)

In Pangasinan, the most populous province of Luzon, and the third in the Philippines in number of inhabitants, there were both governmental chaos and violent disorder during the period under consideration. A general description of conditions in this district was given to Aguinaldo in a letter addressed to him by Cecilio Apostol on July 6, 1898. Apostol wrote:—

> "You probably know that in the Province of Pangasinàn, of one of the towns in which your humble servant is a resident, the Spanish flag through our good fortune has not flown here for the past few months, since the few Spaniards who lived here have concentrated in Dagupan, a place not difficult of attack, as is said.
>
> "But this is what is going on in this Province: There exist here two Departmental Governments, one calling itself that of Northern Luzón and of which Don Vicente del Prado is the President, and the other which calls itself that of Northern and Central Luzón, presided over by Don Juliano Paraiso. Besides these two gentlemen, there are two governors in the province (!) one Civil Political Military, living in Lingayen, named Don Felipe J. Bartolomé, and another living in Real Guerrero, a town of Tayug, named Don Vicente Estrella. And in addition there are a large number of Administrators, Inspectors, Military Judges, Generals, . . . they cannot be counted. It is a pandemonium of which even Christ, who permits it, cannot make anything. Indeed, the situation is insupportable. . . .
>
> "But what I am sure of, and many other men also, is that there

Monsignor Aglipay was chaplain-general of the Filipino forces, and is now the Archbishop of the church which he founded.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* Still further light is thrown on the situation in Tarlac by the following extract from "Episodios de la Revolucion Filipina" by Padre Joaquin D. Duran, an Augustinian priest, Manila, 1901, page 71:—

"At that period the Filipinos, loving order, having been deceived of the emancipation promise, changed by the Katipúnan into crimes and attacks on the municipality of the pueblos, discontent broke out in all parts, and, although latent in some provinces, in that of Tarlac was materialized in an ex-sergeant of the late Spanish civil guard. A valorous and determined man, he lifted up his flag against that of Aguinaldo. One hundred rifles were sufficient to terrorize the inhabitants of said province, crushing the enthusiastic members of the revolutionary party. . . . Having taken possession of four towns, Pecheche would have been everywhere successful if ambition and pride had not directed his footsteps. In January, 1899, the Aguinaldista commander of Tarlac province, afraid that his whole province would espouse the cause of the sergeant, attempted by every means in his power to interrupt his career, not hesitating to avail himself of crime to destroy the influence of Pecheche with the many people who had been incensed by the Katipúnan and had in turn become firm partisans of the Guards of Honour."

This extract shows how easy it then was for any man of determination to acquire a following, especially if he could dispose of a few rifles. It also gives an excellent idea of the methods employed by the Insurgents in dealing with those who opposed their rule.

General Fred D. Grant once told me, with much amusement, of an interesting experience during a fight on Mt. Arayat in Pampanga. His men took a trench and captured some of its occupants. Several of these were impressed as guides and required to show the attacking forces the locations of other trenches. At first they served unwillingly, but presently became enthusiastic and rushed the works of their quondam fellow-soldiers in the van of the American attack. Finally they begged for guns. Grant added that he could start from Bacolor for San Fernando any morning with a supply of rifles and pick up volunteers enough to capture the place, and that on the return trip he could get enough more to attack Bacolor!

An Unsanitary Well.

This is a typical old-style well, with the family washing going on beside it. Under such circumstances infection of the well water invariably resulted.

A Flowing Artesian Well.

There is no way in which the water from such a well can become infected, and the death rate in some towns fortunate enough to possess them has fallen off fifty per cent, as a result.

is no order, that here there is not a single person in authority whom to obey. This superfluity of rulers will finally lead to strained relations between them and the towns of this province will end by paying the piper.

"But we poor ignorant creatures in so far as the republican form of government is concerned, in order to avoid worse evils took them at their word, obeyed them like automatons, hypnotized by the title of 'Insurgents' which they applied to themselves. But when I had an opportunity to read the said decree, doubts were forced upon me, I began to suspect—may God and they pardon me—that they were trying to impose upon us nicely, that, shielded by the motto, 'have faith in and submit to the will of the country' they came to these towns 'for business.' "[1]

In a letter dated August 17, 1898, to Aguinaldo, Benito Legarda complained that a bad impression had been produced by the news from Dagupan, Pangasinan, that when the Insurgents entered there, after many outrages committed upon the inmates of a girls' school, every officer had carried off those who suited him.[2]

In September, 1898, the civil governor of Pangasinan had to have an escort of troops in passing through the province.[3] On November 20, the head of the town of San Manuel wrote to the provincial governor that his people could no longer support the troops quartered on them, as the adherents of the Katipunan had burned or stolen all of their property.[4]

Nueva Ecija was the next province visited by Wilcox and Sargent. They have failed to inform us that:—

"In December, 1898, certain men charged with being members of this society [Guards of Honour] were interrogated in Nueva Ecija as to their purposes. One of those questioned said:—

" 'That their purpose was one day, the date being unknown to the deponent, when the Ilocanos of Batac came, to rise up in arms and kill the Tagálos, both private individuals and public employees, excepting those who agreed to the former, for the reason that honours were granted only to the Tagálos, and but few to Ilocanos.' "[5]

No intimations of conditions such as are revealed by these Insurgent documents seem to have reached the authors of the Wilcox-Sargent report. When, on their journey northward, the two naval officers reached the Cagayan valley and entered a region in which a veritable reign of terror had existed for more than two months, they seem to have remained equally ignorant of what had been, and still was going on in the territory through which they were being escorted.[6]

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[1] P. I. R., 77.

[2] Taylor, 62 AJ.

[3] P. I. R., 47. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 951. 3.

[5] P. I. R., 1006.

[6] While the provinces of Isabela and Cagayan constitute the Cagayan valley proper, Nueva Viscaya, which is drained by the Magát River, a branch of the Cagayan, was included by Worcester in this discussion as a part of the valley. [Ed.]

The Insurgent officer who met the two observers in the great tobacco valley of the north was Dr. Simeon Villa. At the time, Villa was the military commander of Isabela Province. He later became Aguinaldo's chief of staff, accompanied the Filipino president upon his long flight into northern Luzón, and was captured by General Funston, along with his chief, in the spring of 1901. The facts as to Villa's career in the Cagayan valley are especially worthy of note, in view of his intimate relationship with Aguinaldo and his later advancement in the Insurgent army.

On August 10, 1898, Colonel Daniel Tirona, a native of Cavite Province and one of the intimates of Aguinaldo, was ordered to proceed to Aparri in the insurgent steamer *Filipinas* and establish the revolutionary government in northern Luzón. His forces were composed of four companies, armed with rifles, and among his immediate subordinates were Villa and Colonel Leyba, another close associate of Aguinaldo. Tirona reached Aparri on August 25 and promptly secured the surrender of the Spaniards there.

Abuse of the Spanish prisoners began at once. It is claimed that the governor of North Ilocos, who was among those captured, was grossly mistreated. Taylor summarizes subsequent events as follows:—

> "Whatever the treatment of the Spanish governor of Ilocos may really have been, there is testimony to show that some of the other prisoners, especially the priests, were abused and outraged under the direction of S. Villa and Colonel Layba, both of whom were very close to Aguinaldo. Some of the Spanish civil officials were put in stocks and beaten, and one of the officers who had surrendered at Aparri was tortured to death. This was done for the purpose of extorting money from them, for it was believed that they had hidden funds in place of turning them over. All the Spaniards were immediately stripped of everything they had. The priests were subjected to a systematic series of insults and abuse under the direction of Villa in order to destroy their influence over the people by degrading them in their eyes. It was for this that they were beaten and exposed naked in the sun; and other torture, such as pouring the wax of burning candles into their eyes, was used to make them disclose where they had hidden church vessels and church funds. The testimony of a friar who suffered these outrages is that the great mass of the people saw such treatment of their parish priests with horror, and were present at it only through fear of the organized force of the Katipúnan." [1]

Taylor's statement is mildness itself in view of the well-established facts.

The question of killing the Spanish prisoners, including the friars, had previously been seriously considered,[2] but it was deemed wiser

[1] Taylor, 42 AJ.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 226.

to keep most of the friars alive, extort money from them by torture, and offer to liberate them in return for a large cash indemnity, or for political concessions. Day after day and week after week Villa presided at, or himself conducted, the torture of ill-fated priests and other Spaniards who fell into his hands. Even Filipinos whom he suspected of knowing the whereabouts of hidden friar money did not escape.

Detailed information relative to the conduct of the Insurgents in the Cagayan valley is available in a manuscript copy of, *"Historia de la Conquista de Cagayan por los Tagalos Revolucionarios,"* in which the narratives of certain captured friars are transcribed and compiled by Father Julian Malumbres of the Dominican Order. This volume gives a sickening picture of the sadistic orgy of Villa and his associates. Detailed accounts of the torturing of 43 Spanish friars, 2 other Spaniards, and 4 Filipinos in 12 different towns are related by the victims or by eye-witnesses of Villa's bestial cruelty.[1] The procedure followed was much the same in all of these cases, and only one or two typical examples of what happened to the unhappy priests will be given.

On September 12 Villa and others entered the town of Cabagan Viejo, where Villa promptly assaulted Father Segundo Rodriguez, threatening him with a revolver, beating him unmercifully, insulting him in every possible way and robbing him of his last cent. After the bloody scene was over he sacked the *convento*, even taking away the priests' clothes. Villa also cruelly beat a Filipino, Quintin Agansi, who was taking care of money for masses which the priests wished to save from the Insurgents.

After Father Segundo had suffered torture and abuse for two hours he was obliged to start at once on a journey to Auitan. The suffering priest, after being compelled to march through the street shouting "Vivas!" for the Republic and Aguinaldo, spent the night without a mouthful of food or a drink of water.

Father Deogracias García, a priest of Cabagan Nuevo, was subjected to torture because he had sent to Hongkong during May a letter of credit for $5000 which belonged to the Church. Villa and Leyba entered his *convento* and after beating him ordered his hands and feet to be tied together, then passed a pole between them and had him lifted from the ground, after which two great jars of water were poured down his nose and throat without interruption. In order to make the water flow through his nose better, they thrust a piece of wood into the nasal passages until it came out in his throat. From time to time the torture was suspended while they asked him whether he would tell the truth as to where he had concealed his money. This unfortunate priest was so sure he was going to die that while the torture was in progress he received absolution from a fellow priest. After the torture with water there followed a long and cruel beating, and the unhappy victim was finally thrust into a filthy privy.

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[1] The account of Father Malumbres and his associates is wholly *ex parte* and from the pens of men who were filled with rancour against the Filipinos who had abused and despoiled the members of their orders and other representatives of the church. While it seems probable, however, that the Dominican makes the worst of the conduct of Villa and his friends, yet the brutalities of these Insurgent officers have been described by so many witnesses who are in substantial agreement as to the main facts that it can scarcely be doubted that the abuses described by Father Malumbres actually occurred. For an account of these incidents written by an historian recognized for his fairness, caution, and reliability, see Le Roy, I, p. 329, *et seq.* [Ed.]

Meanwhile Father Calzada was assaulted by a group of soldiers and badly beaten, after which he was let down into the filth of a privy, first by the feet and afterwards by the head.

Villa entered Ilagan on the 15th of September at 8 o'clock at night. Hastening to the *convento,* with a company of well-armed soldiers, he had his men surround the three priests who awaited him there, then summoned the local priest to a separate room and demanded money. The priest gave him all he had. Not satisfied, Villa leaped upon him, kicking him, beating him and pounding him with the butt of a gun. Many of his associates joined in the disgraceful attack. The unfortunate victim was then stripped of his habit, obliged to lie down and received more than a hundred lashes. When he was nearly senseless he was subjected to torture by water, being repeatedly lifted up when filled with water, and allowed to fall on the floor. While some were pouring water down his nose and throat, others spilled hot wax on his face and head. The torment repeatedly rendered the priest senseless, but he was allowed to recover from time to time so that he might suffer when it was renewed.

The torturing of this unhappy man lasted for three hours, and the horrible scene was immediately succeeded by another quite as bad. Villa called Father Domingo Campo and, after taking from him the little money that he had, ordered him stripped. He was then given numberless kicks and blows from the butts of rifles and 150 lashes, after which he was unable to rise. There followed the torture with water, on the pretext that he had money hidden away. Meanwhile the houses of Spaniards and the shops of the Chinese were completely sacked, and the men who objected were knocked down or cut down with bolos. Numerous girls and women were raped.

The barbarities practised by Villa and his fellow Insurgents reached their climax in the torturing to death of Lieutenant Salvador Piera. This officer of the Spanish Guardia Civil had surrendered Aparri to the Filipinos upon honorable terms. He was later sent for by Villa and brought to Ilagan, the latter's headquarters. Father Malumbres describes what then happened to him.

"Something terrible was going to happen as Piera himself felt confident, for it is said that before leaving Aparri he went to confession where he settled the important business of his conscience in a Christian manner with a representative of God.

"And so it turned out, for as soon as he arrived in Ilagan he was taken to the *convento* and placed incomunicado in one of its apartments. Soon after, three or four vile fiends,—for they do not deserve the name of men,—bound him with strong cords and hanged him to a beam. Then they began to charge him with having prosecuted a certain Mason, and inflicted upon him the most frightful tortures. . . .

"The late hours of the night were always chosen by those treacherous fiends to give Piera the *trato de cuerda* (this form of torture consists in tying the hands of the victim behind his back and hanging him by them by a rope passed through a pulley attached to a beam; his body is lifted as high as it will go and then allowed to fall by its own weight without reaching the ground); . . . at each violent jerk the unhappy victim feeling that his limbs were being torn asunder would cry out 'My God! My God!' This terrifying cry reverberating through the jail would freeze the very blood of the poor priests therein incarcerated.

"On the third day, when those infuriated hyenas appeared to have spent their diabolical rage; after they had thrust a red-hot iron into his eyes and left him with sightless sockets; the poor martyr, the prey of delirium, cried out that he was hungry, and one of those *sicarii* cut a piece of flesh from Piera's thigh and was infamous enough to carry it to his mouth. On the night of the seventh of the month very late a number of wretches buried in the *convento* garden a body still dripping warm blood from the lips of which there escaped the feeble plaints of a dying man."

Two of Villa's accessories in this murder were later convicted of the crime in an American court and sentenced to life imprisonment. Concerning the principal offender the judge who tried the case subsequently said: "Villa officiated as arch-fiend on this grewsome occasion. I am quite sure that I would have hung Villa without any compunction at that time, if I could have gotten hold of him."[1] The Insurgent officer, however, had escaped from the jurisdiction of the court, and ultimately received the benefit of Roosevelt's amnesty of 1902.

The following statement by Judge Blount sums up one attitude toward conduct such as that of Villa and his fellow Insurgent officers, and one view of their political significance:

"It is true there were cruelties practised by the Filipinos on the Spaniards. But they were ebullitions of revenge for three centuries of tyranny. They do not prove unfitness for self-government. I, for one, prefer to follow the example set by the Roosevelt amnesty of 1902, and draw the veil over all those matters."[2]

[1] Blount, p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

The judge drew the veil not only over this, but, as we have seen, over numerous other pertinent matters which occurred in this land of "profound peace and tranquillity" just at the time Wilcox and Sargent were making their trip. My apologies to him for withdrawing the veil and for maintaining that such occurrences as those in question demonstrate complete and utter unfitness for self-government on the part of those who brought them about!

The torments practised upon the Spanish priests had two principal objects: to compel them to give up money, and to discredit them with the common people. They failed to accomplish this latter result. There is abundant evidence that the natives of the Cagayan valley clothed and fed them when they could, and wept over the painful humiliations and the dreadful sufferings which they were powerless to prevent or relieve.

The tormentors were men from distant provinces, with no possible personal grievances against the priests whom they martyrized. Their action was the result, not of an "ebullition of revenge for three centuries of tyranny" as stated by Blount, but of insensate greed of gold and damnable viciousness. I believe the American people will hold that such cruelties brand those who practise them as unfit to govern their fellows, or themselves.

Lest I be accused of basing my conclusions on *ex parte* statements I will now return to the Insurgent record of events in the Cagayan valley. At the outset the Spanish officers of the Tabacalera Company [1] fared comparatively well. In a letter dated September 27, 1898, and addressed to the secretary of war of the revolutionary government, Leyba says of the taking of Tuguegarao that the only terms of the surrender were to respect life. He therefore felt at liberty to seize all the money that the friars had hidden, "which was accomplished by applying the stick." He adds that they did nothing to the agents of the great Tabacalera Company, then the most powerful commercial organization in the Islands, for the significant reason that they had found that its stock was largely held by Frenchmen and feared trouble.[2]

On December 4, 1898, Leyba, concerning whose ideas as to public order we are already informed, wrote a most illuminating letter setting forth the conditions which had existed there. He does not claim that there had been Octavian peace!

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[1] *La Compañia General de Tabacos de Filipinas,* a very strong commercial organization.

[2] "I call your attention to the fact that the only terms to the surrender were to respect life, and it was for this reason that I seized all the money they [*i.e.* the friars, —D. C. W.] had hidden away, which was accomplished by applying the stick. In this capital I found thirty-four thousand dollars in silver and a draft on the Compañia General de Tabacos for twenty thousand dollars which can be collected here. . . .

"The bearer can give you more details concerning the abuses committed in this province of Vizcaya by the forces of Major Delfin Esquizel. Also, I wish to inform you that we have done nothing to the Compañia General de Tabacos, for we have learned from their records that much of their stock is held by Frenchmen, and consequently we fear a conflict. For this reason we await your orders on this matter. We took all the arms we found in their possession, however."—P. I. R., 271. 2.

It should be borne in mind that this letter covers the very time during which Messrs. Wilcox and Sargent passed through the Cagayan valley. It paints a vivid picture of conditions, and as the painter was the ranking Insurgent officer in the valley during this entire period, he cannot be accused of hostile prejudice. Leyba wrote:—

"Aparri, December 4, 1898.

"Don Baldomero Aguinaldo,
"The Secretary of War:

"Dear Sir and of my Greatest Esteem: I take the liberty of addressing this to you in order to state that owing to the lack of discipline in the soldiers whom we have brought, since they are all volunteers and whom I am not able to reduce to rigorous subordination, for the revolution would find itself without soldiers with whom to win triumph, they committed many abuses and misdeeds which, for the lack of evidence, I was not able to punish, although I knew of these abuses but had no proof, and as a lover of my country and of the prestige of the Revolutionary Army, I took care not to disclose the secret to any one, in this way avoiding the formation of an atmosphere against the cause of our Independence to the grave injury of us all. . . .

"As the officers are the first ones to commit abuses and misdeeds, it is easily seen that the soldiers under their orders, guided by them, will commit worse ones than the chiefs, and as these seem to lack the moral strength to control and reprimand them, I propose to you, if it meets your approval, that all these soldiers and some of the officers be returned to their homes by the steamer *Luzon*. . . .

"I am filling the position of First Chief in the Port of Aparri temporarily on account of the absence of the Colonel who has conferred on me all his duties and power. After the military operations which were carried on as far as the last town in Isabela, being tired and somewhat sick, I was put in charge of these military headquarters, which I found to be very much mixed up, the town, moreover, being desperate on account of the assaults committed by my predecessor, Rafael Perca, who was appointed by the Colonel, and who was formerly 2d Captain of the steamer *Filipinas*. After arriving and taking charge, having received numerous complaints against him, I had him arrested and I found that he had been guilty of robbery, unlawful use of insignia, illegal marriage, rape and attempted rape. I hold him in custody only awaiting the arrival of the Colonel in order to convene a court-martial for his trial, in which the Colonel will act as President and I as Judge Advocate. . . .

(Signed) "J. N. Leyba."[1]

The troops complained of by Leyba were made up of Aguinaldo's fellow townsmen. They never obeyed any one else, and left a trail of murder and rapine behind them. Aguinaldo never punished them, and from the time when one of them tried to murder their commander until a guard composed of them murdered General Antonio Luna in June, 1899, they are mentioned only with fear and execration.

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[1] P. I. R., 192. 4.

Perhaps Americans will be interested in knowing who was the head of the Insurgent government which was eventually organized in Cagayan and how this government functioned. The "elections" were held on December 9, 1898, and Dimas Guzman was chosen head of the province. He was the man subsequently sentenced to life-imprisonment by Blount, for complicity in the murder of Lieutenant Piera. In describing his method of conducting his government he says that the people doubted the legality of attempts to collect taxes; that the abuses of heads of towns caused rioting in the towns, in which only Ilocanos took part; and that he not only did not report these things but contrived to conceal them from foreigners in the province.[1]

But the day of reckoning came. It was in consequence of the atrocities committed by the Tagálog soldiers in the Cagayan valley that Captain Batchelder was able a little later to march practically unopposed through the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela and Cagayan with one battalion of American negro troops, for whom he had neither food nor extra ammunition, and that Tirona surrendered the Insurgent forces in the valley without attempting resistance! [2]

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[1] "On account of this the vulgar people doubted the legality of our actions in the collection of taxes, and accordingly it became difficult; and this, coupled with the inveterate abuses of the heads of the towns, which the head of the province was not able to perceive in time to check, caused a tumult in Echague, which, owing to wise councils and efforts at pacification, was appeased without it being followed by serious consequences; but I have no doubt that this tumult was due only to the suggestions of ungovernable and passionate persons animated by the spirit of faction, since those who took part in it were all Ilocanos, no native of Echague having any hand in it. The same thing occurred in Naguilian, where the disorders were also quieted. Not only did I make no report of all this to the government of the republic on account of the abnormality of the present conditions, but I also succeeded in concealing them from the foreigners here so that they should not succeed in discovering the truth, which would be to the prejudice of our cause."—Taylor, 42 AJ.

[2] See Le Roy, II, pp. 153-154, for an account of this "triumphal procession."

CHAPTER VI

INSURGENT RULE IN THE VISAYAS AND ELSEWHERE

THE captured Insurgent documents reveal that there was essential identity between actual conditions in the Cagayan valley and those which prevailed under Insurgent rule elsewhere in Luzón and in the Visayas. I will go further and say that conditions in the Cagayan valley did not differ essentially from those which prevailed throughout all portions of the archipelago which fell under Insurgent control, except that in several provinces captured friars and other Spaniards were quickly murdered whereas in the Cagayan valley no friar was quite killed outright by torture. Those who ultimately died of their injuries lived for some time.

Let us now consider some of the actual occurrences in these other provinces, continuing to follow the route of our tourists until it brings us back to Manila.

The first province visited by Messrs. Wilcox and Sargent after leaving Aparri was South Ilocos. The conditions which had prevailed at Vigan, the capital of the province, shortly before their arrival, are described in a letter signed "Mariano" and addressed under date of September 25, 1898, to Señor Don Mena Crisólogo, from which I quote extracts:—

"DEAR MENA: I read with a happy heart your letter of the 3rd instant, and in answer I have to say:—

"On the 22nd of August a mass meeting was held for the election of the local presidente of this town, and I was elected to the office; and on the 1st instant the Colonel appointed me Provisional Provincial President of this province, so that you can imagine the position I am in and the responsibilities which weigh on me. . . .

"I have here eleven friar prisoners and the damned priests who escaped from here have not as yet been returned, but it is known that they are prisoners in Cagayan, and as soon as they arrive here I will treat them as they deserve.

"It is with great regret that I have to relate the events and misfortunes which we have been suffering here since the arrival of the troops, as all the detachments are supported by the towns, and here in the capital where the commissary is established, our resources are exhausted, owing to the unreasonable demands of the commissary, because he never asks what is only just and necessary, but if he needs provisions for 200 men, he always asks enough for 1000. And notwithstanding this, the most lamentable and sad occurrences are taking place almost daily in the different barrios, and often in the town itself; the soldiers are guilty of many abuses and disorderly acts, such as rapes and murders, which usually remain unpunished by reason of the real authors thereof not being found, and when they are found and reported to their commanders, the latter do nothing. One night the house and estate of Sario Tinon in Anannam was sacked by six armed men, who threatened him and took his money, his wife's jewels and the best horses he had. Thank God that his family was at the time in the capital, and it appears that now the authors of this act are being discovered.

"I am at the present time working with Father Aglipay to have the forces stationed here replaced by our volunteers which I am recruiting, in order to prevent in so far as possible the frequent acts of barbarity which the former are committing in the province." [1]

The province of Abra, now a subprovince of South Ilocos, was evidently no exception to the general rule of disorder and violence, for there is on file a letter to Aguinaldo with twenty-six signatures, protesting bitterly against the oppression of the poor, in the effort to compel them to contribute war taxes, complaining against the misuse of supplies gathered ostensibly for the soldiers, and stating that the petitioners will be obliged to take refuge with the Igorots and Negritos, if not granted relief.[2]

Apparently the trouble grew, for on December 27, 1898, the "Director of Diplomacy" telegraphed to Aguinaldo concerning it, saying:—

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[1] P. I. R., 974. 3.

[2] "December 20, 1898.

"To the Honorable President of the Revolutionary Government.

"The undersigned residents of the *barangay* of D. Francisco Querubín and D. Melchor Balueg, of Bucay, of the province of Abra, appeal to you with the utmost subjection from their places of residence and state: That their heads or representatives, D. Francisco Querubín and Melchor Balueg, respectively, force them to pay two *pesos* each as a war tax, your humble vassals above cited being hardly able to earn their own livelihood and support their families, and, notwithstanding their labor, some of them cannot get anything to eat without appealing to the charity of their richer neighbours; but notwithstanding this sad situation, they offer a *peseta* each as a mark of gratitude to the mother country, Filipinas, but said gentlemen, the representatives mentioned, have not the slightest pity and worry us to the extent of having kept us in our houses a day and a night without anything to eat, not even permitting us to go out to get a drink.

"We must inform you that the head of the *barangay*, D. Melchor Balueg, when he gathers the supplies for the troops stationed in his town, said supplies consisting of rice, pigs, chickens and eggs, uses one-half of what is gathered, and then again orders his assistants to save.

"In fact, the undersigned request you to direct that the *peseta* which they offer be accepted and that the said Don Francisco Querubín and Don Melchor Balueg be relieved of their duties, in order to put a stop to the abuses constantly committed by them; and if this be not done, the petitioners will be obliged to leave their homes and property in the town and take up their residences in the mountains with the Negritos and Igorots, in order that the others may remain in the town and live tranquilly.

"This is a grace which we do not doubt we will receive from you, whose life may God preserve for many years.

"Bucay, November 12, 1898." (26 signatures)

(In blue pencil in the handwriting of Aguinaldo:) "It will be approved.

"Dec. 20, 1898. "E. A."

—P. I. R., 991. 4.

"Most urgent. The discontent in the provinces of Pangasinán, Tarlac and Yloco (Ilocos) is increasing. The town of Bangbang rose in revolt the 25th and 26th of this month, and killed all of the civil officials. It is impossible to describe the abuses committed by the military and civil authorities of the said provinces. I urge you to send a force of 100 men and a diplomatic officer to reëstablish order. The matter is urgent."[1]

I find nothing important in the Insurgent records concerning conditions in La Union at this time. Pangasinán, Tarlac, Pampanga and Bulacan, which were now revisited by our tourists, have already been discussed.

Having brought our tourist friends safely back to Manila, we must now leave them there and strike out by ourselves if we are to see other provinces.

La Laguna lies just east of Manila. Of it we learn that:

"Laguna Province was so overrun by bands of robbers that the head of the pueblo of San Pablo ordered the people to concentrate in the town to avoid their attacks."[2]

Zambales lies along the west coast of Luzón, to the west and north of Manila. On November 13, 1898, Wenceslao Vinvegra wrote to Aguinaldo describing the state of affairs in this province. From his letter we learn that two brothers named Teodoro and Doroteo Pansacula, claiming to be governor and brigadier general respectively, who are charged with abandonment of their posts in the field, disobedience and attempts against the union of the Insurgents, had been committing all manner of abuses. They had organized a band of cutthroats, armed with rifles and bolos, and were terrorizing the towns, committing robberies and murders and ordering that money be furnished for themselves and food for their men.

They were also encouraging the people to disobey the local authorities and refuse to pay taxes, and were promulgating a theory, popular with the masses, that the time had come for the rich to be poor and the poor rich. They had furthermore induced regular Insurgent troops to rise up in arms.[3]

From this communication it would appear that the Insurgent government had not been entirely effective in Zambales up to November 13th, 1898.

From other communications we learn that the soldiers at Alaminos were about to desert on November 30th, 1898;[4] that it was deemed necessary to restrict travel between Tarlac, Pampanga, Bataan and Zambales in order to prevent robberies; [1] and that on January 9, 1899, the governor of the province found it impossible to continue the inspection of a number of towns, as many of their officials had fled to escape the abuses of the military.[2] Conditions were obviously very serious in Zambales at this time.

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[1] P. I. R., 849. [2] P. I. R., 1142. 4. [3] P. I. R., 964. 3.

[4] "On November 30, 1898, the commander in Alaminos, Zambales Province, telegraphed that his soldiers were all about to desert as the head of the town would not furnish rations or pay without orders from the governor."—P. I. R., 2002. 3.

Cavite province lies immediately south of Manila province as the latter was then constituted. On December 29, 1898, the Insurgent provincial governor wired Aguinaldo that the town of Maragondong had risen in arms.[3]

It is a well-known fact that land records were destroyed in Cavite. Of this matter Taylor says:—

> "In Cavite, in Cavite Province, and probably in most of the other provinces, one of the first acts of the insurgents who gathered about Aguinaldo was to destroy all the land titles which had been recorded and filed in the Spanish administrative bureaus. In case the independence of the Philippines was won, the land of the friars, the land of the Spaniards and of those who still stood by Spain, would be in the gift of Aguinaldo or of any strong man who could impose his will upon the people. And the men who joined this leader would be rich in the chief riches of the country, and those who refused to do so would be ruined men." [4]
>
> "In Sorsogón, at the southern tip of the island of Luzón, the Insurgent commander made heavy requisitions on the prosperous Chinese merchants. This did not satisfy him, however, for on November 8 Gen. Ignacio Paua, who seems to have been the insurgent agent in dealing with the Chinese, complained that the troops in Sorsogón were pillaging the Chinamen there. They had killed 13, wounded 19, and ruined a number of others." [5]

In January, 1899, a correspondent wrote Aguinaldo that it was very difficult to collect taxes as every one was taking what he could lay his hands on.[6]

On September 18, 1898, Elias Angeles, a corporal of the *guardia civil*, headed an uprising against the Spaniards in Ambos Camarines. The Spanish officer in command, and all of his family, were killed by shooting up through the floor of the room which they occupied. Angeles then assumed the title of Politico-Military-Governor.

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[1] "On December 22, Aguinaldo, in accordance with a request from the governor of Zambales Province, ordered the heads of the provinces of Pangasinán, Tarlac, Bataan, and Pampanga to prohibit the people of their provinces from going to Zambales without passports signed by them, stating the route they were to take in going and returning and the length of time to be spent in the journey. The governor of Zambales had asked for this regulation in order to prevent the commission of robberies in Zambales and to distinguish persons justly subject to suspicion from those of good conduct."
—P. I. R., 266. 3.

[2] "On January 9, the governor of Zambales found it impossible to continue the inspection of certain towns of his province and to continue holding elections, as many of the officials had fled to escape the exactions and abuses of the military commanders."
—P. I. R., 988. 2.

[3] "Urgent. Gen. Alvarez telegraphed that Riego de Dios informed him that the town of Maragondong had risen in arms on account of abuses committed by the local President against Salvador Riego. This is the reason the town took up arms. Will go there to-morrow."—P. I. R., 849.

[4] Taylor, 19 AJ.

[5] P. I. R., 1057. 4.

[6] Taylor, 95 HS.

When the Tagálog Vicente Lucban arrived on his way to Samar, he ordered Angeles to meet him at Magaro, with all his troops and arms, disarmed the troops, giving their rifles to his own followers, marched into Nueva Caceres and took possession of the entire government. Aguinaldo subsequently made Lucban a general, and sent him on his way to Samar.

Lucban was succeeded by another Tagálog, "General" Guevara, a very ignorant man, who displayed special ability in making collections, and is reported to have kept a large part of the funds which came into his possession. Colonel Peña, who called himself "General," was one of the worst of the Tagálog invaders, for they were practically that. He threatened all who opposed him with death, and summarily shot at least one man in Tigaon. That town subsequently rose against him, and he was badly cut up by the Bicols.[1] On getting out of the hospital he was sent away.

The daughters of prominent families suffered at the hands of these villains. Peña abducted one, a son of Guevara another. Her brother followed young Guevara and killed him. If girls of the best families were so treated, how must those of the common people have fared?

Braganza ordered the killing of all Spaniards and Chinese at Minalabag. Some forty-eight Spaniards were murdered. Many Chinese were killed at Pasacao; about thirty at Libmanan by order of Vicente Ursua a Tagálog; more than twenty at Calabanga. Conditions became so unbearable that Faustino Santa Ana gathered around him all Bicols who were willing to fight the Tagálogs, but the troubles were finally patched up.

American troops had little difficulty in occupying Ambos Camarines and other Bicol provinces, owing to the hatred in which the Tagálogs were held.

Conditions in those parts of the islands to the south of Luzón in which Aguinaldo's agents established, or sought to establish, the rule of the Malolos government differed from those in Luzón chiefly in that the Tagálog invaders were usually resisted, with greater or lesser force and success, by the local Visayans, Moros, and pagans. These islands are inhabited by more than half of the population and include almost two-thirds of the total area of the Archipelago. They consist of five natural divisions: the large islands of Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and the central group known collectively as the Visayas. These areas will be discussed in the order in which they have been named.

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[1] The name applied to the Filipinos of Ambos Camarines, Albay and Sorsogón.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities with Spain the Filipino garrison at Puerto Princesa, the capital of the great province of Palawan,[1] mutinied, and the things which they did were not nice. Among others, they liberated the convicts, Puerto Princesa being at the time a penal colony, and the latter, together with some of the soldiers, started up the east coast of the island, leaving a trail of devastation in their wake. The prosperous town of Tinitian was abandoned as they approached it, and was so thoroughly cleaned out by them that it has never since been reoccupied except by a few stragglers. Other towns, including Tay-Tay, were raided.

On November 27, 1899, Aguinaldo's representative in this province wrote him that the inhabitants were preparing to kill all the Tagálogs and revolt against Insurgent rule.[2] Later when some of the latter were anxious to get the people of one of the northern settlements to take them on a short boat journey, these Visayans consented to give them a lift only on condition that they first allow themselves to be bound, and then took them out to sea and threw them overboard.

The conduct of the people of Cuyo, at one time the capital of the province, is of especial significance as indicating the attitude of the Visayans towards Aguinaldo's Tagálog government. On this island, which contains but twenty-one square miles, there were in 1903 no less than 7,545 inhabitants. They hated and feared the people of Mindoro and sent messengers to Iloilo, after the Americans had occupied that place, to beg for a garrison of American troops, and to say that if furnished with an American flag they themselves would defend it. For some reason they were not given the flag, and the sending of a garrison was long delayed. Having grown weary of waiting, they made an American flag of their own, hoisted it, and when the Insurgents from Mindoro came intrenched themselves and defended it. They were actually being besieged when the American garrison finally arrived. Here is one more fact inconsistent with the theory that the Filipino people were a unit at Aguinaldo's back.

And now we come to the great island of Mindanao, which all but equals Luzón in size, having an area of 36,906 square miles as against the 40,814 of Luzón.[3] Despite a widely prevailing opinion to the contrary, Mindanao is by no means entirely Mohammedan. The Mohammedan Malays, called Moros, are found here and there along the western coast of the Zamboanga peninsula and along the southern coast of the island as far as Davao. They also extend far up the Cotabato River and occupy the Lake Lanao region, but that is all. The interior of the

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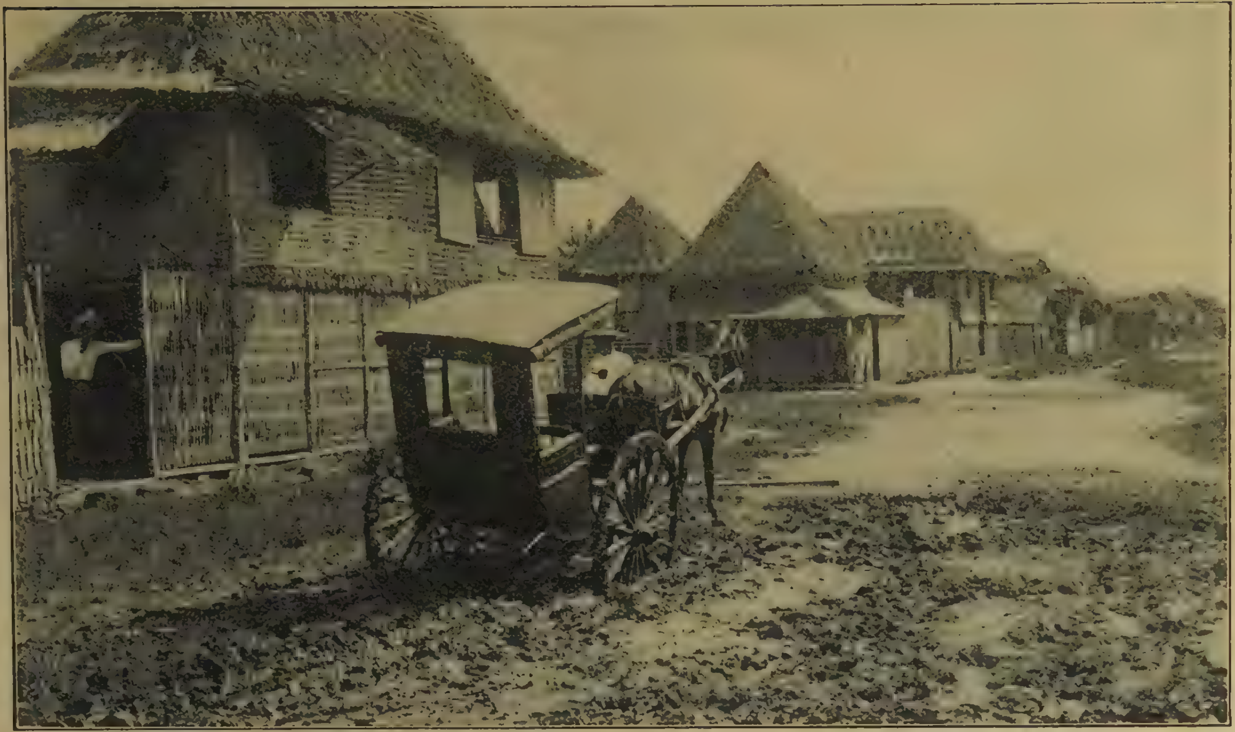
[1] Area, 5,619 square miles; population, 1903, 35,696; 1918, 69,053. (*Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands*, 1927 p. 1. Manila, 1928. Referred to hereafter as *Statistical Bulletin.*) The province consists of the long, narrow island of Palawan, the Calamian Group, to the north, and the densely populated Cuyo Islands, to the northeast.

[2] P. I. R., 944. 10.

[3] *Census*, 1918, I, p. 279.



An Unimproved Street in One of the Poorer Quarters of Manila.

The condition of the streets formerly made it impossible to remove night-soil and garbage from this district, and cholera was rampant there when this photograph was taken.

island is for the most part occupied by the members of a number of non-Christian, non-Mohammedan tribes, while its northern and eastern coasts are inhabited by Visayan Filipinos, of whom there are many in Zamboanga itself.

While the Moros took no part in the insurrection against the United States, the Visayans of Mindanao did, and we had some lively tussles with them in Misamis and in Surigao.

It is indeed unthinkable that we should turn Mindanao over to the Moros. Abandonment of it by us would in the end result in this, as they would take possession of the entire island in the course of time. Neither the other wild tribes nor the Filipinos could stand against them. I heartily agree with the conclusion that we must retain this island for many years before we can settle the problems which it presents. It is further true that we might retain it and still grant independence to the remainder of the Philippine Archipelago, but if we are to eliminate Mindanao from consideration because the Filipinos have no right to control the Moros, of whom there are in reality only about a hundred and fifty-four thousand[1] on the island, and could not if they would, what about Luzón, where there are in reality no less than four hundred and sixty thousand non-Christians, many of whom, like the Ifugaos, Bontoc Igorots, Kalingas and wild Tingians, are fierce fighters and practically all of whom are bitterly opposed to the thought of possible ultimate domination by Filipinos, while most of them welcome American rule?

Have the Filipinos any more moral right to control them than they have to control the Moros? Could they control them if they would? And has the most uncompromising advocate of the consent of the governed principle "a leg to stand on" in the one case if he lacks it in the other?

The Filipino politicians are not ready to admit that Filipinos could not satisfactorily govern Moros and have even alleged that they did so govern them during the period now under discussion. Let us examine the facts.

Aguinaldo attempted to enter into negotiations with the Sultan of Joló, addressing him as his "great and powerful brother,"[2] but this

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[1] According to the census of 1903, 154,706. In the Census of 1918 the number of Mohammedans living in Mindanao is estimated as 180,485; in the Sulu Archipelago as 143,949; in Palawan as 608. (*Census*, 1918, II, table no. 37.) The same authority estimates the total number of pagans living in Luzón as 227,782. The total number of pagans in the Archipelago is estimated as 402,790, the total number of Mohammedans as 372,464. (*Ibid.*) The degree of accuracy of these figures is open to question. [Ed.]

[2] (Contemporary copy in Spanish.—P. I. R., Books C–L:)

"January 19, 1899.

"The President of the Philippine Republic very cordially greets his great and powerful brother, the Sultan of Joló, and makes known:—

"That the Filipinos, after having thrown off the yoke of foreign domination, cannot forget their brothers of Joló to whom they are bound by the ties of race, interests, security and defense in this region of the Far East.

"The Philippine Republic has resolved to respect absolutely the beliefs and traditions brother does not seem to have received his advances with enthusiasm, and the other brothers proceeded to do things to the Filipinos at the first opportunity.

José Roa in writing Aguinaldo on January 26, 1899, of conditions in the province of Misamis says: [1]—

> "Hardly had said evacuation of Iligan taken place on the 28th of last month, when the Moros or Mohammedans of the interior, our mortal enemies since times immemorial on account of their religious fanaticism which they carry to extremes, as do their co-religionists in Europe and Asia, and on account of their objection to leading a civilized life, began to harry the town of Iligan which is the nearest town to the lake around which is the densest Moro population. Due to the prestige of the local president of that town, Señor Carloto Sariol, and the energy that he showed, after some days of constant firing against groups who descended upon the suburbs of the town, he was successful in having them abandon their hostile attitude and promise to live in peace and harmony with said towns, this verbal agreement being participated in by the Dattos of some settlements who did not wish to treat with the Spanish Government.
>
> "Being acquainted nevertheless with these people, we know by experience that the more friendly they appear, the more we must watch against them, because as soon as they find a good opportunity they do not fail to take advantage of it to enter the towns for the purpose of sacking them and kidnapping as many of their inhabitants as possible in order to reduce them to slavery."

Immediately after the abandonment of Cotabato by the Spaniards the Filipino residents set up a government there. A few days later the Moro datos, Piang, Ali and Djimbangan, dropped in with their followers, cut off the head of the Filipino *presidente*, served a few other leading officials and citizens in the same manner, and proceeded to set up a government of their own which was the only government that the place had prior to the arrival of the American troops.

Dato Djimbangan promptly caused the Filipina women of the place to be stripped and compelled to march before him on the public plaza in a state of nudity.

At Zamboanga the Moros could have taken the town at any time after the Spaniards left had they desired to do so. On the arrival of the Americans Dato Mandi offered to take it and turn it over to them, but his proposition was declined.

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of each island in order to establish on solid bases the bonds of fraternal unity demanded by our mutual interests.

"I therefore in the name of all the Filipinos very gladly offer to the powerful Sultan of Jolo and to all brothers who acknowledge his great authority, the highest assurance of friendship, consideration and esteem.

"MALOLOS, January 18, 1899."

(No signature.)

[1] P. I. R., 76. 1.

He subsequently swore to an affidavit relative to conditions under Insurgent rule. It reads as follows:—

> "We always had peace in Zamboanga District, except during the revolution of the Filipinos in the year 1899, when for seven or eight months there was in existence the so-called Filipino Republic. During that time there was much robbing and killing; the life of a man was worth no more than that of a chicken; men killed one another for personal gain; enemies fought one another with the bolo instead of settling their differences before the law. It was a time of bloodshed and terror. There was no justice. Because of this the Moros were opposed to the Filipinos. There was conflict between the better class of Filipinos and the revolutionists, who had gained control of the local government."[1]

Elsewhere throughout the Moro territory those Filipinos who did not promptly make their escape were murdered or enslaved. In short, the lion and the lamb lay down together, with the lamb inside as usual. Thus it will be seen that this first and last attempt of Filipinos to govern Moros did not result in complete success.

Baldomero Aguinaldo made a subsequent attempt to open communication with the Sultan of Joló, authorizing him to establish in all the *rancherias* of Mindanao and Joló a government in accordance with a decree duly transmitted. The Sultan was requested to report the result of his efforts and to give the number of his forces with their arms, and was advised that, "if in this war, which I consider to be the last, we secure our independence and with the opposition of our brothers in that region, with yourself at their head, we are successful in preventing the enemy from gaining a foothold, the grateful country will always render a tribute of homage and gratitude to your memory."[2] Curiously, the Sultan seems to have remained unmoved by the appeal.

The islands ordinarily included in the group known as "The

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[1] From an official document on file at Manila.

[2] "Being brothers, the descendants of the same race and of one soul, the same sun shines upon us and we breathe the same air, so that our sentiments are also one, and we aspire to the independence and liberty of our country in order to secure its progress and place it on a level with other civilized nations; and with this assurance I have taken the liberty to address you this letter, begging of you to accept the commission which in the name of our government I have the honour to confer upon you. You are authorized thereunder to establish in all the 'Rancherias' of Mindanao and Jolo, a civil and military economic-administrative organization, in accordance with the decrees which I enclose herewith, and after having established the same, I request that you make a report to our Honourable President of the Philippine Republic, Sr. Emilio Aguinaldo, of the result thereof and of the number of the force with their arms and ammunition, in order to ascertain whether they would be sufficient to prevent the invasion of the enemy and whether there is any necessity of sending reënforcements of arms to said Islands for this purpose. If in this war, which I consider to be the last, we secure our independence, and with the opposition of our brothers in that region, with yourself at their head, we are successful in preventing the enemy from gaining a foothold, the grateful country will always render a tribute of homage and gratitude to your memory.

"God preserve you many years.

"May 31, 1899.

"BALDOMERO AGUINALDO,
"Lieut. Gen. Superior P. M. Commander of Southern Region.

"TO THE HONOURABLE SULTAN RAHA HALON."

—P. I. R., 810–4.

Visayas" from the ancient tribal name of the civilized Filipino people who inhabit them, who are called Visayans, are Samar, Panay, Negros, Leyte, Cebú, Bohol, Masbate, Tablas, Romblon, Ticao, Burias, Siquijor and numerous smaller islands adjacent to those named. Although their inhabitants are all rated as one people, they speak a number of more or less distinct dialects. Only Panay, Negros, Samar, Tablas and Sibuyan have non-Christian inhabitants, and in the three islands last named their number is so small as to be negligible. In the mountains of Panay and Negros, however, Negritos are to be found in considerable numbers, as are the representatives of a tribe sometimes called *Monteses* [1] and sometimes Bukidnon. The latter tribal designation I have thought it best to reserve for certain inhabitants of northern Mindanao.

In the Visayas, Palawan and Mindanao the government of Aguinaldo was established at various places and different times, without consulting or considering the will of the people. The men who went as his delegates were supported by armed forces, hence their authority was not at first questioned, but soon there arose murmurings which might easily have grown into a war cry.

The attitude of the Visayan Filipinos is clearly foreshadowed in the following extract from a letter dated January 14, 1899, in which Mabini discussed the advisability of putting the constitution in force:—

> "And even if this change is made, I fear that Negros and Iloílo will form a federal Republic and not one in conformity with the centralized Republic provided for by the Constitution." [2]

The action later taken by Negros shows that there was abundant reason for this fear.

As late as February 26, 1899, the Insurgent government was still ignorant as to the real conditions in Negros and Mindanao.[3]

From a letter written on March 18, 1899, to Apacible at Hongkong, we learn that Aguinaldo and his followers were even then still uninformed as to events in the Visayan Islands,[4] In view of these facts, how

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[1] The Census of 1918 estimates the population of the islands mentioned as 3,821,489. 27,095 of their inhabitants are listed as non-Christian. (*Census*, 1918, II, p. 99.) Professor Beyer estimated in 1916 that the Visayans numbered 3,977,210. (Beyer, *The Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, p. 39.) The Visayans are the largest ethnological group in the Philippines. They are about twice as numerous as the Tagalogs and constitute about one-fourth of the total population of the Archipelago.

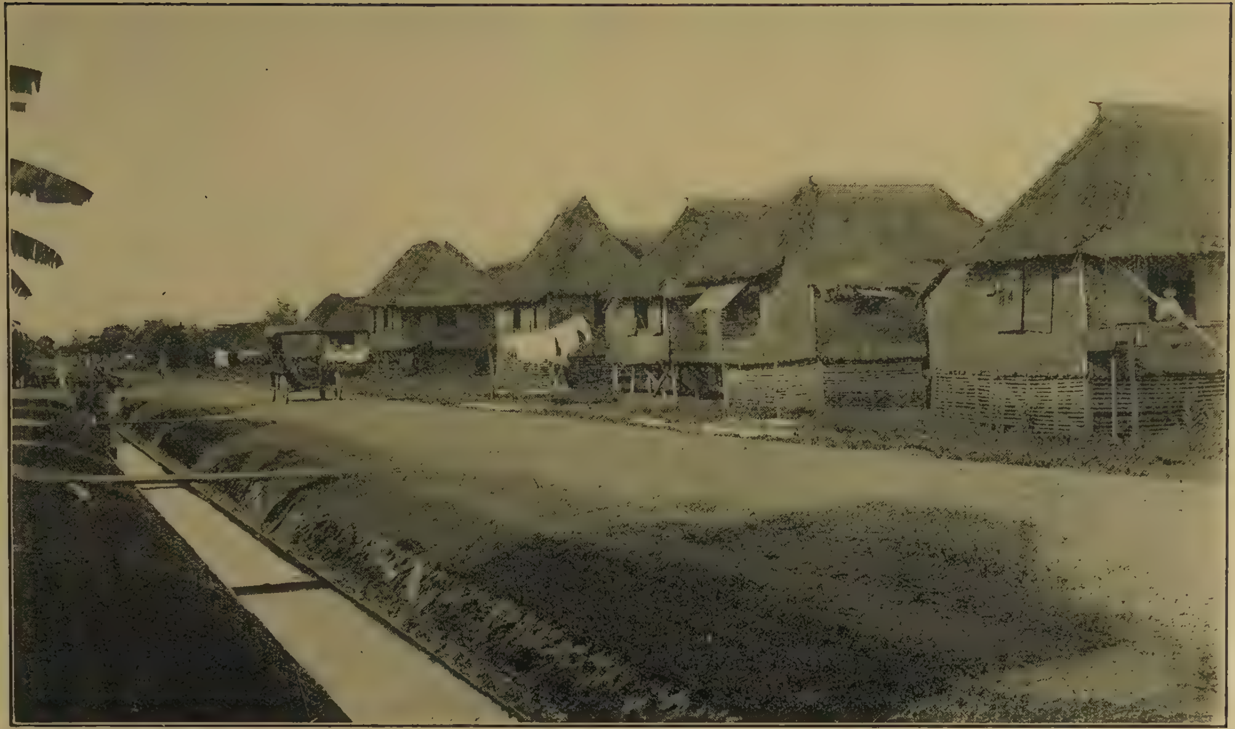
[2] P. I. R., 512. A 5.

[3] Extract from a letter to Apacible of the Hongkong junta dated February 26, 1899:—

"It is also said that the Cantonal Government of Negros has wished to make a treaty with the Americans, some members of that government having come in American transports to confer with General Otis. We are not aware of the conditions of the arrangement, because the Negros people have thus far not wished to put themselves in communication with us; we only know by news more or less reliable that the capital of that island has been occupied by the American forces without opposition.

"Of Mindanao we know absolutely nothing; we also are ignorant of what has been the lot of our agents in America."

[4] "Of the Visayas and Mindanao we know nothing positive as yet, it is whispered that the Americans have succeeded in occupying Negros and Cebú against the will of the inhabitants. Iloílo continues the struggle energetically. It does not matter that they occupy temporarily those beautiful islands, because Luzón will know how to fight for



An Improved Street in One of the Poorer Quarters of Manila.
The construction of such streets and drains makes it possible successfully to combat disease.

ridiculous become the contentions of those who claim that the Insurgent government represented the archipelago as a whole. Ultimately, however, by one means or another, and chiefly by the use of armed emissaries, the Visayan Islands, with the exception of Negros, were brought into the Insurgent fold.[1]

Mabini's fear that Negros and Iloilo would form a federal republic was not realized, but Negros set up its own government, applied to the local commander of the United States forces for help, endeavoured with almost complete success to keep out Tagálog invaders, and presently settled down contentedly under American rule.

At Iloilo the American troops encountered opposition when they planned to land. Negotiations had been entered into with the local Filipino officers, but the latter, under the influence of representatives whom Aguinaldo had sent from Luzón, announced themselves as adherents of his government, and when the American troops finally disembarked fired the town ahead of them. It has been claimed that in doing this they were inspired by pure patriotism, but the facts shown by their own records present a very different picture.

In writing to Aguinaldo on April 8, 1899, Mabini says:

> "We have received a communication forwarded from Iloílo, from General Martín Delgado and Francisco Soriano, your commissioner. Soriano states that the troops of Diocno have done nothing except commit excesses and steal money during the attack by the Americans upon the town of Iloílo, even going so far as to break their guns by using them as poles to carry the stolen money which they took to Cápiz. It is said that these forces, besides being unwilling to fight the Americans, refuse to give their guns to those who do wish to fight and do not want Cápiz to aid the people of Iloílo, who are the ones who support the entire forces, including the troops of Diocno who went there." [2]

This same letter contains the following brief reference to conditions in Cebú and Leyte:—

> "Also a native priest, Señor Pascual Reyes, has arrived here from Cebú, and says that in Leyte General Lucban is committing many abuses and that Colonel Mójica is only a mere figurehead. In Cebú, he says, things are also in a chaotic condition, because the military chief, Magsilum [Maxilom,—Tr.], and the people are not in harmony."

Further details as to conditions in Cebú are given in a letter to

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herself and the rest of the islands, and will not lay down arms without the independence of the Philippine Archipelago."

[1] Other accounts of the activities of the Insurgent government in the central and southern islands are to be found in Le Roy, II, pp. 101-118; Elliott, pp. 458, 467-473; and Fernandez, pp. 132-139. The last-mentioned account is remarkable in that it contains no mention of the "Provisional Republic of Negros" and the pro-American feeling which existed among a large number of the leading inhabitants of that important island.

[2] P. I. R., 62. 2.

Aguinaldo from the commissioner whom he put in charge of elections in that island, who on February 19, 1899, writes: [1]—

> "Having arrived in this province the 8th of last month, I left on the 11th for the northern pueblos of this Island to hold the elections for the offices ordered by the Superior Decree of June 18, last.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> "The news spread like an electric spark, as in all the pueblos I visited later I found that almost all of the residents were in their homes, so that when the elections were held in the town hall, all the principal residents attended, requesting me to inform you that they were disposed to sacrifice even their dearest affections whenever necessary for our sacred cause; they only asked me to inform those who hold the reins of government at the present time in this province, that some steps be taken to put a stop to the arbitrary acts which had been and still are being committed by the so-called Captains, Majors, Colonels, Generals and Captains General, who abusing in the most barefaced manner the positions they claimed to hold, were depriving them of their horses and their carabaos, or cattle. I promised them that I would do this, as I do now, by sending a communication at once to Sres. Flores and Maxilom, who are at the head of the provincial government, impressing upon them the fact that if they continue to grant ranks and titles to persons of this character, as they have done, it would end in the utter ruin of this wealthy province."

He adds that these men did not remedy the evils complained of. It would be possible to cover in detail all of this and the remaining Insurgent territory, and to show that conditions similar to those encountered in Luzón arose there, but the limitations of time and space forbid, and I must ask my readers to accept on faith the statement that such was the case!

Taylor thus summarizes the conditions which ultimately arose:—

> "The Insurgent soldiers lived in their own land as they would have lived in a conquered country. They were quartered on the towns and the towns had to feed them whether they would or not.
>
> "Peace there was where Aguinaldo's soldiers had not penetrated, but there does not seem to have been progress. Life went very well in a long siesta in the shady villages under the palm trees, but not only the structure of the State, its very foundations were falling apart. When Aguinaldo's soldiers came they brought cruelty and license with them. Proud of their victories and confident in themselves they felt that the labourers in the fields, the merchants in the towns, were for the purpose of administering to their necessities and their desires. Aguinaldo, having seen this force gather about him, was forced to entreat it, to appeal to it; he was never strong enough to enforce discipline, even if he cared to do it."

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[1] *Ibid.*, 144. 1.

Aguinaldo himself finally became disheartened over his inability to maintain a decent state of public order in the territory which he claimed to govern, and in December, 1898, tendered his resignation, giving among other reasons odius favouritism on the part of some of the military chiefs, together with a desire to enrich themselves by improper means, such as accepting bribes, making prisoners a source of gain, and decreasing the allowance of the soldiers. He said that many soldiers had received sums of money as their share of booty, and intimated that officers must have done the same. He made charges against civil as well as military officers and ended by saying that he retained the evidence for presentation when called on.[1]

Aguinaldo was later persuaded to withdraw his resignation. No wonder that he wished to tender it!

I cannot close this discussion of Insurgent rule without quoting extracts from a remarkable document written by Isabelo Artacho in October, 1899. It was entitled "Declaration Letter and Proclamation" and was addressed to the Filipino people. While it is probable that Artacho was impelled to tell the truth by his hatred for Aguinaldo, tell the truth he did, and his rank and standing entitle his statements to consideration:—

"Study the work of the insurrection; see if it is, as is said, the faithful interpretation of your wishes and desires.

"Go through your towns, fields, and mountains. Wherever you see an insurgent gun or bolo you will find girls and faithful wives violated, parents and brothers crying for the murder of a son or of a brother; honest families robbed and in misery; villages burned and plundered for the benefit of a chief or a General; you will see fresh and living signs yet of those horrible crimes perpetrated with the greatest cynicism by those who call themselves your liberators! Liberators because they wear red pants, or a red shirt, or carry on their hats a piece of red cloth or a triangular figure! . . .

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[1] "The second reason for my resignation is the pain caused me by having still to read among the reports of our military associates that in some of the chiefs, besides odious favouritism, is clearly seen a desire to enrich themselves, accepting bribes, making even prisoners a means of gain, and others there are, above all the commissaries, who dare to decrease the allowance of the soldier, little enough already;—I throw the blame of all this upon those who taught us such a custom; consequently I have reason to hope that they will change their methods.

"The same cause of complaint I have concerning some companions who are discharging civil offices, especially those who are far from the oversight of the government, who put their own welfare before the common good, and devise a thousand means to further their own ends, even to the extent of gambling. Where are the police? Are they, perchance, also bribed? Pity money is so ill spent! However, every one is obliged to know that falsehood will never prevail against truth, and as evidence hereof many soldiers have confessed to the government as to having received certain sums in the share of the booty, and if we consider that the latter who receive their share have told the truth, why should those who are present during the partition of the money and receive nothing, not do so? In this way the eyes of some that were blinded are gradually opened; I confess, moreover, that the latter are to be blamed less than those in authority who are so attached to the methods of the past administration, who, we may hope, will change their mode of conduct and exhibit true patriotism.

* * * * * *

"I certify to the truth of all the above-mentioned evils, which must be eradicated. I retain the evidence for presentation when called on, so that if any of the readers hereof should consider themselves referred to and should resent it, I am ready to beg their pardon."—P. I. R., 8. 2.

"Under this republic called democratic it is a crime to think, to wish, to say, anything which does not agree with what the said Gods think, wish and say. Nobody and nothing is attended to, whilst those who have your lives in their hands must be respected.

"Under this Government there cannot be the slightest notice taken of family, property, morality and justice, but confusion and disorder appear everywhere like a dreadful shadow, produced by the ignorance of the subordinate officers, and of the powers that be in the villages and provinces, who are supported by a special committee, or special commissioners empowered to impoverish and to ruin all and with the right of disposing, at their own accord, life, family and individual property without responsibility whatsoever on their part.

* * * * * * *

"Let the peaceful annexation of the whole of the Southern Islands of Joló, Mindanao, Iloílo, Negros, Cebú and others where now the American flag is hoisted and under whose shadow tranquillity and well-being are experienced, speak for itself.

"Let it speak for itself, the proceeding observed by the whole people of Imus, who were asking protection when the American troops took possession of the town of Bacoor, whilst the insurgent troops there located were hostile.

"Let them speak for themselves, the protests against the war made by the numerous persons of S. Francisco de Malabón, Sta. Cruz de Malabón, Perez Dasmariñas and other towns, before the Worthy Chief Mariano Trías, who ultimately refused, with dignity, the high position of Secretary of War, for which rank he was promoted for reasons which are not worth publishing here. In fine, let it speak for itself, the non-resistance shown by the people of Old Kavite [Kawit], Noveleta, and Rozario of the heroic province of Kavite, notwithstanding the many intrenchments and troops there located, as well as the identical behaviour observed by other towns of Luzón provinces who are ready to follow when the American troops are in them.

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"In the near future, when we have acquired the necessary political and social education and the habit of behaving justly towards ourselves and towards our fellow-brothers; when free from all superstition, healthy, strong and vigorous, we find ourselves capable of governing ourselves, without there being the possibility of the preponderance of our passions in the consideration, direction, and administration of the interests of our country, then, and only then, we will be free! we will be independent! [1]

"HONGKONG, 1st October, 1899."

Most of the men who perpetrated the outrages I have detailed are alive to-day,[2] and are powers in their respective communities. Simeon

[1] P. I. R., 838–2.

[2] 1914.

Villa was recently elected a member of the municipal board from the south district of Manila, but fortunately an American governor-general prevented him from taking his seat. Just prior to my departure from Manila he was appointed, by Speaker Osmeña, a member of a committee on reception for Governor-General Harrison.

The kind of independent "government" these men established is the kind that they would again establish if they had the chance, but among the persons to be tortured and murdered would now be those Americans who failed to escape seasonably. I do not mean to say that such a state of affairs would come about immediately, but it would certainly arise within a comparatively short time. Sooner yet "the united Filipino people" would split up on old tribal lines, and fly at each other's throats.

CHAPTER VII

DID WE DESTROY A REPUBLIC?

The claim has frequently been made that the United States government destroyed a republic in the Philippine Islands, and some of the critics seem to entertain peculiar ideas as to what a republic is. I have been old-fashioned enough to accept the view that a republic is "A state in which the sovereign power resides in the whole body of the people, and is exercised by representatives elected by them."

Not only did the Filipinos themselves understand perfectly well that they had no republic, but there were many of them who were fully aware of the fact that they could establish none. [illegible] [illegible], in writing to General [illegible] [illegible] on August [illegible], 1898, said:[1]

"There could be no republic here even though the Americans should consent, because, according to the Yankees, the Filipinos are not yet prepared for a republic, because they all [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that they govern our country as though it were a conquered land, what would become of us and what would belong to us?"

I will now trace the evolution of the government which Aguinaldo did set up. In doing so I follow Taylor's argument very closely, drawing on his unpublished text, not only for ideas, but in many instances for the words in which they are clothed. I change his words in many cases and do not intend to unload on him any responsibility for my statements, but do wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to him and at the same time to avoid the necessity for the continuous use of quotation marks.

The news that an American expedition was about to sail for the Philippines made him realize that he had not much more than a month in which to place himself in a position in which he would have to be consulted and reckoned, and this he tried to do. The story is [illegible] from Hongkong on May [illegible] [illegible] him to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], not as an ally of the United States, but on his own account. From May [illegible] to May [illegible] he issued orders for the [illegible] against Spain. On May [illegible] he declared himself Dictator of the Philippines in a proclamation in which he promised to resign his power into the hands of a president and cabinet, to be appointed when a constitutional assembly was convened, which would be as soon as the islands had passed into his control. He further announced that the North American nation had given its disinterested protection in order that the liberty of the Philippines should be gained.[1] On May 25, 1898, the first American troops sailed from San Francisco for the Philippines.

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[1] P. I. R., [illegible]

Aguinaldo still had a month in which to seize enough Spanish territory to erect thereon what would appear to the Americans on their arrival to be a government of Luzón, of which he was the head. The Hongkong junta and Aguinaldo himself intended to ask for the recognition of their government, but they had first to create it. To obtain recognition it was necessary that the American commander on land should be able to report that wherever he or his troops had gone the country was ruled by Aguinaldo according to laws which showed that the people were capable of governing themselves.

As the United States is a republic it was natural that the directing group of insurgent leaders should decide upon a republican form of government. That form would appeal to the people of the United States; the first "Christian Asiatic Republic" was a description which would inevitably awaken sympathy in that mother of republics. The idea was a wise and subtle one; but Aguinaldo's republic was merely an elaborate stage-setting, arranged for the contemplation of the people of the United States.

By June 5, 1898, the success of the insurgent arms had been such that Aguinaldo felt that he could throw down the mask. He would still be glad of American assistance, but he felt himself strong enough to do without it. He saw that "there can now be proclaimed before the Filipino people and the civilized nations its only aspiration, namely, the independence of this country, which proclamation should not be delayed for any ulterior object of this government" [2] and ordered that the independence of the Philippines should be proclaimed at his birthplace, Cavite Viejo, on June 12, 1898. On that date he formally proclaimed it. The provinces of Cavite, Bataan, Pampanga, Batangas, Bulacan, Laguna and Morong were about to fall into his hands, the Spanish troops in them being besieged, and about to surrender.

From the same place on June 18, 1898, Aguinaldo promulgated his decree for the creation and administration of municipalities.[3] In brief, this provided that as soon as the territory of the archipelago, or any portion thereof, had passed from the possession of Spanish forces, the people in the towns who were most conspicuous for their intelligence, social position and upright conduct were to meet and elect a town government. The heads of the towns in every province were to elect a head for the province and his three counsellors. The provincial council, composed of these four officials, with the presidente of the capital of the province, were to see to the execution in that province of the decrees of the central government and to advise and suggest.

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[1] P. I. R., 206. 6; House Document No. 3, appendix, 55th Congress, 3d Session, pp. 103–104.

[2] P. I. R., 674. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, 206. 3. Senate Documents, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, No. 62, part ii, 432-433

This provincial council was to elect representatives for the revolutionary congress, which was to be charged with submitting suggestions to the central government upon interior and exterior affairs, and was to be heard by the government upon serious matters which admitted of delay and discussion.

Before any person elected to office was permitted to discharge his functions, his election was to be approved by the central government. The military commanders, except in time of war, were to have no jurisdiction over the civil authorities. They could, however, demand such supplies as they might need, and these could not be refused. The government was to appoint commissioners to carry these regulations into effect.

On June 20 Aguinaldo issued his regulations for the government of provinces and municipalities[1] as supplemental to the decree of two days before. It went into the details of government, under the following heads: police, justice, taxation and registration of property.

On June 23 he proclaimed the establishment of a revolutionary government, with himself as "president."[2] In this capacity he had all the powers of the Spanish governor-general, unhampered by any orders from Spain. It is true that the scheme provided for the eventual formation of a republic. What was provided for in practice was a strong and highly centralized military dictatorship, in which, under the form of election, provision was made for the filling of all offices by men devoted to the group which had seized control.

According to this decree the dictatorial government was in future to be entitled the revolutionary government. Its duty was to struggle for the independence of the Philippines in order to establish a true republic. The dictator was to be known as the president of the revolutionary government. There were to be four secretaries—one of foreign affairs, commerce and marine; one of war and public works; one of police and interior order, justice, education and hygiene; one of the treasury, agriculture and manufactures. The government could increase the number of secretaries if necessary. They were to assist the president in the despatch of business coming under their departments.

In addition to the president and his secretaries, there was to be a revolutionary congress composed of representatives from the provinces of the Philippine Archipelago, elected as provided by the decree of June 18. In case a province was not able to elect representatives, the

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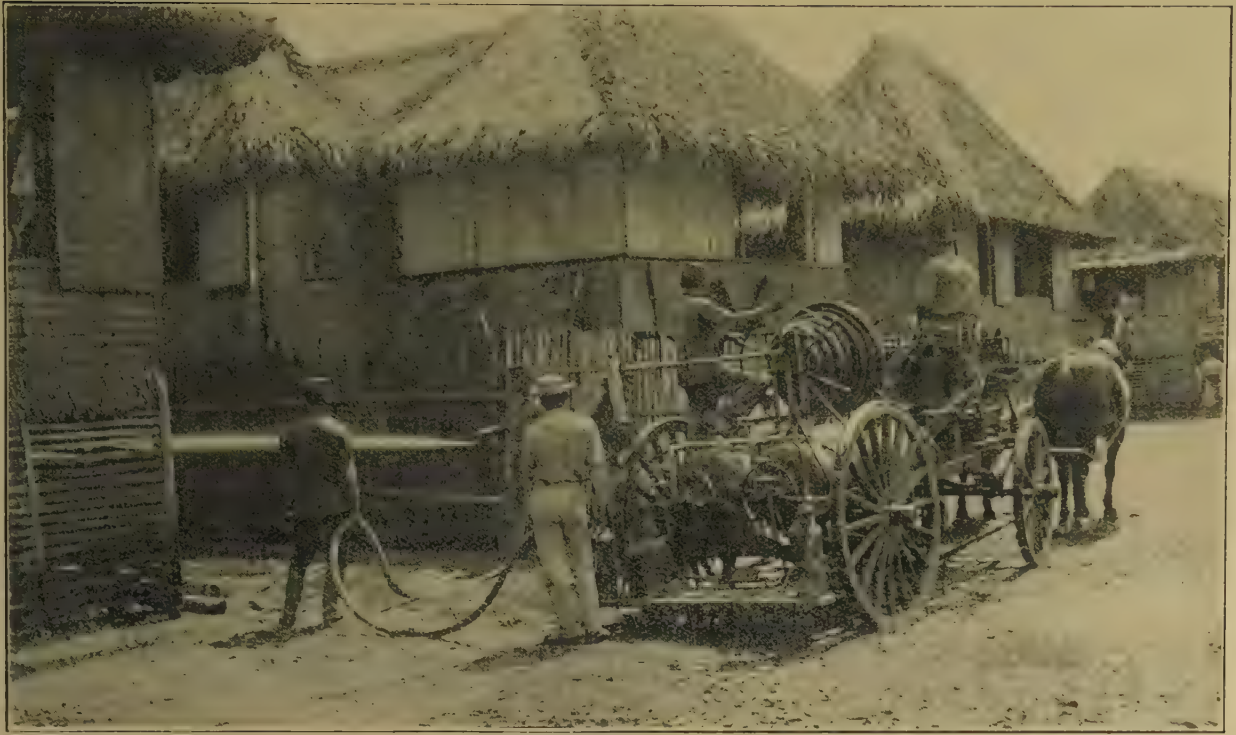
[1] P. I. R., 206. 3.

[2] A translation of this proclamation and of the constitution of the revolutionary government is printed in John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 448–454 (New York, 1906); and in the Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, Vol. I, p. 189, *et seq.*



Disinfecting by the Acre.

During the last cholera epidemic prior to 1914 chemical fire engines were used to disinfect whole sections of Manila.

government would appoint them for such province. The congress was to discuss and advise, to approve treaties and loans, and to examine and approve the accounts of the secretary of the treasury. If important matters admitted of delay, the congress would be heard concerning them; but if they did not admit of delay, the president of the government was to act at once. Projects of law could be presented by any representative, and by the secretaries of the government.

A permanent committee of congress presided over by the vice-president was to be chosen by that body. This was to serve as a court of appeal in criminal cases and as a court of final jurisdiction in cases arising between the secretaries of the government and provincial officials. The acts of congress were not to go into effect until the president of the government ordered their execution. He was also to have the right of veto.

This was a well-devised plan to secure control for the central group about Aguinaldo. His commissioners, under a form of election in which the electors were carefully selected men, established municipal governments devoted to the cause of the revolution. These were to choose provincial officials and members of the congress. All elections were subject to Aguinaldo's approval, and every province was under the command of a military representative of his, who could and did call upon the civil authorities for such supplies as he deemed fit. All real power was vested in the central group, and the central group was composed of Emilio Aguinaldo and his public and private advisers. By this time he had gathered about him men who were trained in the law, some of whom had served the Spanish government in various capacities. They were accustomed to the methods that had previously prevailed under the Spanish régime, and were now ready to draw up constitutions and regulations for the new government. Mabini wrote the three organic decrees. Copies of them were sent to the foreign consuls in Manila, and on July 15, 1898, to Admiral Dewey.

Although the title of "president" was assumed by Aguinaldo, as more likely to be favourably considered in the United States than "dictator," the tendency of his follows who had not been educated in Europe was to speak of and to regard him not as a president, but as an overlord holding all power in his hands. The people did not feel themselves citizens of a republic, co-partners in an estate; they considered themselves subject to a ruler who sometimes called himself president, and sometimes dictator. Indeed, there is much to show that if Aguinaldo and his followers had succeeded in their plans, even the name "republic" would not have been long continued as the title of his government.[1]

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[1] On July 7, 1898, the secretary of the revolutionary junta in Mindanao, in writing to Aguinaldo, closed his letter with the following formula: "Command this, your vassal, at all hours at the orders of his respected chief, on whom he will never turn his back, and whom he will never forswear. God preserve you, Captain General, many years." P. I. R., 1080. 1. Every now and then we find a queer use of the term "royal family."

Aguinaldo's claim as to the effectiveness of his government on August 6, 1898, was as follows: [1] "The government of the revolution actually rules in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Bataan, Pampanga, Infanta and besieges the capital, Manila. The most perfect order and tranquillity reign in these provinces, governed by authorities elected by the inhabitants in conformity with the organic decrees dated June 18 and 23 last. Moreover, the revolution has about nine thousand prisoners of war who are treated humanely and according to the rules of civilized warfare. We can muster more than thirty thousand men organized as a regular army."

It may have been that in the majority of these provinces municipal governments, formed in accordance with the provisions of the decree of June 18, had been established; but provincial governments had not been established in all of them, and tranquillity did not reign in any of them, as they were the scene of operations against the Spaniards. There could not well have been nine thousand prisoners in his hands at this time, as that was claimed later when a large additional number of Spaniards had surrendered. As for the thirty thousand men organized as a regular army, there may be a certain difference of opinion as to what constitutes a regular army; the men who saw Aguinaldo's force then, and who have read the papers of its leaders, must be of the opinion that that force was not a regular army. Probably only Manila Province had a provincial government on August 6. Its local presidentes met at Cavite Viejo on August 3 and elected three members of congress from the province, and also the members of the provincial government. The election took place under the supervision of Colonel Teodoro Gonzales, whom Aguinaldo had appointed governor of Manila Province on August 1. He remained governor after the election was held. Not

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This seems to have been common among the mass of the people. Heads of towns and men of position often used the expression "royal orders" in speaking of the orders and decrees issued by Aguinaldo. For example, the officials of Tayug, a town of 19,000 people in Pangasinán Province, certified, on October 9, 1898, that they had carried out the instructions for "the establishment of the popular government in accordance with the royal decree of June 18, 1898."—P. I. R., 1188. 1.

In October certain of Aguinaldo's adherents in Tondo wrote to him and protested against the acts of the local presidente, who, they held, had not been duly elected in accordance with the provisions of the "royal order" of June 18, 1898. They closed their respectful protest by requesting that said royal order should be obeyed.—Taylor, AJ., 63.

In 1899 an officer of the army in Union Province wrote: "In accordance with the orders of the secretary of war of our republican government of these islands, issued in compliance with royal decree, article 5, published on March 8." On September 1, 1898, the local presidente of the town of Mangatarem, writing to the head of the province, said that he had not furnished the estimates required because the elections provided for in "article 7 of the royal decree of the superior government, dated June 18 last," had not been approved. A young son of a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet, writing to his father in September, 1898, spoke of the "royal decree of June 18, 1898."—P. I. R., 1188. 3. In Romblon, in August, 1898, elections were held in compliance with the prescription of the "royal decree of June 18, 1898," and Aguinaldo approved them, apparently without considering that this was an anomalous way of describing a decree of the dictator of the so-called republic. On March 7, 1899, a general in the revolutionary service stated that an officer had been released from arrest by a "royal order." The attitude of mind which made men speak of Aguinaldo's "royal orders" in 1898 did not change when he fled before the advance of the United States army. His orders remained royal orders. They were again and again referred to in this way.

[1] P. I. R., Books C–1.

until August 17 did the local presidentes of Bulacan assemble under the presidency of the secretary of the interior and proceed to elect two members to congress and the members of the provincial government. Not until August 20 was there an election for the members of the provincial government of Cavite Province. This was held in the town of Cavite. Isaac Fernando Rios, who was afterwards a member of the Filipino junta in Madrid, was chosen a representative of the province; but as he wrote that he was in favour of coming to some agreement with Spain which would permit the development of the Philippines, without abandoning the sovereignty of that country, Aguinaldo promptly disapproved his election [1] and ordered a new one held for the office thus left vacant. On October 2, 1899, Aguinaldo approved the result of a new election held there because four of the five high officials of the province had absented themselves, while one of them had died. Of the men who had so absented themselves one had gone abroad, while the other three had remained in Manila or Cavite under the government of the United States.[1]

The people of the provinces obeyed the men who had arms in their hands. It is not probable that many of them had any conviction concerning the form of government which would be best for the Philippines. There were no signs of a spontaneous desire for a republic. Orders came from the group about Aguinaldo, and the people accepted a dictator and a republic as they accepted a president and a republic, without knowing, and probably without caring very much, what it all meant, except that they hoped that taxes would cease with the departure of the friars. A determined and well-organized minority had succeeded in imposing its will upon an unorganized, heterogeneous, and leaderless majority.

As soon as a province was occupied by the Insurgents it was divided into territorial zones within which command was exerted by military officers. On July 20, 1898, Cavite had been divided into four zones, and next day Brigadier-General Artemio Ricarte was placed in command of the province and the first zone.

By July 7 Bulacan Province had been divided into six zones, and Nueva Ecija into four zones, with a separate commander for each zone. These men established the government prescribed by Aguinaldo's decrees of the middle of June. Probably by the end of July Aguinaldo's municipal governments had been established in the greater part of the towns of Luzón. These governments were not established by the mass of the people. The mass of the people were not consulted, but they were not in the habit of being consulted in such matters and probably saw no necessity for it in this case. As an evidence of this we have the fact that from the beginning the acts of election were almost

[1] P. I. R., 1216. 1.

always drawn up in Spanish, although by far the greater portion of the people of the archipelago spoke only the native dialects.

The method of establishing these municipal governments employed in Cavite in June, 1898, was continued to the end of Aguinaldo's rule. It was the same in different places and at different times. Data obtained from reports and documents written in towns far removed from each other follow. They must be considered together in order to obtain an idea of what this method really was.

When the Insurgent movement had progressed sufficiently far, the leaders collected their adherents and obtained recognition as the heads of their provinces or districts. For example, representatives of the towns of Pampanga assembled at San Fernando on June 26, 1898, and under the presidency of General Maximo Hizon agreed to yield him "complete obedience as military governor of the province and representative of the illustrious dictator of these Philippine Islands."[1] The town of Macabebe refused to send any delegates to this gathering. Commissioners, in almost every case officers of Aguinaldo's army, were empowered by him to establish the so-called republican government. They appointed delegates who proceeded to the smaller towns and held elections; but whenever possible the commissioner of Aguinaldo presided. In many cases these delegates were lieutenants of the army. The commissioners selected the electors, for they had all to be "marked out by their good conduct, their wealth, and their social position," and they had all to be in favour of independence. They then presided at the elections, which were *viva voce*. They apparently selected the people to be elected, and forwarded a record of the proceedings to the central government. The election had to be approved by the dictator or president before the successful candidates could assume the duties of their offices. Later on, the military commanders remote from the seat of government were authorized to approve elections and install the successful candidates, but the records of election had even then to be forwarded to the capital for approval, the action of the commissioner not being final.

The commissioners do not seem to have been able to find many men who had the necessary requisites for electors. In the town of Lipa, Batangas Province, with a population of forty thousand seven hundred forty-three, at the election held July 3, 1898, a presidente was chosen for whom twenty-five votes were cast. On November 23, 1898, an election was held at Vigan, Ilocos Sur, for a presidente to succeed one who had been elected representative in congress. One hundred and sixteen votes were cast. The population of Vigan is nineteen thousand. On October 5, 1898, at Echague, Isabela Province, a presidente was elected for whom fifty-four votes were cast. The population of Echague

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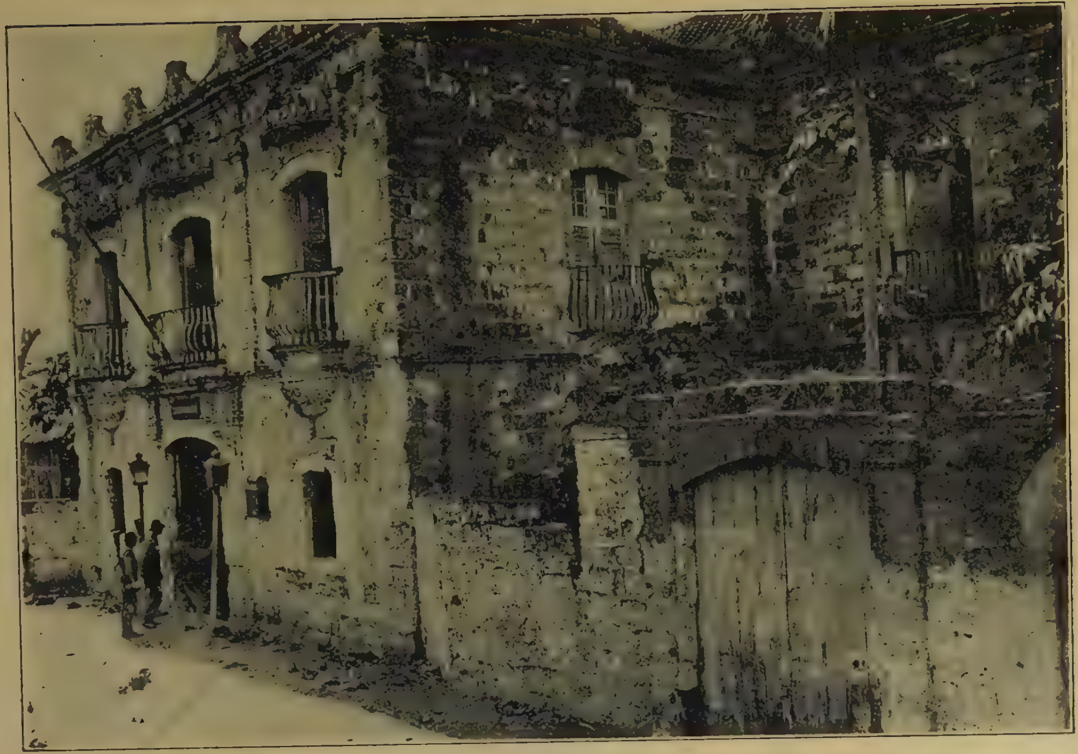
[1] P. I. R., *223*.



AN OLD-STYLE PROVINCIAL JAIL.

Lieutenant J. C. Gilmore, of the United States Navy, and his fellow prisoners were detained in this building for a time.

is fifty-four thousand. On October 2, 1898, at Cabagan Nuevo, Isabela, one hundred and eleven men voted out of a population of sixty-two hundred and forty. On January 29, 1899, the town of Hernani, in Samar, elected its municipal officials under the supervision of V. Lukban. Fifty-four men voted. The town has a population of twenty-five hundred and fifty-five.[1]

The elections, so-called, were not always held without protest. For example, the town of San José, Batangas, protested unavailingly to Aguinaldo against the result of an election held at 10 P.M., in a storm of rain. Men who had been on friendly terms with the Spaniards were usually excluded from all participation. If in spite of the precautions taken men were elected who were disliked by the commissioner or his supporters, the election could be set aside on the ground that the person elected was not an adherent of the revolution.

The elections were often held in a singular manner, as in the following case:[2]—

> "On August 20, 1898, four men of Tondo appeared before Aguinaldo in Bacoor and announced that they were representatives of the people of the district, who loved liberty. Then in accordance with the directions of the president of the republic under the supervision of the secretary of the interior, they drew lots from a hat to decide how the offices of the head of the district, delegate of police, delegate of the treasury and delegate of justice were to be distributed. The decision having been made in this simple fashion, Aguinaldo gravely approved the election as expressing the will of the people. Perhaps it did, for they seem to have continued, at least for a time, to obey them. On November 14, 1898, Aguinaldo again approved an election for local officials in Tondo which since August 13 had been within the American lines."

On August 23 San Carlos, in Pangasinán Province, a town of twenty-three thousand people, elected its officials under the new form of government. The presidente chosen was a well-known member of the Katipúnan, and before the election was held announced his intention of killing any one who was chosen for the position for which he was a candidate.[3] He was accordingly elected. In spite of this grave informality, an informality which formed one ground for a protest on the part of some of the people of the town, Aguinaldo approved the election.

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[1] The electorate, in effect, consisted chiefly of the *principalia* (the small group of native office holders) of the Spanish régime. When municipal governments were organized by the Second Philippine Commission (Act No. 82, January 31, 1901) essentially the same group was enfranchised. An attempt made by the Commission in 1901 to ascertain the proportion of electors to inhabitants in the towns then organized showed that in 390 municipalities with a total population of 2,695,801 there were a total of 49,523 qualified electors, or 18.37 electors to 1,000 inhabitants. (*Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1901, part 1, p. 32.) In 1905 the proportion of electors was slightly smaller. (*Ibid.,* 1907, part 1, pp. 163, 201.) The wisdom of both the Aguinaldo government and the Philippine Commission in limiting the franchise to those Filipinos who were the leading people in their respective localities, and had gained some degree of political experience under the Spanish régime can scarcely be doubted. (Ed.)

[2] P. I. R., 1133. 1.

[3] P. I. R., 1137. 4.

On October 21, 1898, an election was held under the supervision of the military commander in Camarines for the municipal officials of the town of Yriga.[1] The voting was oral, and a secretary wrote down the votes for the two candidates under direction of the commissioner, who finally announced that the candidate whose friend he was had been elected, but without stating how many votes he had received. This newly elected head of the town had the town crier on the following night publish through the streets an address to the people, in which he thanked those who had voted for him and warned those who had not that it would be well for them to beware.

The Spanish law known as the Maura Law, which regulated the elections in the municipalities under the Spanish government, provided for a limited electoral body, composed largely of ex-officials of the municipalities. The choosing of an electoral body by the military commander of a district probably did not seem strange to the people. The provincial and municipal officials were established in office by armed men, and they were obeyed because they had been installed by armed men; but it was a form of election to which people, as a rule, saw no reason to object. There were, however, in many cases bitter complaints of the abuses committed by the officers thus "elected."

This form of government spread with the advance of Aguinaldo's arms. Municipal elections were held in Tarlac in July, in Ilocos Norte and Tayabas in August, in Benguet and the Batanes Islands in September, 1898, in Panay in December, 1898, and in Leyte and Samar in January, 1899.

On December 27 Antonio Luna wrote that all the provinces of Luzón, Mindoro, Marinduque, Masbate, and Ticao, Romblón, part of Panay, the Batanes, and Babuyanes Islands were under the jurisdiction of the insurgent government.[2]

By October 7, 1898, 14 of the 36 provinces and districts into which Luzón had been divided by the Spanish government had civil governors.[3] These 14 were Tagálog provinces or provinces which the Tagálogs controlled. The other provinces were still under military rule, and, indeed, even the provinces under civilians were dominated by their military commanders. With the manner of holding elections which prevailed, the governors must have been men who were in favour of the military party in force, for otherwise they would not have been elected.[4]

It is not probable that the number of provinces under civil governors much increased. If in Pangasinán Province, where there are many

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[1] *Ibid.*, R., 1165. 2.

[2] P. I. R., 319. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3. 33.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1022. 3.

Tagálogs, organizations opposed to the rule of Aguinaldo could cause serious disorders, as was the case, it must have been considered expedient for the success of the attempt of the Tagálogs, who form only a fifth of the population, to dominate the archipelago, that all provinces in which an effective majority of the people were not of that group, should be kept under military rule. The municipal governments which had been established in Luzón were in the hands of Aguinaldo's adherents, or of men who it was hoped would prove loyal to him. They were men of the Spanish-speaking group, which has always dominated the people of the islands. They were probably not as a rule men of means. Many of them, perhaps most of them, had been clerks and employees under the Spanish government, and they saw no reason for changing the methods of town administration which had then been followed. The municipal taxes, the estimates for expenditures, and the regulations for town government, were but little modified from those they found in force. In many ways such changes as were made were for the worse.

Once installed in power, Aguinaldo's officials were required to exercise over the mass of the people about the same control that had always been exercised over them. The governing group considered that they were perfectly capable of providing for the welfare of the islands, and that it was the duty of the people to obey them without question.

When the insurgent force was increased in preparation for war with the Americans a large number of municipal officials resigned, or attempted to do so. It was not easy for a municipal official under Aguinaldo's government to resign. A resignation, to be accepted, had to be accompanied by the certificate of a physician that the person concerned was unfit to perform the duties of his office. Judging by the record,[1] an epidemic seems to have attacked the municipal officials in January, 1899. It is probable that they saw that war was inevitable and that they did not wish to remain in charge of the towns and be responsible for providing for the necessities of "the liberating army." In Pangasinán in that month men could not leave their barrios without obtaining the permission of the headman, and in one town men who had attempted to sell their property for the purpose of going to Manila were, on January 17, ordered to be arrested and their conduct investigated.[2]

Aguinaldo, having established himself at Malolos, ordered the congress provided for in his decree of June 23, 1898, to assemble at the capital on September 15, 1898, and appointed a number of provisional representatives for provinces and islands not under his control.[3] It has often been claimed that Aguinaldo's government controlled at this time the whole archipelago, except the bay and city of Manila and the town of Cavite.[1]

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[1] P. I. R., 1200.

[2] P. I. R., 907. 6.

[3] P. I. R., 39. 7.

In the report of the First Philippine Commission the following statement appears:—

> "While the Spanish troops now remained quietly in Manila, the Filipino forces made themselves masters of the entire island except that city." [2]

I signed that statement, and signed it in good faith; nevertheless, it is untrue. The Filipino forces never controlled the territory now known as Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga or Apayao, much less that occupied by the Negritos on the east coast of Luzón, but this is not all. There exists among the Insurgent records a very important document, prepared by Mabini, showing that when the call for the first session of the Filipino congress was issued, there were no less than sixty-one provinces and *comandancias*, which the Insurgents, when talking among themselves, did not even claim to control, and twenty-one of these were in or immediately adjacent to Luzón.[3]

The men who composed this congress were among the ablest natives of the archipelago; but representative institutions mean nothing unless they represent the people; if they do not, they are a conscious lie devised either to deceive the people of the country or foreign nations, and it is not possible for any system founded upon a lie to endure. A real republic must be founded not upon a few brilliant men to compose the governing group but upon a people trained in self-restraint and accustomed to govern by compromise and concession, not by force. To endure it must be based upon a solid foundation of self-control, of self-respect and of respect for the rights of others upon the part of the great majority of the common people. If it is not, the government which follows a period of tumult, confusion and civil war will be a government of the sword. The record the Philippine republic has left behind it contains nothing to confirm the belief that it would have endured, even in name, if the destinies of the islands had been left in the hands of the men who set it up.

The national assembly met on the appointed day in the parish church of Barasoain, Malolos, which had been set aside for the meetings of congress. This body probably had then more elected members than at its subsequent meetings, but even so it contained a large number of men who were appointed by Aguinaldo after consultation with his council to represent provinces which they had never even seen.

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[1] The following memorandum to accompany a letter from Señor Don Sixto Lopez, Secretary of Señor Don Felipe Agoncillo, to the Honorable the Secretary of State, written January 5, 1899, clearly sets forth this claim:—

"Pursuant to the action of said congress a detailed system of government has been provided for and is actually maintained in all the portions of the Philippine Islands, except so much of the provinces of Manila and Cavite as is now in the actual possession of the American Army, such excepted part containing only about 3 per cent. of the population of the entire islands and an infinitely smaller proportion of their area.

"From the foregoing it will appear that the Philippine government is now, as it has been practically ever since the 16th of June, 1898, in substantially full possession of the territory of the people it represents."—Taylor Ex. 530 57 KU., Congressional Record, June 3, 1902, Vol. 35, part 6, p. 6217.

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, part 1, p. 172.

[3] Exhibit 266, 76 MG, E. Extract from original in Spanish, A. L. S., P. I. R., 416. 1. This document appears in extenso in earlier editions of this book, page 259, n. 1.

From a "list of representatives of the provinces and districts, selected by election and appointment by the government up to July 7, 1899, with incomplete list of October 6, 1899"[1] I find that there were 193 members, of whom forty-two were elected and one hundred fifty-one were appointed. This congress was therefore not an elective body. Was it in any sense representative? The following table, showing the distribution of delegates between the several peoples, will enable us to answer this question.

In considering this table it must be remembered that the relationship given between the number of delegates assigned to a given people and the number of individuals composing it is only approximate, as no one of these peoples is strictly limited to the provinces where it predominates.

I have classified the provinces as Tagálog, Visayan, etc., according to census returns showing the people who form a majority of their inhabitants in each case.[2]

People	Number	Elected Delegates	Appointed Delegates
Visayans	3,219,030	0	68
Tagálogs	1,460,695	18	19
Ilocanos	803,942	7	11
Bicols	566,365	4	7
Pangasináns	343,686	2	2
Pampangans	280,984	2	2
Cagayans	159,648	4	6
Zambalans	48,823	1	2
Non-Christians	647,740	4	34
		42	151

It will be noted that the Tagálog provinces had eighteen out of a total of forty-two elected delegates. The Visayans, by far the most nu-

[1] P. I. R., 38. 3. Exact and reliable information concerning the composition of the Malolos congress is not available. For other accounts of its organization, personnel, and activities see Fernandez, p. 95, *et seq.;* Kalaw, p. 120, *et seq.* Fernandez states: "It is safe to assume at all events that less than one-half of the representatives who met in Malolos owed their position to 'election.'" (*Op. cit.*, p. 96) Kalaw declares that, "The proportion of elected representatives oscilated from one-half to one-third or one-fourth of the members present. (*Op. cit.*, p. 122.) Le Roy states that it is not of vital importance to know how many were appointed, and how many elected, as Aguinaldo controlled the elections as completely as the appointments. (Le Roy, I, p. 288, n. 2.)

[2] The 1903 census returns are here used for each of the several peoples.

merous people in the islands, did not have one. The non-Christian provinces had a very disproportionately large total of delegates, of whom four are put down as elected, but on examination we find that one of these is from Lepanto, the capital of which was an Ilocano town; one is from Nueva Vizcaya, where there is a considerable Cagayan-Ilocano population; one is from Benguet, the capital of which was an Ilocano town, and one from Tiagan, which was an Ilocano settlement. These delegates should therefore really be credited to the Ilocanos.

If the individual relationships of the several members are considered, the result is even more striking. Of the thirty-eight delegates assigned to the non-Christian provinces, one only, good old Lino Abaya of Tiagan, was a non-Christian. Many of the non-Christian *comandancias* were given a number of delegates wholly disproportionate to their population, and in this way the congress was stuffed full of Tagálogs.

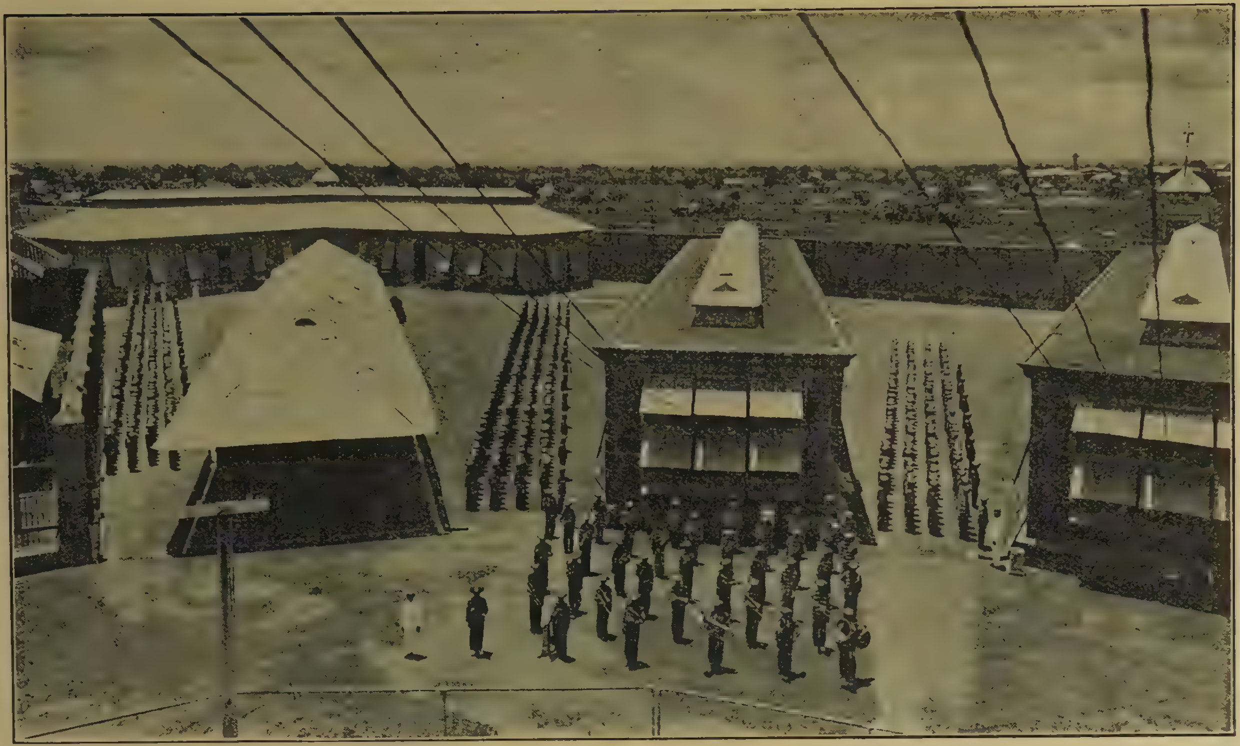
Think of Filipe Buencamino, of Aguinaldo's cabinet, representing the Moros of Zamboanga; of the mild, scholarly botanist Leon Guerrero representing the Moros, Bagobos, Mandayas and Manobos of Davao; of José M. Lerma, the unscrupulous politician of the province of Bataan, just across the bay from Manila, representing the wild Moros of Cotabato; of Juan Tuason, a timid Chinese *mestizo* Manila business man, representing the Yacan and Samal Moros of Basilan; of my good friend Benito Legarda, since a member of the Philippine Commission, and a resident delegate from the Philippines to the congress of the United States, representing the bloody Moros of Jolo! Yet they appear as representatives of these several regions.

Few, indeed, of the delegates from non-Christian territory had ever set foot in the provinces or *comandancias* from which they were appointed, or would have been able to so much as name the wild tribe or tribes inhabiting them.

I have been furnished a list, made up with all possible care by competent persons, from which it appears that there were eighty-five delegates actually present at the opening of congress, of whom fifty-nine were Tagálogs, five Bicols, three Pampangans, two Visayans, and one a Zambalan. For the others there are no data available. Yet it has been claimed that this was a representative body! It was a Tagálog body, without enough representatives of any other one of the numerous Philippine peoples to be worth mentioning.

With a congress thus organized, Aguinaldo should have had no difficulty in obtaining any legislation he desired.

The committee of congress appointed to draw up a constitution set to work promptly, and by October 16, 1898, had proceeded so far with their work that Buencamino was able to write to Aguinaldo that while he had been of the opinion that it would have been best



Retreat at Bilibid Prison, Manila.

for him to continue as a dictator aided by a committee of able men, yet it would now be a blow to the prestige of congress to suspend its sessions. Aguinaldo noted upon this letter the fact that he did not approve of a constitution.[1]

Apparently early in December the committee submitted their project. In presenting it to congress they said [2] that—

> "The work whose results the commission has the honour to present for the consideration of congress has been largely a matter of selection; in executing it not only has the French constitution been used, but also those of Belgium, Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Guatamala, as we have considered those nations as most resembling the Filipino people."

The most important difference between this project and the actual constitution adopted was that, although the project provided that the Dominican, Recollect, Franciscan and Augustinian friars should be expelled from the country and that their estates should become the property of the state, yet it recognized the Catholic religion as that of the state and forbade state contribution to the support of any other, although it permitted the practice in private of any religion not opposed to morality, which did not threaten the safety of the country. The government was authorized to negotiate a concordat with the Pope for the regulation of the relations between church and state. A strong party was in favour of this recognition, but it finally failed of adoption, and the constitution as promulgated provided for the freedom and equality of religion and for free and compulsory education which had not been provided for in the original project. The constitution as approved forbade the granting of titles of nobility, decorations or honorary titles by the state to any Filipino. This paragraph did not exist in the original project, which merely forbade any Filipino to accept them without the consent of the government.

Mabini, the ablest of all Aguinaldo's advisers, did not approve of the constitution. He himself had drawn up a project for a constitution during June, 1898, but it was not accepted by the committee, the greater part of whom were Catholics and for that reason opposed to Mabini, who was a bitter antagonist of that church. And yet when separation of church and state was finally provided for it did not please Mabini, who, although he was opposed to church control, wrote to Aguinaldo [3] that the constitution as passed by congress was not acceptable and should not be promulgated because the constitutional guarantees of individual liberty could not be maintained, as the army had to be in control for the time being, and furthermore it was not expedient to separate church and state, as this separation would alienate many of their adherents. Indeed, there was not much in the constitution which he thought ought to take immediate effect,[1] and he wrote that congress was ill-disposed toward him because he had refused to agree to its promulgation. Existing conditions were such that he believed that all powers should be vested in one person. He warned Aguinaldo that if the constitution were put in force, he would be at the mercy of his secretaries. On January 1, 1899, Aguinaldo, probably at the suggestion of Mabini, proposed certain changes in it.[2]

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[1] P. I. R., 485. 1.

[2] P. I. R., 40. 1. Don Felipe A. Calderon, a member of this committee who had made a comprehensive study of the political institutions of other countries, is generally regarded as having been the author of the Malolos constitution. [Ed.]

[3] P. I. R., 377. 13.

Evidently the provisions of the constitution did not worry Aguinaldo much, as is shown by his reply to the request by some of his officers for information as to what reward those who were first in the attack on Manila should receive. He promised them such titles as marquis, duke, and so forth.[3]

On January 2, 1899, Aguinaldo announced the formation of a new cabinet made up as follows: Apolinario Mabini president and secretary of foreign affairs; Teodoro Sandico, secretary of the interior; Mariano Trias, secretary of the treasury; Baldomero Aguinaldo, secretary of war and navy, and Gracio Gonzaga, secretary of *fomento*.[4] On January 4 Mabini took the oath of office as the president of the council of government. This body met twice a week at Malolos on set days, and at the close of its deliberations forwarded to Aguinaldo a statement of the subjects discussed and the conclusions reached for his decision. The president of the republic did not preside at, or take part in, its deliberations.

On January 4, 1899, General Otis issued a proclamation in which he announced that the United States had obtained possession of the Philippines and that its government would be extended over the islands of the archipelago. Aguinaldo replied next day with one which, if not intended to be a declaration of war, was at least a warning that hostilities were imminent. This proclamation was carried into Manila by his emissaries and posted up over the one issued by the American commander. It was a challenge to a trial of strength, and Aguinaldo and his advisers hastened their preparations for the coming combat.

The secretary of the interior on the same day sent an order to the heads of all provinces directing the organization of territorial militia to resist the American invasion, and ordering the heads of the towns to hold meetings of the people to protest against the aggression of the United States. They were held in accordance with these orders, and records of the proceedings were sent to Malolos and published in the official organ of the government as evidence of the feeling of the people. It was, however, not considered necessary in publishing them to mention the fact that they had been held in compliance with orders.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 472. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, 40. 8. [3] *Ibid.*, 849.

[4] A general term covering education, public works, agriculture and commerce.

On January 14, 1899, Mabini wrote to Aguinaldo [1] recommending changes in the proposed constitution, which he still liked as little as ever. He was afraid that Negros and Panay would refuse to accept the form of government it prescribed. The worst thing about it was that the Americans would be less disposed to recognize Aguinaldo's government; for when they saw the constitution they would know, as it made no mention of them, that the Filipinos wanted independence. Mabini thought that it was possible that the wording of the constitution might have been deliberately planned by members of the congress in favour of annexation to the United States, so that that country would be warned, would become more mistrustful, and would refuse to recognize Aguinaldo's government. Whatever the president of the council may have thought about the theoretical advisability of a congress to represent the people, he found one much in the way when he had obtained it.

Buencamino advised that the constitution should be approved and promulgated; one argument was that the congress had been consulted in the matter of a national loan, and if it was dissolved, there could be no loan. This was apparently the only matter upon which it had been consulted.[2]

The constitution of the Philippine Republic was ratified at a session of the congress on January 20, 1899.

On January 21, 1899, Aguinaldo sanctioned it and ordered that it should be "kept, complied with and executed in all its parts because it is the sovereign will of the Philippine people." [3] The constitution provided for a government of three coördinate powers, executive, legislative and judicial. Whether it provided for a form of government which would have succeeded in the Philippines was not determined by actual experience. It was never really put in force, for war with the United States began in two weeks and the constitution must stand as the expression of the ideas of a certain group of educated natives rather than as the working formula for the actual conduct of the political life of a nation. One proof of this is the fact that not until June 8, 1899, were Aguinaldo's decrees upon the registration of marriages and upon civil marriage, dated June 20, 1898, revoked, and the provisions of the constitution concerning marriage put in effect.[4]

Aguinaldo had approved the constitution; he had informed the foreign consuls and General Otis that it had been promulgated and become the law of the land. The document served one important purpose. It passed into the hands of the Americans and showed them the ability and the aspirations of certain individuals of the archipelago, but Mabini and his followers did not believe in its form or in its provisions, and Mabini at least was emphatic in his declarations that the time had not yet come for it to be put into effect. On January 24, 1899, he wrote to Aguinaldo that if it should be promulgated it would be absolutely necessary to give the president the veto power, and replace the elected representatives by others appointed by the government. If this were not done the president would be at the mercy of congress, and the people, seeing that disagreement between the executive government and the congress was the cause of its misfortunes, would start another revolutionary movement to destroy both of them.[1]

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[1] P. I. R., 512. A 5.

[2] P. I. R., 485. 5.

[3] Senate Document 138, Fifty-sixth Congress, First Session; *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1900, part 1, p. 189, *et seq.*

[4] P. I. R., Books B–6.

As long as Mabini remained in power the constitution was mere paper. Its adoption was not indicative of the capacity of the people to maintain self-government. It expressed only the academic aspirations of the men who drafted it. There is not the slightest evidence from any previous or subsequent experience of the people that it would have worked in practice. It was enacted primarily to impress Americans, and foreign powers whose recognition was sought.[2]

While the government of Aguinaldo was called a republic, it was in fact a Tagálog military oligarchy in which the great mass of the people had no share. Their duty was only to give soldiers for the army and labourers for the fields, and to obey without question the orders they received from the military heads of their provinces.

There is no cause for vain regrets. We did not destroy a republic in the Philippines. There never was anything there to destroy which even remotely resembled a republic.

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[1] P. I. R., 472. 8.

[2] See Kalaw, pp. 125–126 for a statement of the attitudes of Calderon and others who insisted that a constitution should be drafted, and of Mabini, who felt that constitution-making should be postponed until independence had been won.

CHAPTER VIII

The Conduct of the War

It is not my intention to attempt to write a history of the war which began on February 4, 1899, nor to discuss any one of its several campaigns. I propose to limit myself to a statement of the conditions under which it was conducted, and a description of the two periods into which it may be divided.

From the outset the Insurgent soldiers were treated with marked severity by their leaders. On June 17, 1898, Aguinaldo issued an order to the military chiefs of certain towns in Cavite providing that a soldier wasting ammunition should be punished with twelve lashes for a first offence, twenty-four for a second, and court-martialled and "severely punished" for a third.[1]

On November 16, 1900, General Lacuna ordered that any officer allowing his soldiers to load their rifles when not before the enemy should be liable to capital punishment,[2] which in practice was frequently inflicted on soldiers for very minor offences.

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[1] "To the Military Chiefs of the towns mentioned in the margin [there is nothing in the margin.—Tr.]:—

"As there are still many soldiers paying no notice to the order forbidding the waste of cartridges, you are required to give a certain amount of ammunition to each soldier and to see every day if there is any cartridge missing, and if so, inquire into the reason. In order that this may be successfully carried out, I have deemed it proper to prescribe the punishment for such offence, of which you will inform the soldiers under your command, and post this circular in a prominent place. Said punishments are as follows:—

"Art. 1. A soldier found wasting ammunition shall be punished with 12 lashes; in case he commits the same offence again he shall be punished with 24 lashes; and on a further offence of like character by the same soldier, he shall be court-martialled and severely punished.

"Art. 2. A soldier who has been found short of even one cartridge out of the ammunition assigned to him, shall be punished with 12 lashes, provided that he has not previously been in any engagement.

"Art. 3. A soldier who has been found with no cartridges by reason of throwing them away during an engagement, shall be court-martialled, and severely punished.

"I most earnestly recommend you to carefully look after your soldiers and see that every one is complying with the foregoing order.

"This order should be transmitted from one town to another mentioned in the margin, and the last one should return it to this office with the information that the same has been received and complied with by all.

"May God guard you many years.

"E. Aguinaldo, Dictator.

"Cavite, June 17th, 1898." —P. I. R., 1124. 2.

[2] "November 16, 1900.

(Stamp) "Lacuna Brigade, Headquarters.

"Major Thomas Tagunton: Advise all officers of this brigade that he who allows his soldiers to load their rifles without being before the enemy, shall be liable to capital punishment. If the soldiers intentionally or otherwise fire their pieces, whether in the air or at any determined or undetermined person, said soldiers and the officers to whose command they belong shall also be liable to the same punishment as above, without further proceedings, for the reason that we are almost in front of the enemy, and all the more if the shots take effect upon any of the soldiers or chiefs.

"Sergeants and corporals shall also take heed of the present warnings, as they will

Men of means were drafted into the ranks and then excused from service on the payment of cash.

The soldiery, quartered on the towns, committed endless abuses. Conditions were bad enough before the outbreak of hostilities, as I have shown in the chapters dealing with Insurgent rule. They grew rapidly worse thereafter, and human life became cheap indeed.

> "The documents of this period show that the insurgent troops driven from the front of Manila fell upon the people of the neighbouring towns and burnt, robbed, and murdered. Either their officers lost all control over them, or else they directed these outrages. It was not for some days that control was regained."[1]

Endless orders were issued by Aguinaldo and other high Insurgent officers, prohibiting rape, brigandage and robbery, and there was grave need of them. Unfortunately they could not be enforced. Indeed it was often impossible to distinguish between Insurgent soldiers who removed their uniforms or had none, and brigands pure and simple.[2]

Many men were soldiers at one time and brigands at another. Unquestionably soldiers and brigands sometimes coöperated. Garrisons were withdrawn from towns which did not promptly and fully comply with the demands of Insurgent commanders,[3] and armed bandits appeared and plundered them. There were some Insurgent leaders, like

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also be given the same punishment if they by abandoning their squads allow them to commit certain outrages.

"You will report receipt of and compliance with this order.

"God preserve you many years.

"General Headquarters, November 16, 1900.

(Signed) "Lacuna, General, Political-Military Governor and Chief of Operations."

—P. I. R., 043. 1.

[1] Taylor, AJ. 85.

[2] Kabatúan, Oct. 14th, 1899.

"EDICT

"Martín F. Delgado, General and Politico-Military Governor of the Province of Iloilo.

"As a consequence of the frequent assaults and robberies committed by persons wearing military uniforms, and with the determination to correct, with a firm hand, such scandalous conduct, which, besides causing such deeds to be laid at the door of the military, also makes it easier for evil-doers to commit their misdeeds, I have, at the suggestion of the Councillor of Police, ordered the following:—

"1. From this date forward all private citizens are absolutely prohibited from wearing military uniforms.

"2. All authorities, both civil and military, under this Government, are obliged to see to the strict enforcements of this edict.

"3. All persons who, not being in the military service, are, after the publication of this edict, found wearing military uniforms, and who cannot show that they are in the military service, will be suspected as evil-doers and will be sent to this Government to be subjected to the corresponding corrective measures.

* * * * * * * * * *

(Signed) "Martín Delgado.
"Governor-General-President."

—P. I. R., 881. 4.

[3] "On April 10, 1899, General Delgado wrote that, benignity having failed, rigorous methods would be used to enforce collections and that if the people did not pay—

"'I shall, with great pain, see myself under the necessity of withdrawing all my forces to the mountains and leaving them [the pueblos] to the fate which God will decide upon,' which of course meant that he would leave them to the mercy of the bandits who stood ready to descend upon them."—P. I. R., B., 4.

"This threat was not an idle one."—Taylor, 67 HS. E–L.

Bilibid Prison Hospital.

The Philippine Government has been charged with the neglect of prisoners. The truth is that it has made the prisons of the Philippines the most sanitary structures of their kind in the tropics, and gives its sick prisoners the best of care.

Cailles, who suppressed brigandage with a heavy hand,[1] but many of them were indifferent, even if not in alliance with the evil doers.

Throughout the central islands feeling between Tagálog soldiers and Visayan people grew constantly more bitter, and before many months had passed they fell to killing each other. The highest officers of the "Regional Revolutionary Government of the Visayas" protested vigorously to Aguinaldo,[2] but without result. The situation was entirely beyond his control.

On April 20, 1899, General Delgado issued an order which tells a significant story of conditions, and of his own weakness in dealing with them.[3]

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[1] "SANTA CRUZ, LAGUNA, July, 1899.

"HON. SR. EMILIO AGUINALDO. . . .

"There was a notorious bandit here who was the terror of the province with his gang; I had him arrested and shot and the robberies ceased. Murders were being committed; I had the murderers caught, shot one of them, and there were no more murders; officers of the reserve would consider themselves kings in their towns, they would shoot the local *presidentes* and commit other unlawful acts; I disarmed them, and tried the most celebrated one, called Arcadio Castillo, alias Bancucane, who attempted to escape and was killed. With the death of these persons order has been completely reëstablished in this province. Several had rifles that were used only for robbery and after two or three trials all turned over their rifles, and the arming of the battalion was completed.

* * * * * * * * * *

(Signed) "JUAN CAILLES."
—P. I. R., 7 & 8.

[2] "REGIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE VISAYAS.

"OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.
"KABATÚAN, March 16, 1899.

"TO THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC,
"SEÑOR EMILIO AGUINALDO Y FAMY,
"MOST DISTINGUISHED PRESIDENT:

* * * * * * * * * *

"In order to avoid the distress which the knowledge of the abuses which are already unbearable, daily committed by the troops of Señor Diocno, will cause you, this government has hesitated to communicate them to you, but, as there is almost a reign of terror here, it feels that it must inform you of them in order to remedy them. The death of private individuals and assaults committed in the towns are daily reported as having been committed by the troops of General Diocno. Of the numerous companies of Señor Diocno, only two under the orders of General Araneta fight against the enemy, the remainder are the terror of the town and it is a week since Sr. Diocno went to Capiz without telling any one what he was going to do.

"In view of the facts pointed out, the soldiers of this General constituting a constant danger to the town, this government asks you to order General Diocno to turn over his rifles to us to kill Americans with and to enable the towns to recover their former tranquillity; this government asks this of you, relying upon the well-known justice with which you act and it wishes for you many years of life for our liberty and our independence.

"KABATÚAN, March 16, 1899.

(Signed) "JOVITO YUSAY,
"Temporary President.
(Signed) "FRANCISCO SORIANO,
"General Secretary."
—P. I. R., 52. 5.

[3] "Martín Delgado y Bermejo, lieutenant general and general in chief of the republican army of the Visayan Islands.

"GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF SANTA BARBARA,
"April 20, 1899.

"The existence of a state of war, and the trying circumstances through which the country is now passing have brought about a complete change in the order of nearly all the pueblos; and I have noticed with profound regret that sacking, robbery, sequestrations, and other crimes highly dishonourable to our noble cause, are of daily occurrence. With a view to preventing such conduct in the future, and in order to guarantee to the inhabitants of the military district under my command the most complete tranquillity, I hereby decree:

"1. That any person or persons who commit acts of brigandage, sequestration, incendiarism, rape, or other disturbances of a public nature calculated to excite the public, or which infringe individual or property rights, shall be severly punished in accordance with military law.

"2. That all offenders who present themselves to the Local or Military Authorities within the 30 days immediately following this date, and who turn over their arms and

In Luzón General Trias of Cavite accused the soldiers and citizens of his province of committing "robberies, assaults, kidnappings and crimes which are committed only by barbarous and savage tribes." [1]

That very serious conditions promptly became general is conclusively shown by the record of Aguinaldo's government for February 24, 1899, when it decided—

"that the president of the council shall study such measures as will put an end to the continual discord and friction between the civil and military authorities of every province, in order that fatal consequences may be avoided."

With such conditions prevailing among the Filipinos themselves, it was to be expected that the laws of civilized warfare would be violated and that American soldiers taken prisoners would sometimes be treated with barbarity. Flags of truce were deliberately violated.[2] American soldiers were trapped, poisoned [3] and murdered in other ways.[4]

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join our forces and help to fight other outlaws and to defend the nation, will be pardoned for the crimes they have committed.

"3. That when the period of 30 days above mentioned has passed, any person taken in the act of committing robbery, or who attempts to rob with an organized band of outlaws, or who steals, rapes, or performs acts of incendiarism, or any other criminal act, will be summarily condemned to death by a military tribunal.

"The Local Juntas of the various towns in conjunction with citizens of standing and the military authorities will organize a vigilance service to maintain public order and the authority of the law.

"M. Delgado."

—P. I. R., Books B 4.

[1] "February 13, 1899.

(In the margin: A stamp which says:) "Philippine Republic—Headquarters of operations of the provinces of Southern Luzón.

"It is with great regret that I have learned that robberies, assaults, kidnapping, and other crimes which are committed only by barbarous and savage tribes, are taking place in our towns, without taking into consideration that the purpose of the insurrection which has given origin to our social regeneration is true justice, for the reëstablishment of which the lives and property are being sacrificed of all who are proud of being called Filipinos. These acts are being committed without restrictions by civilians as well as soldiers perhaps with the coöperation of their respective chiefs, to the shame of the authority vested in them and to the prejudice of the society to which they unworthily belong, and even to the integrity itself of the Republic. And in order that these barbarous and savage acts may disappear and that rigorous and exemplary punishment be meted out, I have deemed it proper to forward to you for general information the proclamation of these Headquarters of February 12th last, which is as follows:

* * * * * *

(Signed) "Mariano Trias.
"*Lieutenant-General.*

"To the Politico-Military Chief of Infanta."—P. I. R., 896–9.

[2] "There does not seem to have been the faintest conception that there was any reason for not using the white flag to deceive people who were foolish enough to believe that Aguinaldo was going to adhere to the rules prescribed for its use. The writer in the early spring of 1899 once watched an insurgent party advance under a white flag upon an American line of trenches. When an officer and a bugler went forward to receive them they threw down the flag and immediately opened fire with the rifles which they were then seen to be dragging behind them."—Taylor, 48 HS.

[3] "Such ammunition was not effective unless fired from very close quarters, but even its possession made the guerrillas stronger than the people of the country and undoubtedly had much to do with securing their coöperation, not only as bolomen but also in the digging of the pits which were placed in the trails and also set about the towns. These were required to be constructed by the local authorities. In the bottom was set a sharp spike of bamboo, sometimes poisoned; and the pit was covered with leaves and soil upon a fragile framework; so that if a man stood upon it he would fall through upon the spike. Bows were set in the jungle with a string set across the trail so that any one stumbling over it would discharge a sharp bamboo shaft with a poisoned head. On September 18, 1900, Lukban congratulated the people of the town of Katubig upon the efficient use they had made of arrows with the heads dipped in 'dita,' a native poison. (P. I. R., 502. 8.)"—Taylor, 83 HS.

[4] See also Chapter IX, entitled "Murder as a Governmental Agency."

It was promptly charged in the United States that American soldiers were committing barbarities, and these old tales have been revived. I know personally that during the early days of the war Insurgent prisoners and wounded were treated with the greatest humanity and kindness. A part of the Insurgent plan of campaign was the circulation of the most shocking statements concerning the abuses committed by American soldiers. I have elsewhere described[1] the fate that overtook Colonel Arguelles, in part because he told the truth as to the humane treatment by the Americans of prisoners and wounded.

Not only did some of those who did this forfeit their lives, but newspaper articles, military orders, and proclamations issued by civil officers informed the people that the American soldiers stole, burned, robbed, raped and murdered. Especial stress was laid on their alleged wholesale violations of women, partly to turn the powerful influence of the women as a whole against them, and partly to show that they were no better than the Insurgents themselves, who frequently committed rape.[2]

These horrible tales were at first believed even by some of the responsible Insurgent officers in remote regions,[1] but all such men soon learned the truth, which was known to most of them from the start.

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[1] See p. 261 *infra*.

[2] The following newspaper supplement printed in Tagálog for the benefit of the common people, is typical of this class of literature, with which the country was kept flooded:

(Circular printed in Tagálog. P. I. R., 17–6. Supplement to *Heraldo Filipino*.

"Friday, 24th February, 1899.

"COUNTRYMEN:

"We must consider ourselves fortunate that the bad intentions of North America were found out early. If we had not found them out by this time we should have been entrapped. And we should thank God that they commenced the war.

"You ought to know by this time that these people can teach us nothing good. What we can learn from them is all evil. You must admit the truth of what they are reported to do to our brothers in Manila where they rob the houses when the dwellers in them are out or busy. Their evil inclinations prevail over them to such an extent that the houses most worthy of consideration are not safe. They are worse than the wild people who live in the woods, they have not the slightest idea of looking at things from the point of view of a man of honour nor have they the slightest respect for reason, for this does not control their actions in the least. Without the slightest attention to civility they rush into houses and if they find the people eating, without saying a word, they take what they want from the table, put it into their mouths and go as they came.

"If they find people sleeping or resting, taking the siesta, it makes no difference to them; they go into the most private parts of the house as though they were walking in the street.

"In the shops they take what pleases them and if the owner wants payment they threaten him with their rifles.

"One can hardly believe and my pen refuses to write all of the perversity, and evil and bad habits of these people.

"Their habits and manners are a disgrace to the country where they were born. In no history have such customs and manners been described even in that of the most ignorant people.

"They search women who pass, feeling all over their bodies, taking from them money and whatever else they carry and if they come on them in a lonely place they strip them naked after violating them and do not leave a rag on them.

"Are these those honest men of whom we have heard? Are these the people who were going to teach us good habits? Are these the people who were going to guide us? The race which does these things is the most hated one in the world, it is the race which commits most cruelties, it is the race which does not treat its mother with respect; in this race there is not the slightest idea of personal dignity, it is a race which does not know what honour is, which does not possess the slightest vestige of regard for good manners. Are these the people who are going to protect us? It is better for us to die at once than fall into the power of these unequalled malefactors.

"¡Down with the bad men!

"¡Kill the Americans!!

"¡Let the people of the United States be exterminated!!!

"¡Notice.—This sheet is distributed gratis."

In official correspondence between them, not intended for the public, orders were given to use women as bearers of despatches for the reason that Americans did not search them.[2] More significant yet, when conditions became bad in the provinces, Insurgent officers sent their women and children to seek American protection in Manila or elsewhere. Cartload after cartload of them came in at Angeles, shortly after General Jacob H. Smith took that place. Aguinaldo himself followed this procedure, as is shown by the following extracts from Villa's famous diary: [3]—

> "*December* 24.—We find ourselves still in Talubin. About 8 o'clock this morning a report came saying the Americans had arrived at Bontoc, the provincial capital, the nearest town to Talubin, and distant from it two hours by the road. An immediate decision was made. The honourable president told his family and the other women that they should remain in the settlement and allow themselves to be caught by the Americans, and he named Señors Sytiar and Paez to remain also, with the obligation of conducting the women to Manila. As soon as the arrangement was effected, the honourable president prepared himself for the march. The parting was a very sad one for himself and for his family." [4]

In this, as in all other similar cases, the women were kindly treated and safely conducted to their destination. Aguinaldo and his fellows knew the happy fate of the members of his own family, as is shown by a later entry:—

> "*February* 6.—We have been informed that the mother and son of the honourable president are at Manila, living in the house of Don Benito Legarda, and that they reached that capital long before the wife and sister of the honourable president. We have also learned that Señor Buencamino, and Tirona, and Concepcion are prisoners of the American authorities in Manila. With reference to the wife

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[1] "A light upon the treatment of women by these people is given by the fact that after an American detachment had captured Lukban's papers and family on August 18, and came so close to taking him that he was able to recognize their guide, one of his correspondents wrote to him that to their surprise the women, who had fully expected to be abused, had been treated with respect and given a house to live in. (P. I. R., 1143. 4.)"—TAYLOR, 84 HS.

[2] In a letter to General Ambrosio Moxica from ——— dated March 2, 1900, occurs the following:—

"The guerillas quartered in the neighbourhood must render mutual assistance and keep up communication, so as to get the news as to where the enemy comes or goes, and the time at which they will pass certain points, endeavouring also to arrange that all the guerilla bands should have regular couriers, with you or with general headquarters, giving advice daily of any occurrence and carrying correspondence. They must select trustworthy women to carry correspondence, charging them to hide the letters underneath their skirts, bearing in mind that the Americans do not search them; and in sending them to the towns for arms or food, the orders must be sent by women and for small quantities, so as not to attract attention."—P. I. R., 2035. 3.

[3] Simeon Villa, who accompanied Aguinaldo on his long flight, kept a somewhat detailed account of events in the form of a diary.

[4] P. I. R., 869.

and sister of the honourable president and the two Leyba sisters, it is said that they went to Vigan and from there went by steamer to Manila."[1]

The mother and son, accompanied by Buencamino, had allowed themselves to be captured at an earlier date. What shall we say of a leader who would turn his mother, wife, sister and son over to American soldiers for safekeeping, and then continue to denounce the latter as murderers, and violaters of women? Aguinaldo did just this. That the Insurgent leaders were early and fully aware of the treatment accorded their wounded is shown by the following extract from a letter to General Moxica of Leyte, dated March 2, 1900, giving instructions as to what should be done with wounded men:—

> "If by chance any of our men are wounded on the field or elsewhere, efforts must be made to take away the rifles and ammunition at once and carry them away as far as possible, so that they may not be captured by the enemy; and if the wounded cannot be immediately removed elsewhere or retreat from the place, let them be left there, because it is better to save the arms than the men, as there are many Filipinos to fill up the ranks, but rifles are scarce and difficult to secure for battle; and besides the Americans, coming upon any wounded, take good care of them, while the rifles are destroyed; therefore, I repeat, they must endeavour to save the arms rather than the men."[2]

There were some rare individual instances in which uninjured Filipinos were treated with severity, and even with cruelty, by American soldiers. They occurred for the most part late in the war when the "water cure" in mild form was sometimes employed in order to compel persons who had guilty knowledge of the whereabouts of firearms to tell what they knew, to the end that the perpetration of horrible barbarities on the common people, and the assassination of those who had sought American protection, might the more promptly cease. Usually the sufferers were themselves bloody murderers, who had only to tell the truth to escape punishment. The men who performed these cruel acts knew what treatment was being commonly accorded to Filipinos, and in some instances to their own comrades. I mention these facts to explain, not to excuse, their conduct. Cruel acts cannot be excused, but those referred to seldom resulted in any permanent injury to the men who suffered them, and were the rare and inevitable exceptions to the general rule that the war was waged, so far as the Americans were concerned, with a degree of humanity hitherto unprecedented under similar conditions.[3] The Insurgents violated every rule of civilized warfare, yet oathbreakers, spies and men fighting in citizens' clothes not only were not shot by the Americans, as they might very properly have been, but were often turned loose with a mere warning not to offend again.

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[1] P. I. R., 869. [2] *Ibid.*, 2035. 3.

[3] A pamphlet which paints the conduct of American soldiers in the blackest possible colors is, Moorfield Story and Julian Codman, *Marked Severities*. This pamphlet

The false news circulated to aid the Insurgent cause was by no means limited to such matters. Every time their troops made a stand they were promptly defeated and driven back, but their faltering courage was bolstered up by glorious tidings of wonderful, but wholly imaginary, victories won elsewhere. It was often reported that many times more Americans had fallen in some insignificant skirmish than were actually killed in the whole war, while generals perished by the dozen and colonels by the thousand. Our losses on March 27, 1899, in fighting north of Manila, were said to be twenty-eight thousand. In reality only fifty-six Americans were killed in all northern Luzón during the entire month.

On April 26, 1899, the governor of Iloilo published the following remarkable news items among others:—

"PAVIA, April 6th, 1899.

"The Liberating Army of the Visayan Islands to the Local Presidents of the towns shown on the margin:

"*Towns:* Santa Barbara, Pavía, Leganes, Zárraga, Dumangas, Batac Viejo, Tuilao, Batac Nuevo, Banate.

* * * * * * *

"Santa Ana taken by Americans burning town our troops advancing to Rosario and Escolta Americans request parley account death General and officers and many soldiers.

* * * * * * *

"At 3 P.M. of the 14th battle at Santolan 500 American prisoners who are to be taken to Malolos.

"At 9.45 P.M. Commissioner Laguna details 6000 more Americans dead and 600 prisoners.

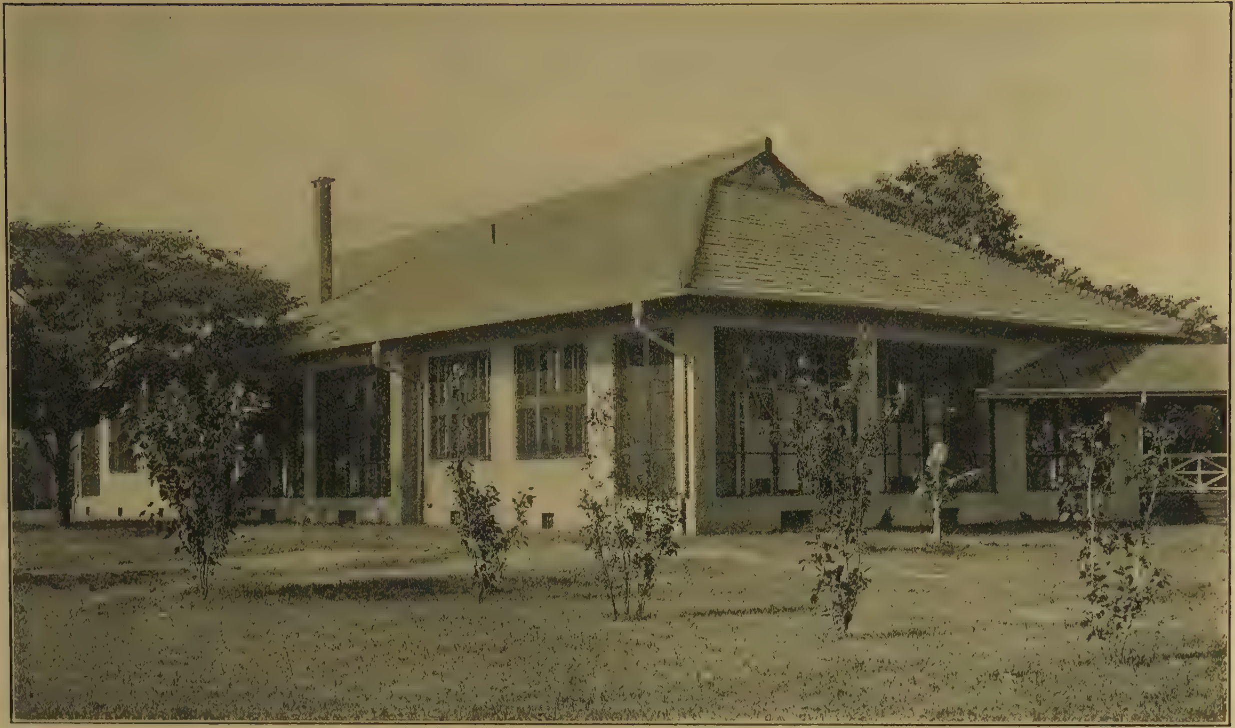
"Otis requests parley, and our representatives being present, he tells them to request peace and conditions, to which they replied that he, and not they, should see to that, so the parley accomplished nothing.

"To-day, Wednesday, a decisive battle will be fought.

"Among the 5000 prisoners there are two generals. To-morrow 7.15 Pasig in our power. Americans little by little leaving for Manila.

was published in 1902 and a new edition appeared in 1907. It was widely circulated as Anti-Imperialist propaganda and much of the material which it contains reappeared in 1926, although without acknowledgement, in Moorfield Story and M. P. Lichauco, *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States,* New York, 1926.

With reference to American severities, Le Roy says that, "the distinction should be drawn between the American forces, resorting to harsh measures only with some definite end in view or to protect the peace and order of the majority of the community, and the guerilla bands, burning, torturing, or assassinating, sometimes out of pure wantonness, sometimes to carry out a personal vengeance, again in execution of a threat against the community for its non-support, and always to the detriment of the peace and order which alone would restore prosperity to the Philippine fields." (Le Roy, II, pp. 224–225.) Le Roy criticises the American command in the Philippines for not having enunciated and strictly enforced a definite policy as to reprisals. (*Ibid.,* pp. 225-226.)



Modern Contagious Disease Ward, San Lazaro Hospital.

"General Malbar to Provincial Chief Batangas.

"According to reports by telegraph hostilities have commenced and all at Santa Mesa have fallen into our hands, also Pasay and Maytubig.

"American boat surrendered at Laguna de Bay many prisoners taken.

"General Ricarte to Provincial Chief of Batangas: Battle stopped by truce Japan and Germany intervene to learn who provoked war.

"Foreigners favor parley one American general and chiefs and officers dead."[1]

Santa Ana is a suburb of Manila. The Rosario and Escolta are the main business streets of the city.

Apparently the Insurgents must have thought that colonels were as numerous in our army as in theirs, for they reported two thousand of them killed on February 6, 1899, and threw in one general for good measure.[2]

We learn from the *Filipino Herald* for February 23, 1899, that on that day the Filipino army captured and occupied the suburbs of Manila, while American troops were besieged in the outskirts of the city, at La Loma, and in the neighbouring town of Caloocan.[3]

But why continue? No tale concerning American losses in the Philippines was too fantastic to be told by the leaders and believed by the soldiery and the populace. The American soldiers were even said to be refusing to fight, and great prisons were being constructed in order properly to punish them.

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[1] P. I. R., 886. 13.

[2] Exhibit 1233

(Original in Spanish. Contemporary copy. P. I. R., Books B. 4.)

"General Headquarters, Santa Barbara, Feb. 28th, 1899."
(Literal copy of telegram.)

* * * * * * * * * *

"Casualties, Americans, on 6th, 2000 Colonels dead, one General; all churches converted into hospitals full American wounded; total American casualties 7000 confirmed by General Fullón just arrived from Malolos; says also Iloílo quiet and not taken.

* * * * * * * * * *

"A true copy
"By order of Chief of Staff. "Juan Beloso."

[3] (Supplement to the *Filipino Herald.*)

"Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 1899.—4 P.M.

"The Filipino Army occupies the suburbs of Manila.

* * * * * * * * * *

"The three columns commanded by Generals Pío del Pilar and Licerio and Col. Hizon now occupy the suburbs of Sampaloc, San Miguel, San Sebastián, Binondo, San Nicholás and Tondo.

"The Cavite battalion has possession of the Cuartel de Meisic and our flag is now flying there.

"SIX THOUSAND AMERICANS BESIEGED!!!

"The American troops now in Caloocan and La Loma to the number of over six thousand are besieged by the columns commanded by Generals Luna, Llanera and García.

"THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT

"This very moment the special train carrying the Honourable President has left for Caloocan.

"Viva the independent Philippines!!!

"Viva the unconquerable Philippine Army!!!

"Notice. This sheet is distributed gratis."—P. I. R., 70–6.

General MacArthur and his entire staff were captured before March 2, 1900, according to a letter sent to General Moxica of Leyte on that date.[1]

And what of conditions in the United States during this troubled period? We learn from the Insurgent records that prior to January 15, 1900, "the Union Army" had met with a new disaster, as a result of which President McKinley tendered his resignation, being succeeded by Mr. Bryan. Philippine independence was to be proclaimed on February 4, 1899. On January 20, "General Otis's successor, John Waterly, of the democratic party," arrived at Manila with papers and instructions relative to proclaiming the Philippine Republic.[2] Things now went from bad to worse. The trouble between democrats and republicans resulted in an insurrection. Before August, 1901, President McKinley had brought about strained relations between Germany and the United States by bribing an anarchist to assassinate the German Emperor.[3] Before September 15, 1901, he had been killed by a member of the Democratic party, and the Filipinos could acclaim their independence.[4]

The first period of the war, which we may term the period of organized armed resistance, drew rapidly to its close, and there followed the second period, characterized by guerrilla tactics on the part of the Insurgents.

On September 14, 1899, Aguinaldo accepted the advice of General Pío del Pilar, ex-bandit, if indeed he had ever ceased to rob and murder, and authorized this man, whom he had been again and again asked to remove, to begin guerrilla warfare in Bulacan. Guerrilla tactics were duly authorized for, and had been adopted by, Insurgent forces everywhere before the end of November.

Of this style of fighting Taylor has truly said:—

> "If war in certain of its aspects is a temporary reversion to barbarism, guerrilla warfare is a temporary reversion to savagery. The

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[1] "(News.) The American General, MacArthur, with his entire staff, was taken prisoner by our troops in Northern Luzón. Another American general died on the 5th of January last in the North, who was seriously wounded in an ambush or fight. When shot he was a colonel, but on account of said fight he was promoted to the rank of a general, so that later when he died, he had the benefit of that rank."—P. I. R. 2035. 3.

[2] (Telegrams)

"WASHINGTON, January 15, 1900, 10 A.M.
"(Received, Cebú, January 16, 1900, 11 A.M.)

"Owing to a new disaster of the Union Army, MacKinley has tendered his resignation as President, Mr. Bryan succeeding him.

"Peace promulgated in the Philippines. Basis of the protectorate is being discussed.

"Philippine independence will be proclaimed February the 4th.

"Remark.—The basis of a protectorate has been published in English."

"MANILA, January 20, 1900, 10 A.M.
"(Received at Cebú on the same day, at 11 A.M.)

"Otis' successor, John Waterly, of the democratic party, has just arrived. He brings with him papers and instructions in regard to proclamation of the Philippine Republic.

"It is believed that Rev. Martin, Bishop of Cebú, will be transferred to the Archbishopric of Manila, and Rev. Nozaleda to Spain."—P. I. R., Books B-10.

[3] P. I. R., 1193. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2025.

man who orders it assumes a grave responsibility before the people whose fate is in his hands, for serious as is the material destruction which this method of warfare entails, the destruction to the orderly habits of mind and thought which, at bottom, are civilization, is even more serious. Robbery and brigandage, murder and arson follow in its wake. Guerrilla warfare means a policy of destruction, a policy of terror, and never yet, however great may have been the injury caused by it, however much it may have prolonged the war in which it has been employed, has it secured a termination favorable to the people who have chosen it."[1]

The case under discussion furnished no exception to the general rule.

Such semblance of discipline as had previously existed among the Insurgent soldiers rapidly disappeared. Conditions had been very bad under the "Republic" and worse during the first period of the war. During the second period they rapidly became unendurable in many regions, and the common people were driven into the arms of the Americans, in spite of threats of death, barbarously carried out by Insurgent officers, soldiers and agents in thousands of cases. I have described at some length the conditions which now arose in the next chapter, entitled Murder as a Governmental Agency, to which the reader is referred for details.

In the effort to protect the towns which showed themselves friendly, the American forces were divided, subdivided and subdivided again. On March 1, 1901, they were occupying no less than five hundred two stations. By December of the same year the number had increased to six hundred thirty-nine, with an average of less than sixty men to a post. As a result of the protection thus afforded and of the humane conduct of our troops, the people turned to us in constantly increasing numbers.

It remained to stamp out the dying embers of insurrection, while continuing to seek to protect those who put their trust in us. Further subdivision of the troops in order to garrison more points was hardly possible, but field operations were actively pushed. One after another the Insurgent leaders were captured or voluntarily surrendered. Most officers of importance issued explanatory statements to the people shortly after giving up active field operations, whether they surrendered voluntarily or were taken prisoners. Aguinaldo himself was captured on March 23, 1901, at Palanan, the northernmost point on the east coast of Luzón inhabited by civilized people. No place in the islands, inhabited by Filipinos, is more completely isolated, and he had long been almost entirely cut off from his followers, many of whom believed him to be dead. On April 19, 1901, he issued an address to the Filipino people, in which he clearly recognized the fact that they wanted peace. He said:—

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[1] Taylor, 47 HS.

"Manila, April 19, 1901.

"To the Filipino People:—

"I believe that I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar day by day with the progress of the war. The lessons thus taught, the full meaning of which has recently come to my knowledge, suggested to me with irresistible force that the complete termination of hostilities and a lasting peace are not only desirable but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippines.

"The Filipinos have never been dismayed by their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along the path impeded by an irresistible force—a force which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens the mind and opens another course by presenting to them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by a majority of our fellow-countrymen, who have already united around the glorious and sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust in the belief that under its protection our people will attain all the promised liberties which they are even now beginning to enjoy.

"The country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace; so be it. Enough of blood; enough of tears and desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by no other desire than to serve this noble people which has thus clearly manifested its will.

"So also do I respect this will now that it is known to me, and after mature deliberation resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones in the enjoyment of the liberty promised by the generosity of the great American nation.

"By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the entire Archipelago, as I now do without any reservation whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be theirs.

"Emilio Aguinaldo.[1]

"Manila, April 19, 1901."

This announcement of Aguinaldo, published in Spanish, Tagálog and English, undoubtedly hastened the end of the war, but it did not lead to immediate general surrender, for as Taylor has very truly said:—

"A force like Aguinaldo's could not be surrendered. It had been torn by internal dissensions and the bonds of discipline had always been very lax. It had originally been held together by a lively expectation of the advantages to be obtained from the pillage of Manila. That hope had disappeared, and the leaders had become the lords of life and property each in his own province. It was a force which could disintegrate, but which could not surrender. Only armies can do that. Forces over which their leaders have lost all except nominal control when beaten do not surrender. They disintegrate by passing through the stages of guerrilla warfare, of armed bands of highwaymen, of prowling groups of thieves, of sturdy beggars who at opportune moments resort to petty larceny."[1]

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[1] Taylor, 36 GV, Exhibit 1017.

Aguinaldo's forces now passed through these several stages. Some of his more important subordinates had previously been captured or had surrendered. Others, still remaining in the field, now acted on his advice, more or less promptly. A few remained obdurate for a time, but as a rule not for long, and soon there remained in the field only a very limited number of real military leaders, like General Malvar in Batangas and General Lukban in Samar, and a very considerable number of bandit chiefs, some of whom had posed as Insurgents. The forces of the latter were now materially and rapidly augmented by men who had been Insurgent officers or soldiers and while serving in this capacity had become so enamoured of a lawless life that they were now unwilling to settle down and work for their daily bread, preferring to continue to live off their long-suffering fellow-countrymen, whom they robbed and murdered more mercilessly than ever.

The war was practically over. The insurrection had failed. In my opinion no Filipino who held out to the end for independence compared in intellectual power with Mabini, and I deem his views as to why it failed worthy of special attention. At the time of his death, he left behind a memoir from which I quote the following:—

"The revolution failed because it was poorly led, because its head conquered his place, not by meritorious, but by reprehensible actions, because in place of supporting the men most useful to the people, he rendered them useless because he was jealous of them. Believing that the aggrandizement of the people was nothing more than his own personal aggrandizement, he did not judge the merits of men by their capacity, character, or patriotism, but by the degree of friendship and relationship which bound them to him; and wishing to have his favorites always ready to sacrifice themselves for him, he showed himself complaisant to their faults. Having thus secured the people, the people deserted him. And the people having deserted him, he had to fall like a wax idol melted by the heat of adversity. God forbid that we should forget so terrible a lesson learned at the cost of unspeakable sufferings."[2]

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[1] Taylor, 28 HS.

[2] P. I. R., 1021. 6.

These are by no means the only reasons why the revolution failed, but they foredoomed it to failure.

The surrender or capture of the more respectable military element left the unsurrendered firearms in the hands of men most of whom were ignorant, many of whom were criminal, and nearly all of whom were irresponsible and unscrupulous. Strict enforcement of the rules of civilized warfare against them was threatened, but not actually resorted to.

The situation was particularly bad in Batangas. General J. F. Bell was put in charge there, and he found a humane and satisfactory solution of the existing difficulties in reconcentration —not the kind of reconcentration which made the Spaniards hated in Cuba, but a measure of a wholly different sort. This measure and its results have been concisely described by Taylor, as follows:—

"General Bell said he was as anxious as any one could be to avoid making war against those who really wanted the termination of hostilities, and it was his duty to protect them against the vengeance of others. Over and above all these considerations in importance, however, was the absolute necessity of making it impossible for insurgents to procure food by levying contributions. Therefore, in order to give those who were pacifically inclined an opportunity to escape hardship, as far as possible, and preserve their food supply for themselves and their families, it was determined to establish zones of protection with limits sufficiently near all towns to enable the small garrisons thereof to give the people living within these zones efficient protection against ruinous exactions by insurgents. He accordingly, 'in order to put an end to enforced contributions now levied by insurgents upon the inhabitants of sparsely settled and outlying barrios and districts by means of intimidation and assassination,' ordered the commanding officers of all towns in the provinces of Batangas and Laguna to 'immediately specify and establish plainly marked limits surrounding each town bounding a zone within which it may be practicable, with an average-sized garrison, to exercise sufficient supervision over and furnish protection to inhabitants (who desire to be peaceful) against the depredation of armed insurgents. The limits may include the barrios which exist sufficiently near the town to be given protection and supervision by the garrison, and should include some ground on which live stock could graze, but so situated that it can be patrolled and watched. All ungarrisoned towns will be garrisoned as soon as troops become available.

" 'Commanding officers will also see that orders are at once given and distributed to all the inhabitants within the jurisdiction of towns over which they exercise supervision, informing them of the danger of remaining outside of these limits, and that unless they move by December 25 from outlying barrios and districts, with all their mov-

Filipina Trained Nurses.

This photograph shows the members of the first class to graduate from the government training school.

able food supplies, including rice, *palay*,[1] chickens, live stock, etc., to within the limits of the zone established at their own or nearest town, their property (found outside of said zone at said date) will become liable to confiscation or destruction. The people will be permitted to move houses from outlying districts should they desire to do so, or to construct temporary shelter for themselves on any vacant land without compensation to the owner, and no owner will be permitted to deprive them of the privilege of doing so. In the discretion of commanding officers the prices of necessities of existence may also be regulated in the interest of those thus seeking protection. As soon as peaceful conditions have been reëstablished in the brigade these persons will be encouraged to return to their homes, and such assistance be rendered them as may be found practicable.'

"It was deemed best not to compel the people to enter these zones; but they were warned that unless they accepted that protection their property, which consisted almost entirely of food supplies, would become liable to confiscation or destruction, because it might be impossible to determine whether it belonged to hostile or peaceful people. To put an end to vengeance by assassination, it was determined to make use of the right of retaliation conferred by General Order 100 issued by President Lincoln in 1863. A circular telegram was published announcing an intention to retaliate by the execution of prisoners of war in case any more were assassinated by insurgents for political reasons. It was not found necessary to do this. Assassination stopped at once.

"As the campaign progressed it became more and more apparent that a large number of poor people had contributed through fear, for the power of the insurgents to collect came to an end after they had lost their power of intimidation. The efficiency of the protection afforded in such zones was the determining factor in forming the decision and attitude of many of the natives. The protection afforded was efficient, and from time to time many additional families entered the zones. The sentiment for peace grew stronger steadily and natives volunteered assistance to Americans at every hand and in every town. When these volunteers were trustworthy they were armed and sent out into the mountains from which they brought back guns, and insurgents, and hundreds of half-famished men, women, and children who, released from the intimidating influence of the insurgents, entered the zones of protection.

"The most serious discomfort experienced by any one within these areas was caused to the *mestizo* ruling group, whose members bitterly resented the blow to their prestige in being treated like every one else. They had been accustomed to have others work for them and obey them blindly. To a man who could speak Spanish and who had always been the lord of his *barrio*,[2] the possibility of having to cultivate a field with his own hands was an unthinkable and scandalous thing. These men suffered and suffered acutely; but it was not their bodies which suffered—it was their pride.

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[1] Unhusked rice.

[2] Village.

"Malvar surrendered on April 16, 1902. Most of the people had turned against their once highly respected chief, and toward the end several thousand natives of Batangas joined the Americans in their determined hunt for the fugitive leader. Realization of the fact that the people were against him materially aided in forcing his surrender.

"General Bell had captured or forced to surrender some 8000 to 10,000 persons actively engaged, in one capacity or another, in the insurrection. These prisoners were rapidly released when they had taken the oath of allegiance. By the first week of July no political prisoners were held in this region. They had returned to their homes.

"The policy of concentrating the people in protected zones and destroying the food which was used for the maintenance of guerrilla bands was not new. There had been precedents even in the United States. One of these is the order issued on August 25, 1863, by Brigadier-General Ewing, commanding the district of the border, with headquarters at Kansas City, Mo., in which he ordered the inhabitants of a large part of three counties of that State to remove from their residences within fifteen days to the protection of the military stations which he had established. All grain and hay in that district was ordered to be taken to those military stations. If it was not convenient to so dispose of it, it would be burned (Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, p. 473). The American commanders in the Philippines had adopted no new method of procedure in dealing with war traitors; they had, however, effectively employed an old one.

"The insurrection had originated among the Tagálogs and had spread like a conflagration from the territory occupied by them. The fire had been quenched everywhere else. General Bell had now stamped out the embers in the Tagálog provinces.

"On July 2 the Secretary of War telegraphed that the insurrection against the sovereign authority of the United States in the Philippines having come to an end, and provincial civil governments having been established throughout the entire territory of the archipelago not inhabited by Moro tribes, the office of military governor in the archipelago was terminated. On July 4, 1902, the President of the United States issued a proclamation of amnesty proclaiming, with certain reservations, a full and complete pardon and amnesty to all persons in the Philippine Archipelago who had participated in the insurrection."

General Bell's motives and methods in reconcentrating the inhabitants of this troubled region have been grossly misrepresented, and he himself has been sadly maligned. He is the most humane of men, and the plan which he adopted resulted in the reëstablishing of law and order at a minimum cost of human suffering.

Many of the occupants of his reconcentration camps received their first lessons in hygienic living. Many of them were reluctant to leave the camps and return to their homes when normal conditions again prevailed.

The number of Filipinos killed during the Batangas campaign was very small. In the end peace was established and prosperity followed in its wake. This result was brought about in part by the efficient activity of the armed forces of the United States and in part by the efforts of the first and second Philippine Commissions.[1]

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[1] See Chapters XI and XII.

CHAPTER IX

MURDER AS A GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY

MURDER, authorized and directed by competent governmental authority, was an instrument of policy regularly and frequently employed by the "Philippine Republic."[1] I wish at the outset to draw a sharp line between acts of barbarity or brutality committed without authority by ignorant and irresponsible Insurgent officers or soldiers during the heat of battle or as the result of passions aroused by armed strife, and those which I now discuss. The former must be regarded as breaches of military discipline. Aguinaldo sought to protect his government from their consequences by issuing endless orders in Spanish strictly forbidding them. His troops were enjoined again and again to respect American prisoners and treat them with humanity. So far as concerns his own people, however, he displayed a very different spirit from the outset.

As we have already noted there exists among the Insurgent records a document written in Tagalog by him, and therefore obviously not intended for the information of Americans, which contains the following: —

"Any person who fights for his country has absolute power to kill any one not friendly to our cause."[2]

Aguinaldo armed not only ignorant and irresponsible people, but thieves, outlaws and murderers, and turned them loose on the common people with blanket authority to kill whomsoever they would, and they promptly proceeded to exercise it. "Death"[?] stretched out its bloody hand even in Manila, under the very eyes of American officers, and as often as not struck down wholly innocent victims.

Aguinaldo was not alone in his views on the subject of murder. Felipe Agoncillo, long secretary of the Hongkong junta, and official representative of the Insurgent government in Europe and the United States wrote him on August 1, 1898, from Hongkong, suggesting that he kill the Spanish prisoners "if the country requires" that this be done, and adding: "If you deem it wise you should secretly issue an order to kill the friars that they may capture."[3]

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[1] See [illegible] chapter [illegible] for [illegible] discussion of the Insurgent records referred to in this chapter. [illegible] and [illegible] during the period of guerrilla warfare [illegible]

[2] P. I. R., [illegible] [illegible]

[3] It was reported that some Spanish prisoners [illegible] necessary to [illegible]

Obviously Aguinaldo did not deem it wise to order the murder of the Spanish prisoners as a whole, nor that of the friars as a whole. The following letter, marked "confidential," addressed to his cousin Baldomero Aguinaldo, for a time the Insurgent secretary of war, tells a significant tale of the course finally decided upon:—

"FILIPINO REPUBLIC,
"OFFICE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNOR,
"MALOLOS, February 17, 1899.

"SEÑOR SECRETARY OF WAR:—

"Referring to your note in regard to an unhealthy town or place in the province of Nueva Ecija fit for the concentration there of the friars; beside the town of Bongabong there is no good place except the town of La Paz in the province of Tarlac, because, according to my observation, even the persons born there are attacked by malarial fever and ague and if they are strangers very few will escape death.

"Your always faithful subordinate,
(Signed) "ISIDORO TORRES.
"17th February, 1899."[1]

Evidently General Torres' recommendation was favourably acted upon, for among the papers of the Insurgent government is a memorandum,[2] apparently in Aguinaldo's handwriting, stating that—

"there were 297 Spanish friars held prisoners in Luzón, and that on February 17, 1899, those in Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, and Pampanga, 111 in all, had been ordered by him to be concentrated in La Paz"!

In many instances other prisoners were murdered outright. This hard fate befell three Spaniards, of whom one was a friar, and two were shipwrecked Englishmen, who were butchered in Zambales in December, 1899, upon the approach of the American troops, apparently by the order of the governor, Vicente Camara.[3]

On February 15, 1900, an expedition under the immediate command of Brigadier-General J. F. Bell sailed from Manila under the personal supervision of Major-General Bates. This was composed of troops detailed to take possession of North and South Camarines and Albay, to which provinces Insurgent troops, having many Spanish prisoners in their possession, had been forced to retire as a result of the operations in Tayabas Province. In compliance with these instructions the town of Daet was occupied after some resistance and the Insurgents in that quarter were driven to the northeast, taking

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the friars, because said prisoners might be of great use to us later on. They should, however, be well treated, but without giving them liberty, and confined within prison walls. If the country requires that they should be killed, you should do so. If you deem it wise, you should secretly issue an order to kill the friars that they may capture. They should be frightened."—P. I. R., 471. 4.

[1] Taylor, Ex. 833. Spanish A. L. S. 32–2.

[2] Taylor, 46 AJ.

[3] *Ibid.*, 15 HS.

with them a number of Spanish prisoners. A large proportion of these were murdered by command of the officer in charge of the guerrilla band guarding them, probably because he was not able to force them to move as rapidly as his own men.

On November 15, 1900, Dr. Simeon Villa, of evil fame, issued a circular letter[1] to chiefs of guerrillas in the Cagayan valley, recommending that they all "learn the verb 'Dukutar'[2] so as to put it into immediate effect," and adding "it is the most efficacious specific against every kind of evil-doer, and most salutary for our country." This, too, under the "Filipino Republic" before the outbreak of war with the United States, and at a time when we are assured that "profound peace and tranquillity" prevailed in this region.

This villainous order was approved and made general in its application by Aguinaldo himself, on November 15, 1900.[3]

Aguinaldo's orders were not always couched in such general terms as the one above quoted. Among the most interesting of the captured Insurgent documents is the following:—

> "Our Honourable President: We, the signers, who subscribe the declaration appended; by these presents protest against the American proclamation; we recognize no authority but that of God and the Revolutionary Government, and we offer our lives and property for the independence of our country.
>
> "Manila, San Miguel, January 12, 1899.
>
> "Feliciano Cruz
> "Severino Quitiongco."

(25 signatures follow.)

(On the back is written in the handwriting of E. Aguinaldo):
"Leberino Kitionko:
"Feliciano de la Cruz: Commissioned to kill General Otis."[4]

The difference in the spelling of the name Severino Quitiongco is doubtless due to the fact that Aguinaldo wrote it down as it sounded to him.[5]

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[1] "To Chiefs of the Philippine Guerillas:
"The undersigned, Chief of the General Staff in the office of the Captain General, recommends that all chiefs of guerillas, provided that, in their judgment, there is no obstacle in the way, should kindly order their subordinates, down to the lowest, to learn the verb 'Dukutar,' so as to put it immediately in practice.
"It is the most efficacious specific against every kind of evil-doer, and most salutary for our country. "Simeon S. Villa.
"Kagayan Valley, November 15, 1900."
Extract from letter-sent book in Spanish of E. Aguinaldo, captured with him.—P. I. R., 368–3.

[2] *Dukutar* means to assassinate.

[3] P. I. R., 1281 and 368. 3.

[4] P. I. R., 1199–1.

[5] Dean Kalaw has given another explanation of this document. Referring to Worcester's explanation of the difference in the spelling of the name, "Severino Quitiongco," he exclaims: "Evidently Aguinaldo was not well acquainted with the men to whom he has entrusted the delicate mission of *murdering* the American commander, for he did not even know how to spell their names: The fact was, granting that the original of the above document, which is simply a translation, is authentic, that Aguinaldo could not have meant *murder* or *assassination*. The translator used the word *kill*, for probably

Staff of the Bontoc Hospital.

This photograph shows the doctors, nurses, and some of the servants. The man in the doorway is Dr. Rembe of the Philippine General Hospital, who accompanied the author on his northern inspection trip in 1912, in order to study eye troubles among the wild men.

When the Insurgent government began to be pinched for funds, failure to pay taxes became, in many cases, sufficient ground for murdering the delinquent.

The method of procedure is set forth in the testimony of a tax collector, published in General Orders, No. 259, 1901, Division of the Philippines:—

> "I carried a letter of authorization to act as special agent, which means authority to commit murder. Each time a murder was ordered a letter was sent to one of four men (named above) by one of the chiefs (naming them). Afterward the letter was taken up and burned. If a man did not pay his contributions to the insurgent collector he was ordered to be killed."

The chief cause for murder was friendliness toward the Americans. As time passed and the common people had an opportunity to contrast the brutality of their own soldiers with the kindly treatment usually accorded them by the American troops, they welcomed the latter. Weary of danger to life and property, the better men in the towns became very desirous to see the reëstablishment of local governments, and ready to assist in the work. The answer of the Insurgent leaders took the form of wholesale orders for the murder or assassination of all persons friendly to the Americans. I shall cite enough such orders to show that this policy was duly provided for throughout the length and breadth of the Insurgent territory.

Many of the Visayans were friendly toward the Americans from the outset. On March 24, 1900, "General in Chief" Maxilom, of Cebú, issued an order providing for the execution, after a most summary trial, of the presidentes of all towns which subscribed to and recognized American sovereignty. This rule was to apply to Filipino citizens, including even the wealthy, a most unusual arrangement! Failure to be "subject to the will of the Honourable President Señor Emilio Aguinaldo" spelled death.[1]

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the original Spanish was *matar;* hence Aguinaldo must have meant, if at all, for these brave men to kill the American general in battle, or in actual combat. Of course even that would have been a physical impossibility, for General Otis never saw actual warfare, and Aguinaldo probably knew this fact also, but he wanted to compliment the signers of the petition, and to be commissioned, as in the tournaments of old, to single out in a combat the leader of the opposing army was a great honor.

"But to interpret the document as an order from Aguinaldo addressed to men who were not even in his confidence for the secret assassination of the American commander, seems preposterous." (Kalaw, p. 157, note 2.)

[1] "The *presidentes* of all towns who subscribe to and recognize American sovereignty, shall be pursued by all the revolutionists without mercy and when captured shall be sent to these Headquarters for a most summary trial and execution as traitors to the country.

"2. All Filipino citizens, including the wealthy, of the towns, are subject to the preceding regulation.

"3. It shall be the duty of the revolutionary armies with regard to the towns which shall recognize or intend to recognize such sovereignty, to destroy the town or towns and without any consideration whatsoever to kill all males, even the poorest, and set fire to all the houses, without respecting any property excepting that of foreigners. And in order that hereafter such misfortunes may not occur, as chief of this province, I warn all the presidentes and wealthy people of each town to help us as Filipinos as we are your brothers fighting here in the field to give liberty to our mother country and woe

Outside the Cebú towns occupied by the Americans the guerrillas commanded by Maxilom were able to collect tribute by the employment of such methods as were provided for on June 22, 1900, by Maxilom's order fixing the duties of the *magdudukuts,* or secret avengers, who were empowered to "execute without remorse all notorious traitors." [1] This was, in practice, a general warrant to commit murder.

Pursuant to these instructions Pablo Mejia, a Filipino of high character and conspicuous ability, was assassinated in a street of Cebú in August, 1899. The Visayans had reason to be proud of him and to execrate his assassins.

On January 31, 1900, Pio Claveria, delegate to the Military Government of Iloílo province, Panay Island, wrote the presidente of Tigbauan, that if it was true that he and various other residents of that town had taken an oath recognizing American sovereignty and did not retract it the town would be razed to the ground, and they would be "deserving of the terrible penalties prescribed by the laws of the revolution!" [2]

On April 3, 1900, General Leandro Fullón, who signed himself "Political and Military Governor" of Antique, and was one of Aguinaldo's emissaries, wrote a circular letter, to be sent "by the fastest carriers from one town to the other," imposing sentence of death and confiscation of property on people who had taken out certificates of citizenship issued by the Americans, together with annihilation of their towns.[3]

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to the traitor who falls into the hands of this revolutionary government, which will strictly carry out all the prescriptions above-mentioned.

"As the government which the invaders are endeavoring to establish is always provisional, if all the inhabitants of this province are true Filipinos, they can easily and simply answer that we are subject to the will of the Honorable President Señor Emilio Aguinaldo, whom we follow and recognize in this new born Republic as the President of the Nation."

[1] Taylor, 80 HS.

[2] "January, 1900.

"To the Local Presidente, Tigbauan (Iloílo).

"It is with profound regret that I have to state to you that in accordance with reliable information this military delegation has heard that you and various residents of that town have as electors already taken an oath recognizing the American sovereignty. If this news is true, you still have time to retract the oath, as otherwise we will raze that town to the ground without any hesitation whatever, and you and your companions who have taken the oath shall be considered as proscribed, and consequently deserving of the terrible penalties prescribed by the laws of the revolution. This is not a threat: it is loyal and sincere advice for your own good and that of the town in general.

"May God keep you many years.

"Pio Claveria,
"Delegate of the Military Government.

"31st, 1900."

—P. I. R., 1054–8.

[3] "April 3, 1900.

"To the local chiefs mentioned in the margin.

"I have heard with great sorrow that some of the towns of the southern district of this province have taken out the certificates of citizenship issued by the North American enemy, and have also complied with all the orders issued by them; this is exactly opposed to the conduct of the northern district of the province and shows little love for the country and an implied assent to the Government established by them, for which reason I see myself obliged to impose the severest punishment which is a sentence of death and confiscation of property of all those who shall submit to said Government, from the Chief and his local Cabinet to the lowest citizen, and annihilating their towns. For this purpose I have ordered the Commanders of Zones to watch in their respective districts the towns which may show weakness before said Government, and to impose the punishment which I have mentioned above. This circular is to be published three consecutive nights for general information of all, a report that this has been done being made

On July 11, 1900, Fullón issued a more sweeping order, containing the following provisions:—

"1. Any meeting or assembly of a popular character, held at the instance of the Officers of the United States, for the purpose of recognizing the liberty and independence of the towns of this province, is absolutely forbidden.

"2. The person arranging such meeting shall be shot at once without trial or court martial, unless forced to do so by majeure.

"3. Any Filipino filling any office in the name of the United States shall be considered a traitor to his country, and in addition to the penalties imposed by the Penal Code of Spain, provisionally in force, all his property shall be confiscated, and if this should not be possible, the authorities of the Philippine Republic shall endeavour to . . ." (remainder of sentence unintelligible).[1]

In Samar General Vicente Lucban ordered, on February 1, 1901, that persons who collected food for the enemy be killed, as well as those who "finding themselves in our camp pass to the enemy without previous permission from this government."[2]

In Leyte, Honesto Ruiz warned all his "soldiers and bolo-men that whenever a real Americanista, like the police and volunteers, is caught he will be killed." On August 11, 1900, he reported to General Moxica that "the result is that every day they are killing traitors to our country."[3]

The following is a sample order for the assassination of an obnoxious individual:—

"October 4, 1900.

"Confidential.

"To the Local Chiefs of Sogod, Kabalián, Anajauan, Hinundayan, and Hinunangan (Leyte):

"Immediately upon the appearance in the town under your jurisdiction of the traitor to the Mother Country, Severino Komandao, you will secure his person and send him to these headquarters under the proper guard; or if that person should come into the town followed by an American force, you shall try to have him killed by treachery (traidoramente), by 'Dukut' (assassination), for this is what a Filipino deserves who does not know how to respect his own land and proceeds to injure the beautiful ideal that we have in view.

"Return the present communication, treating it as confidential. Health and fraternity.

"Maninging, October 4, 1900.

"M. Pacheco,
"*Military Commander.*"

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to these Headquarters. Send it by the fastest couriers from one town to the other, the last one returning it with the endorsements of the preceding ones.

"Headquarters of Tierra Alta, April 3, 1900.

"Leandro Fullón,
"*General and P. M. Governor.*"
—P. I. R., 1047. 2.

[1] P. I. R., 1047. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 824. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1204. 3.

"The Military Commander:

"The undersigned, Local Chief, notes the orders contained in the present circular and will strictly comply therewith.

"Kabalián, October 6, 1900.

"B. Veloso,
"Local Chief." [1]

In Negros, the Tagálogs long failed to effect a lodgement. Ultimately, however, they managed to stir up trouble, and to secure the help of "Pope" Isio, a noted outlaw. On May 19, 1900, he suggested the advisability of punishing "by decapitation all those who go with the Americans" and ordered that "if it should appear that they are real spies of the enemy they must be beheaded immediately without any pretext whatsoever against it." To be considered a "real spy," it was necessary only to be seen talking to Americans.

The letter from which I quote was addressed to Señor Rufo Oyos, General of Operations.[2]

Evidently he obeyed orders, for he was still alive in November, 1901, at which time "Papa" Isio wrote him again, directing that there be an uprising of all the towns on December 20.

Towns which did not rise on the appointed day were to be "reduced to ashes and all their inhabitants killed, men, women, children and old people." Any presidente who had not collected the taxes of his town before the arrival of Isio was to be "hung without any hesitation whatever." [3]

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[1] P. I. R., 981. 5.

[2] "You and Captain Antonio must take the field this week without any pretext whatsoever, and must follow out my instructions very carefully. We have had patience enough, and now it becomes necessary for us to assert our authority.

"It is advisable to punish by decapitation all those who go with the Americans; but it is necessary first to ascertain the existence of the crime, and if it should appear that they are real spies of the enemy, they must be beheaded immediately without any pretext whatsoever against it (being accepted).

"You, Captain Antonio and Judge Cornello must perfectly understand what this order says: when the wealthy are Americanistas, you must seize all their money, clothing and other property belonging to them, immediately making an inventory of the property seized, and you may remain in the place where the seizure is made as long as may be necessary to make said inventory, even though a great amount is spent for maintenance.

"Know furthermore that if the soldiers take any of the property seized, they will speedily be put to death and will surely go to hell; therefore when it becomes necessary to enter a town to make a seizure; you must direct the soldiers not to touch the goods seized, even the most insignificant, in order to avoid consequence of character.

"I have heard, Rufo, that Judge Cornello is opposed to your father-in-law, and I want you to know that Judge Cornello is of my blood; therefore, tell your father-in-law to be very careful because he will have me to treat with shortly, and will be made to pay for those threats which he is making against the people without good cause.

"You will publish this order in the town hall, in order that the evil-minded may see it.

"You, Captain Antonio and Judge Cornello, who are the three comrades who are to take the field, will acquire some happiness if you comply with this order.

"Health and Fraternity.

"Dionisio Papa.

"Calibon, May 19, 1900." —P. I. R., 970. 4.

[3] "Make it evident in that circular that the towns which do not rise up in arms on the day fixed, shall be reduced to ashes and all their inhabitants killed, men and women, children and old people.

"The circular is to emanate from me, and you will sign it only by my order.

"Communicate also to the presidents of Cagayán and other towns that they collect

Obviously Isio's order was not without effect, for we learn that sometime during August, 1900, a man had just left the camp "with the head of the infamous Juan Carballo to hang it in a public place with a label saying 'Juan Carballo, a man pernicious to the revolution. May he rest in peace.' "[1]

Isio's agents collected blackmail according to a regular tariff, based roughly on the value of estates, threatening that those who did not pay up would be regarded as spies of the heretics.[2]

And now let us briefly review conditions in Luzón. Here many of the common people were at first hostile to the Americans, but flesh and blood could not endure what they had to suffer at the hands of vicious Insurgent officers and ignorant soldiers, and ultimately, having learned by experience that Americans were not the incarnate fiends which they had been led to expect to find them, they began to turn to them for help.

And the answer of the Insurgent leaders was everywhere the same, —death. On March 20, 1900, Tinio ordered the killing of all officials who did not report to the nearest guerrilla commander the movements and plans of the American troops.[3]

It has been claimed that there was no opposition to the Katipúnan Society, and that the Filipinos everywhere joined it gladly. This was not the case. At different times there were a number of similar organizations opposed to it, and most important of these was the "Guards of Honour."[4] Its members were ruthlessly murdered. On April 18,

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the taxes of their respective towns, as soon as possible; and a president who shall not have collected the taxes on my arrival in the respective town, shall be hung without any hesitation whatsoever.

"I desire that the Presidents meet there soon and await my arrival."

—P. I. R., 970. 5.

[1] P. I. R., 1102. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, 970. 11.

[3] "March 20, 1900.

"Manuel Tinio y Bubdloc,

"Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of operations in the region of Ilocos.

"Considering that a sufficient time has passed and various means of having been employed as benignant as humanity counsels, to inculcate in the minds of many misguided Filipinos the idea of the country and to check in the beginning those unworthy acts which many of them commit, and which not only redound to the prejudice of the troops but also to the cause they defend, and having observed that such action does not produce any favourable result on this date, in accordance with the powers vested in me, I have deemed proper to issue the following:—

"PROCLAMATION

"First and last article. The following shall be tried at a most summary trial, and be sentenced to death:

"1. All local presidentes and other civil authorities, of the towns as well as of the barrios, rancherias and sitios of their respective districts, who as soon as they find out any plan, direction of the movement or number of the enemy shall not give notice thereof to the nearest camp.

"2. Those who give information to the enemy of the location of the camp, stopping places, movements and direction of the revolutionists, whatever be the age or sex of the former.

"3. Those who voluntarily offer to serve the enemy as guides, excepting if it be with the purpose of misleading them from the right road, and

"4. Those who, of their own free will or otherwise, capture revolutionary soldiers who are alone, or who should intimidate them into surrendering to the enemy.

"Issued at General Headquarters on March 20, 1900.

(Signed) "Manuel Tinio."

—P. I. R., 353. 8.

[4] Guardias de Honor.

1900, a guerrilla chief in Union Province found it necessary to order that all towns in which members of the "Guards of Honour" lived should be burned with the property of the members of that association; that their fathers, mothers, wives and sons should be beheaded, while the men themselves should receive that punishment or be shot. All grown men in every town, and the Sandatahan, were to proceed immediately to aid in the attack upon the Americans and Guards of Honour under pain of being shot or beheaded.[1]

In July, 1900, General J. Alejandrino ordered:—

> "1st. That the Commanders of Columns proclaim as traitors all those in their respective Zones who in obedience to personal interests or from weakness under pressure of the enemy, accept civil positions and they shall be treated as such when they fall into our hands.
>
> "2nd. The commanding officers of columns will concentrate their forces so as to fall upon the towns where exist individuals who favour the formation of such unpopular and despotic Governments and will use every means to arrest the said traitors."[2]

Nowhere is the policy which was being carried out set forth with more brutal frankness than in the following letter of August 3, 1900.

This letter is folded in envelope shape and addressed: Sr. Teodoro Sandico, Colonel, 1st Military Chief of Staff in Santo Domingo. It reads:—

> "My Respected Chief and Dear Brother: I have received your respected order, regarding the organization of the Committee in the towns of Zaragosa, Aliaga, and Licab; (Nueva Ecija) from the movements and actions of these towns, I don't believe it possible to organize immediately. Before we can, it will be necessary that four or five lives be taken in each town. I believe that what ought to be done to those towns is to make a new conquest of them, especially the town of San Juan de Guimba; it is difficult there to set

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[1] "So then dear brothers, be like those of Bocnotan who have not allowed their honour to be sullied, for when they saw the Guards of Honour enter their town they drove them off at once with blows [of bolos?—Tr.] and cudgels and to the end that you may not have cause to repent of what without doubt I shall be obliged to do, comply with this order, listen to the following:

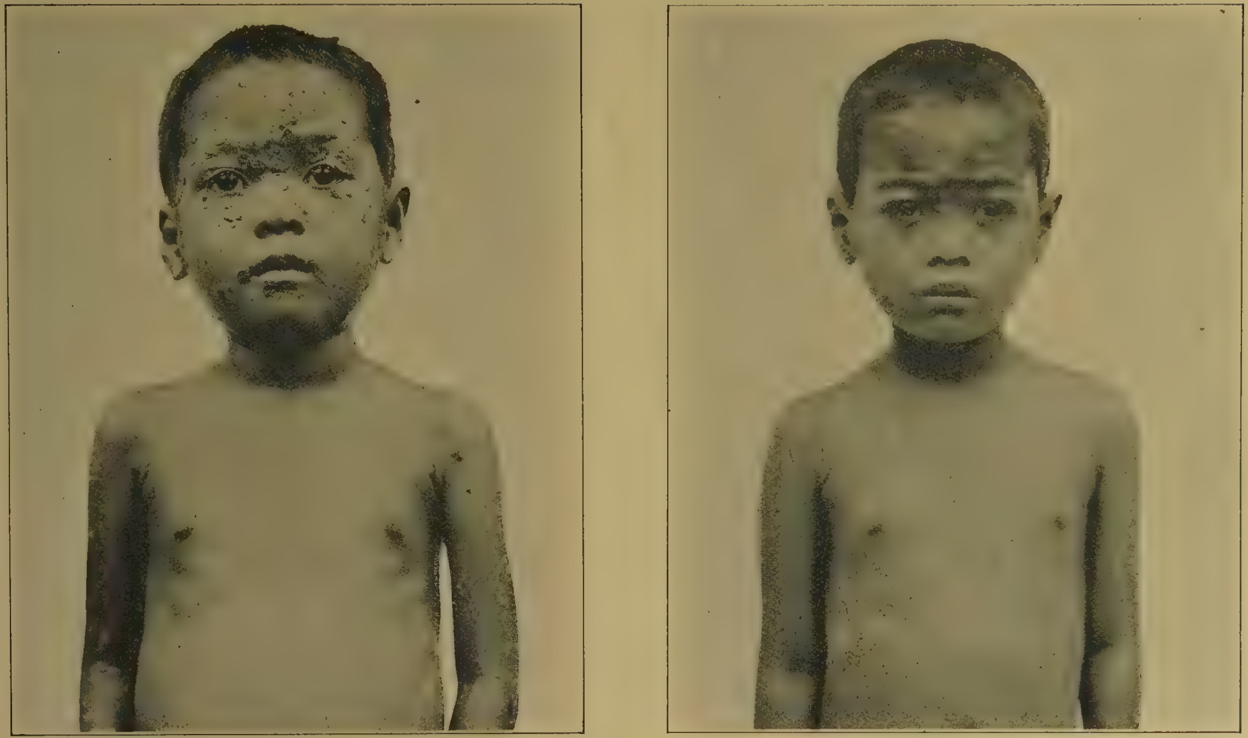
"First. Whenever the Presidente of the town, Cabezas and Cabezillas of barrios shall have knowledge of the presence in their barrios of Guards of Honour, be they many or few, and do not cause their disappearance or death, they will be immediately shot or beheaded.

"Second. Every barrio or residence of the Guards of Honour where they are going about persuading the inhabitants to follow them in their noxious work—that we may be slaves forever—will be burned and all their property together with their houses; and their sons, their fathers, mothers and their wives will be shot or beheaded to pay for their treason.

"Third and last. All the grown men in the barrios, territorial militiamen or those called 'sandatahan' (bolomen), corporals, sergeants and privates, and everybody who is a Filipino will go immediately to help in the fight against the Guards of Honour and our enemy, the Americans; and those who pay no heed to this or hide themselves will incur the penalty of being shot or beheaded.

"This proclamation will be read in the barrios and will be passed from hand to hand so that it may be copied to the end that nobody may have an excuse when the time comes to put into execution what has been set forth."—P. I. R., 168. 9.

[2] Taylor, Exhibit 1083.



A Victim of Yaws before and after Treatment with Salvarsan.

The discovery that salvarsan was a specific for the disfiguring disease known as yaws was made by Dr. R. P. Strong of the Bureau of Science. The effect of this drug is almost miraculous. A single injection usually cures completely.

straight the Tagálogs and Ilocanos of importance, as they are badly inclined and they care to do nothing but pervert our soldiers

"This is what I am able to inform you, in fulfilment of the respected order of the Chief.

"God guard you many years.

"SAN CRISTOBAL, August 3, 1900.

(Signed) "C. GONZALES."[1]

The organization of municipal governments by the Philippine Commission, in towns north of Manila, especially aroused the ire of Insurgent leaders, one of whom issued an order declaring traitors all persons who accepted municipal office under the Americans.[2]

In October, 1900, we find General Vito Belarmino ordering that Filipinos in Ambos Camarines who accept office under Americans "be treated as traitors," and that "commanders of columns and detachments will cause their forces to fall on those pueblos in which there are individuals who are in favour of the organization of such unpopular and therefore despotic governments."[3] One Tuason, an American adherent, is notified that he and two other persons, who are named, will be shot and their bodies hung on the cathedral tower as a lesson to the inhabitants.[4]

In La Laguna Province Cailles, who was now in command there, found himself compelled not only to fight the Americans in the field, but to combat their growing popularity in the towns, and he promptly inaugurated a reign of terror, ordering the death of any person whom he considered an undesirable. His victims were shot, bayoneted or boloed. If they took refuge within the American lines, they were followed and assassinated. In his book of letters sent,[1] there appear the names of thirty-one men whom he ordered killed between August 20, 1900, and April, 1901. Some of these men were described as highwaymen or assassins, and probably deserved their fate, but others were classed as "spies" or "traitors," and certainly did not, unless in this country where it is claimed that Aguinaldo had his people a unit at his back it was an offence worthy of death to prefer peace and order under American rule to conditions such as Insurgent rule fostered.

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[1] P. I. R., 509. 2.

[2] "September 11, 1900.

"To the local Presidents of Malolos, Bulacan, Guiguinto, Bigaa, Bocaue, Marilao, Meyauayan, Polo, Obando, Santa Maria, San José, Angat, Norzagaray, Bustos, San Rafael, Baliuag, Pulilan, Quinbau, Santa Isabel, Barasoain, Paombong, Hagonoy, Calumpit, and the military commanders Pablo Tecson, Bonifacio Morales, Maximo Angeles and Colonel Simon Tecson Libuano, Colonel Rosendo Simon, and also Major Dongon.

"CIRCULAR

"As the American Civil Commission has taken charge of the government of the archipelago from the first of the present month and from that date will proceed to establish municipal government in the pueblos to take the place of the municipal councils which at present rule them; in order to duly execute the orders of the Commanding General of the Centre of Luzon, I give you the following instructions:—

"1st. You will arrest and send to these headquarters with the proper precautions to prevent escape, all inhabitants of these pueblos who accept offices in the municipal governments about to be established by the Americans, as they have been declared traitors to the country by the order I have referred to as issued by these headquarters.

"2d. You will employ the same method of procedure with those who favour the establishment of municipal government by the Americans. You will not show them the slightest consideration, even if they are your brothers. You are responsible under the severest penalties for the performance of this. God keep you many years.

"MALOLOS, September 11, 1900.

"I. TORRES,
General."
—P. I. R., Books C-3.

[3] P. I. R., 341. 9.

[4] "Two weeks ago a court-martial was held at these headquarters presided over by Colonel Aréjola, on you, Tuason, and other civil authorities of this capital, the decision being that you will be shot when we get there, which will be very soon.

"You as well as Tuason and Santachia, after having been shot, will be hung on the cathedral tower to be seen by the inhabitants in order that you may serve as a lesson. . . . I tell you this only as a companion and nothing more. Your obedient servant, who kisses your hand.

"EL MONTERO."
—P. I. R., 2007. 1.

Cailles did not hesitate to report the results of his orders for the assassination of individuals, giving full and grewsome details. The following is a sample circular letter on this subject, sent out by him:—

"To the local Chiefs and Commanders of Columns, of the province:—

"On this date I have received a communication from the Presidente of Santa Cruz which is as follows:—

"Sr. General: . . . I am pleased, much pleased my General, to inform you with much satisfaction of the end in this world of the villain, of the great traitor, Salvador Reyes, in the following manner:—

"This morning at 8 o'clock, according to the reports of Srs. Lázaro Alfonzo and Modesto de los Reyes, who would gladly give their lives for our honour and glory, your coachman told them that the traitor was proceeding to the northern part of the town. They followed him and upon coming to the front of the house and shop of Cabezang Jacinto Talcon, the aforementioned Sr. Modesto attacked him with a bolo like a tiger, with all the strength of his body and soul, hitting by chance his left jaw, when the other, that is to say, Sr. Lázaro Alfonso, followed the first, catching the traitor by the throat with his right hand and with the other fired three pistol shots at him, one of which missed and the other two took effect in the traitor's shoulder, from the effects of which he fell like a stone upon his face.

"Lastly, Sr. Modesto stabbed him with a bolo, and upon seeing that he was dead, took away his revolver, and carrying the traitor by his belt to Calle de Maria Christina, threw the body down. This was done in plain daylight and in plain view of everybody. . . ."[2]

"On January 6, 1901, 'the lieutenant-general of the Philippine Islands' ordered that all persons who disobeyed the orders of the Katipúnan were to be tried and sentenced. A member of the organization who found that any person was contemplating taking action opposed to the purposes of that venerable society was authorized to kidnap him, and when the Katipúnan laid hold upon a man he was henceforth seen no more among the living."[3]

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[1] P. I. R., 716. 2.
[2] P. I. R., 716. 5.
[3] Taylor, 35 HS.

The organization of the Federal Party caused an outburst of fury among the Insurgent leaders beside which that aroused by the organization of municipal governments was mild. Throughout the islands the murdering of officers, members and agents of this party was ordered, and even those who sympathized with its ends were to be shot. The following is a sample of the orders sentencing to death the adherents of this truly patriotic organization:—

"March 22, 1901.

"SEÑOR EMILIO ZURBANO Y KAJIGAL,

"Lieutenant Colonel and Military Governor of the Province of Tayabas.

* * * * * * *

"2nd. In view of the preceding section, the Local Presidentes and Commanders of the columns of this province, will carefully watch their respective jurisdictions in order that not one agent of the enemy nor of the Federal Party, may be secretly able to obtain any signatures of the residents, they shall seize any one who may do it and send him to me with all the possible safeguards for the execution of what is ordered in the foregoing section.

"3rd. All persons who may show themselves to be inclined to the Federal Party, will also be captured and shot on being arrested prior to the proceedings and legal formalities, because being inclined towards this party, is the same as declaring oneself a traitor to the country.

"4th. The commander of a column or local presidente who shall tolerate the existence of the Committees of the Federal Party in his jurisdiction, being able to avoid it, will be tried and in case he is found guilty, will be discharged from his duty and will also be shot, as a traitor to his country.

"5th. The presidentes of the popular committees, will furnish detailed information to the local presidentes and commanders of columns of persons within the towns occupied by the enemies who are engaged in the propagation of the Federal Party or in getting adhesions in any way, either directly or indirectly, to the said party, and the presidente of the popular committee who may fail to accomplish so sacred a duty, will also be punished with the penalty of death.

"6th. When any of the representatives of the federal party, or any of its adherents cannot be captured on account of remaining constantly with the enemy or being protected by him, the local presidentes and commanders of the columns will procure by all means the execution of the said representative or adherent within the line of the enemy through persons of known decision and of patriotism worthy of all commendation.

"7th. All the citizens living in the province of Tayabas who may be representatives or adherents to the Federal Party, aside from the criminal liability which he incurs personally, will be deprived of the benefits of his property, which will be seized by the Government, who will take charge of the profits of the same.

"8th & last. The Local Presidente of the pueblo in which exists any Committee of the Federal Party and the Commander of the column to whose protection the pueblo is entrusted on pain of incurring the punishment detailed in section third of the present proclamation, will proceed to the total destruction of the pueblo in which there is a federalist committee, if, after having been ordered to disband it, at the expiration of seven days the same continues in its traitorous and criminal functions.

"Issued at the Military Government, March 22nd, 1901.

"Emilio Zurbano,
"Lieutenant Colonel, Military Governor."[1]

On March 3, 1899, Antonio Luna, general in chief of operations about Manila, directed that all persons who either directly or indirectly refused to aid the execution of his military plans were to be immediately shot without trial. Nothing could have been more sweeping than was his order, and the commanders of detachments of insurgents found in it an authoritative statement that the lives and property of the inhabitants of the Philippines were theirs to do with as they chose.[2]

Mabini made this vicious and cruel order the subject of bitter protest, writing to Aguinaldo, on March 6, 1899, a letter in which he says that Luna has grossly exceeded his powers, and making the very pertinent inquiry "if an educated man[3] can hardly understand his duties, how will the uneducated one understand his?" He suggests that it would be better to remove Luna.[4] It does not appear that this order was ever modified.

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[1] P. I. R., 650. 8.

[2] "PROCLAMATIONS

"March 3, 1899.

"For general information, since it concerns everybody, we publish the two important proclamations lately issued by the Chief of Military Operations of Manila.

"Antonio Luna y Novicio, General of Division of the Army of the Philippine Republic and General-in-Chief of Military Operations about Manila.

"In order to prevent any act opposed to the military plans of these headquarters and consequently to the ideals of the Filipino Republic, I order and command (only one article). From this day any person or individual whatever who either directly or indirectly refuses to give aid to these Headquarters in the prosecution of any military plans, or who in any manner whatever interferes with the execution of orders dictated for that purpose by the General-in-Chief, commanding operations upon Manila will be immediately shot without trial. Communicate and publish this order.

"Given at the General Headquarters of Polo on the 3rd of March, 1899.

"Antonio Luna,
"General-in-Chief of Operations."
—P. I. R., 214–2.

[3] That is, Luna.

[4] "March 6, 1899.

"Señor Presidente: Many complaints have been received here on account of the abuses committed by General Luna. It is said that he has lately published a decree in which he warned the people that those who disobey his orders shall be shot to death without summary trial, and he made his decree cover the whole province of Pampanga.

"To be shot to death without summary trial is a punishment which can be inflicted on soldiers; but a chief cannot enforce it in a civilized community, except among savages. Besides, he has only jurisdiction over Polo, where the General Headquarters is, and over the towns of the zones of Manila.

"I am very much surprised that these things are not well understood by General Luna. He has no executive power over Bulacán and Pampanga; he must have issued his orders through the military chiefs thereof.

"During such time as he is the commander-in-chief of operations of Manila he is not

I might furnish many similar data, but enough of orders. Any one who is not convinced by these extracts from the official Insurgent records that murder was a duly authorized governmental agency under the Philippine "Republic" is not amenable to reason or influenced by incontrovertible facts.

But were these brutal instructions carried out? They were, indeed, with a ferocity and a cold-blooded barbarity which make one shudder. Fortunate indeed was the man who was really shot, like the presidente of Nagcarlan,[1] and it made no difference if innocent bystanders were wounded or killed as well.

One of the common methods of procedure with victims of "dukut" was to bury them alive. A number of individuals suffered this fate at Taytay, near Manila. They were taken out at night, made to kneel beside graves already dug, hit over the head with an iron bar and knocked into their last resting places and the earth was shovelled in on to them. They were confessed by a native priest, and people of the town were required to stand by and see them meet their end.

An American lawyer who afterward defended some of their murderers, when the latter were apprehended and brought to trial, told me that among other grewsome details furnished by his clients, who shamelessly admitted to him their guilt, were the following:—

A victim who watched the murder of others, while awaiting his turn, did not want to be struck on the head and begged that as a special favor the blow from the iron bar be omitted in his case. His request was granted, whereupon he climbed into his grave, lay down, covered his face with his handkerchief, and directed his murderers to proceed. I could cite numerous specific cases in which persons were

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the director of war, and even if he is, he has no power other than to conduct his office and to take the place of the secretary in his absence.

"If an educated man can hardly understand his duties, how will the uneducated one understand his?

"Please make him acquainted with all of this in order to prevent any encroachment.

"I am at your orders.

(Signed) "Ap. Mabini.

"P.S.—It would be better, I think, to remove him from his post.

"A. M."

—P. I. R., 512a–2.

[1] "April 6, 1901.

"Cailles Brigade. Flying column of Rizal and Nagcarlan.

"In conjunction with Captain Macario D'orado, I believed it my duty to attack the town of Nagcarlan, for the principal purpose of killing the American local presidente, as was done during the procession last Holy Thursday. The Presidente was killed and one of his sons, and two residents were wounded, probably by stray bullets, while taking part in the procession.

"Which I have the honor to communicate to you for your information and consequent effects.

"God preserve you many years.

"Nagcarlan, April 6, 1901."

(Illegible signature.)

"To the General in Chief and Superior Politico-Military
Commander of This Province."—P. I. R., 1142. 8.

buried alive, and will do so if my word is called in question.[1] If not, enough of this!

Burning alive was occasionally resorted to.[2] More frequently, the victims had their eyes put out, their tongues cut out, and were then turned loose to shift for themselves. Justice Johnson,[3] of the Philippine Supreme Court, has described to me a case in which four policemen of a town which had received him in a friendly manner, were served in this way, and the procedure was a comparatively common one.

Taylor gives the following account of certain incidents which occurred in Ilocos Sur:—

> "On page 154 is a record of part of the murders of a body of men in the town of Caoayan, Ilocos Sur Province, who, in July, 1900, calling themselves 'Sandatahan,' appointed a chief executioner, assistant executioners and a requisite number of grave-diggers, and then, with set purpose, proceeded to assassinate all persons who manifested reluctance to join them or to contribute to their support or to the support of the insurgents in the hills whom their leader claimed they were serving. They operated secretly at night, the leaders usually selecting their victims one at a time; and when they were secured they were conducted to a lonely beach covered with tall grass where the grave-digger had already dug the requisite number of graves and where the executioners were already assembled. There in the presence of the assembled band, men and women, bound and helpless, were placed upon the brinks of their opened graves, their bodies were run through with swords and bolos and then buried. The band then dispersed, each man going to his own home. These operations were continued with industrious persistency through two months or

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[1] The Insurgent leaders did not hesitate officially to report the commission of this ghastly crime. The following is such a report:—

"June 24, 1900.

In Margin, stamp: "Headquarters First Column, Laguna. No. 144.

"I have the honor to transmit to you the enclosed letter from a resident of the town of Pila who had just returned from Manila, in which he gives me news of our present political situation, and as such news are satisfactory to our cause I send you said letter for your information.

"It is known from very trustworthy information that General del Pilar is under arrest in Manila and he has been substituted in the command of his forces by Colonel Macanca, who was his second in command, and is at the present time repressing with a firm hand the bandits who swarm about the outskirts of the zone under his command, as one of the celebrated bandits named Major Eusebio de Rateros, who had previously been in Pagsanján was buried alive in the cemetery of Taguig by Captain Simplicio Tolentino who is at the present time a member of that brigade.

"The news is also confirmed of the execution of Major Espada ordered by General del Pilar. I send you this news for your information.

"God preserve you many years.

"HEADQUARTERS, June 24, 1900.

"JULIO HERRERA,
"Lieutenant Colonel, Commanding 4th Column.

"To the General and Politico-Military Commander and Chief of Operations of This Province, *General Camp.*"—P. I. R., 605. 4.

[2] "A commissioner of the Katipúnan society at Ibung, Nueva Vizcaya Province, compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to that organization, and issued orders that all who should refuse to follow the dictates of the same should suffer death; and, in pursuance of such orders, was proved to have had, in February, 1901, two men beaten to death, one man buried alive, and two women burnt alive."—Taylor, 38 HS.

[3] Associate Justice E. Finley Johnson. At the time of this event he was a judge of first instance.

The Culion Leper Colony.

Here Philippine lepers are isolated, humanely cared for, and in an increasing number of cases cured.

more until the lengthening row of graves reached, in the language of one of the witnesses, 'about thirty, more or less.'"[1]

The Insurgent leaders themselves reported in a most business-like manner their orders for assassination and the results of their activities in this direction.

The following are sample communications of this sort:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP NO. 6.
"TIERRA LIBRE (Free Soil), SALUYAN (Laguna Province)
"November 18th, 1900.

"GENERAL JUAN CAILLES,
"Military Governor of La Laguna:

* * * * * * *

"In Nagcarlang it appears that there will be soon a spy, one Juan, a native of Biñang, for he has already commenced to disobey the committee, and so I with much prudence have ordered his eternal rest. The inhabitants have left the town and no one will serve either as barber or laundry-man to the Americans.

* * * * * * *

(Signed) "JULIO INFANTE."[2]

"PROCLAMATION OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL EMILIO ZURBANO,
"MILITARY GOVERNOR OF TAYABAS, TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.
"HEADQUARTERS AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT,
"TAYABAS, April 23, 1901.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: The holiness, purity and elevation of purpose of us who fight for our independence has caused the execution of five of our fellow-citizens on the 18th instant at five o'clock in the afternoon. They were shot on the plaza of the town of Sampaloc. . . .

"Vivencio Villarosa, for assassination of eleven foreigners and for disloyalty; Pedro Cordero, for disloyalty and spying; Remigío Aviosa, for improper exercise of authority, for many assaults and robbery in a band; Segundo Granada, for many assaults and stealing many animals, and Rufino Sabala for being addicted to and a disseminator of the doctrines of the Federal Party have fallen on the plaza of Sampaloc at the very moment when the twilight of the happy triumph of our ideal began to advance over the horizon of our country until now hidden in clouds of blood. May they rest in peace.

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(Signed) "EMILIO ZURBANO."[3]

After reporting to his subordinates that the local chief of Bay had, under his orders, arrested Honorato Quisumbing, an *Americanista* who had never served as a spy, and that his captor had killed him when he called to American troops who were near to help him,

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[1] Taylor, 35–36 HS.
[2] P. I. R., 653. 10.
[3] P. I. R., 332. 9.

Cailles adds: "His companion was likewise duly executed as a spy and guide for the enemy. Let us offer up a prayer for their eternal rest."[1]

The Insurgents did not limit their barbarities to their own people. Not only did the Insurgents repeatedly torture and murder American prisoners, but they poisoned soldiers. Lucban and others directed that this should be done, described the procedure to be followed, and furnished the poison.[2]

Directions for poisoning soldiers were included in a letter written on August 21, 1900, to the Brigadier General Superior Military Commander of the Province of Leyte as follows:—

> "It would also be well, in my humble opinion, for you to find out from the old men and quack doctors the kind of poison that can be mixed in alcoholic drinks and in cocoanut wine (tuba), as our enemies now drink these liquors; and after this poison has been known and tried, let it be used in such a way as to undermine the constitution of the man, until some day death occurs; for which purpose you ought to have persons, wherever there are Americans, to poison them. These things are now being done in Luzón, Cebú and Panay.
>
> "There is a tree here in the province whose leaves inflame the body of a man considerably, once applied; for I have seen about Manila the leaves converted into powder, rolled in pellets of paper and shot in the faces of Americans. This causes the parts to swell and become completely useless; and I believe it would be well to do this within the towns, and especially to the drunkards asleep along the roads and to the fellows making love."[3]

Various other orders for the poisoning of soldiers or the use of poisoned arrows or spears were issued.[4] Furthermore, they were faith-

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[1] *Ibid.*, Books A–1.

[2] "June 5, 1900.

"Sr. Local Presidente of Katibug:

"I send you a little of the poison known as 'dita' that you may put it on the points of the 'balatik' and 'sura' (spears and traps) admonishing you to take care that none of our people are wounded with the said poison, and if by misfortune any one is wounded, immediately apply the stem of the 'Badian' mixed with that of the 'lingaton' in the wound, as this is the most efficacious means of neutralizing and removing the effect of said poison. Be active and place many of the spears, etc., in all the roads and trails where the enemy must pass, and as soon as you know of his next expedition, inform me immediately by despatch, both by day and night.

"It is very necessary that the people detailed to place the poison on the points carry always the 'badian' and 'lingaton' so that in case of mishap some one may apply the remedy to neutralize the destructive ingredients of the poison at once.

"Headquarters of Matuguinao, 5th of June, 1900.

(Signed) "Lukban, General.

(Seal) "Military Headquarters of Samar."—P. I. R., 502. 7.

[3] P. I. R., 2035. 3.

[4] The following issued by Col. R. F. Santos in Albay Province is a sample:—

"October 14, 1900.

"In view of the present exceptional state of affairs in our beloved mother country, the Philippines, considering the straits we are in, and in compliance with the order of the General of Division and Chief of Operations for his campaign plans, I trust that upon receipt of the present communication you will kindly order the captains of territorial militia of that barrio, Apud, Pantao and Macabugos, to have all the soldiers of their respective companies provide themselves with at least fifty arrows apiece and fully carried out,[1] and the results were duly reported. The murder of sentries and of soldiers who straggled was often ordered, practised and reported.[2]

As damnable as any of these horrible documents was the order of General Antonio Luna, dated February 7, 1899, for the massacre of all Americans, foreigners and "disloyal" Filipinos in Manila.[3] In

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a sufficient quantity of the well-known poison called *dita* to apply to the points of the arrows, and to have their bolos well sharpened. I must remind you that as repeated practice is essential in order to secure the best results in the use of these weapons, you will endeavour to have at least twice a week, according to the convenience of the residents, said exercises take place in secluded spots, far from all danger of being surprised by the enemy.

"For the purpose indicated above you will likewise order that all the residents of your respective barrios have ready in a safe place a supply of the fruit commonly called *Ydioc*, putting it in water to decay, and to also have in readiness a squirt gun, that is to say, a 'Sumpit,' in order to use it in case of any invasion or attack of the enemy."

—P. I. R., Books B, No. 113.

[1] The following is a sample report:—

"February 4, 1900.

"Lieutenant-Colonel C. Tinio:

"My Dear and Esteemed Uncle:

"I am now carrying out a scheme here in this town for the purpose of killing some American sentries, whose bodies will be buried in the woods near the town, where they cannot be traced and found by their comrades, in order to avoid any investigation by them. They will believe that these soldiers have deserted. I have just sent to Gerona for a supply of wine, which, mixed with a strong, sickening stuff, will be sold to them; once they drink of it, the effect will soon tell on them, and then we will seize their rifles.

"I feel that I should advise you of this matter, in order that you may know the reason if, perchance, it should happen that we lose the confidence of the inhabitants of the town on account of this scheme. However, we will be satisfied if we can seize some rifles without resorting to violent means or to a scandal.

"This is the purpose of your devoted nephew, who always prays God for your health and life, and who sends you his kindest regards.

"San Juan (Tarlac Province?), February 4, 1900.

(Signed) "Leoncio Alarilla,
"Captain of Guerillas."
—P. I. R., 480. 5.

[2] The following is a sample report. It will be noted that its author was a civilian, not a soldier:—

"January 19, 1900.

"Sr. Lieut. Col. A. Tecson:

"With due respect I address you to inform you that yesterday at 10 A.M., I was in the barrio of Bagonbaulat and I saw one of the enemy's soldiers who was lagging behind his companions, and what I did was to order the man in charge of that place and three men to be called whom I ordered to capture the said soldier, and when a prisoner I ordered him to be led to the woods and there they killed him and buried the body; the rifle he carried and ninety cartridges I left with the people and continued my march to San Isidro; on my return when I was to get the rifle mentioned I could not find it and they told me they had sent it to Major Manolo. I inform you of this in compliance with the order.

"God guard you many years.

"Entablado, 19th January, 1900.

(Signed) "Roman I. Torres,
"Commissioner."
—P. I. R., 573. 2.

[3] "*Luna's Order:*

"'Malolos, February 7, 1899.

"'To The Field Officers of the Territorial Militia:

"'By virtue of the barbarous attack made upon our army on the fourth day of February without this being preceded by any strained relations whatever between the two armies, it is necessary for the Filipinos to show that they know how to avenge themselves of treachery and deceit of those who, working upon our friendship, now seek to enslave us.

"'In order to carry out the complete destruction of that accursed army of drunkards and thieves, it is indispensable that we all work in unison, and that orders issued from this war office be faithfully carried out.

"'As soon as you receive this circular, measures will be taken for strict compliance with the following orders:

"'(1) Such measures will be taken that at 8 o'clock at night the members of the territorial militia under orders will be ready to go into the street with their arms and ammunition to occupy San Pedro street and such cross streets as open into it.

"'(2) The defenders of the Philippines under your orders will attack the Zorilla the uprising planned in this order the lives of Filipinos only were to be respected. All others, of whatsoever race, were to be given no quarter, but were to be exterminated, "thus proving to foreign countries that America is not capable of maintaining order or defending any of the interests which she has undertaken to defend."

This effort to massacre all white persons in the city fell through, partly because the plan leaked out, and partly because Cavite Insurgent soldiers did not obey orders. The authenticity of this much-discussed order, however, has been established beyond reasonable doubt by Taylor's findings.[1]

In reality there was nothing novel about the issuing of such an order in the Philippines. Similar plans for the capture and sack of Cavite and Manila were prepared in connection with the revolt of 1896.[2]

As much is said, in the very numerous orders for assassinations, of trials by courts of most summary procedure, especial importance attaches to Taylor's statement that there is an almost complete absence of records of trials or legal proceedings among the two hundred and fifty thousand documents on which his work was based. He says that "there are probably less than twenty-five records of

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barracks and the Bilibid guard, and liberate all the prisoners, arming them in the most practical manner in order that they may aid their brethren and work out our revenge; to this end the following address shall be made to them:

" 'BRETHREN: The Americans have insulted us and we must revenge ourselves upon them by annihilating them.

" 'This is the only means for obtaining justice, for the many outrages and infamies of which we have been the object. All the Filipinos in Manila will second us. May the blood of the traitors run in torrents! Long live the independence of the Philippines!

" '(3) The servants of the houses occupied by the Americans and Spaniards shall burn the buildings in which their masters live in such a manner that the conflagration shall be simultaneous in all parts of the city.

" 'The signals for carrying this into effect—shall be to send up two red paper balloons and the firing of rockets with lights and firecrackers.

" '(4) The lives of the Filipinos only shall be respected, and they shall not be molested, with the exception of those who have been pointed out as traitors.

" 'All others of whatsoever race they may be shall be given no quarter and shall be exterminated, thus proving to foreign countries that America is not capable of maintaining order or defending any of the interests which she has undertaken to defend.

" '(5) The sharpshooter's of Tondo and Santa Ana shall be the first to open fire and those on the outside of the Manila lines shall second their attack, and thus the American forces will find themselves between two fires. The militia of Trozo, Binondo, Kyapo (Quiapo), and Sampalok shall follow up the attack. All must go into the streets and perform their duties.

" 'The militiamen of Paco, Ermita, Malate, Santa Cruz, and San Miguel shall attack when firing has become general everywhere, which will be approximately about 12 o'clock at night; but if they see that their comrades are in danger before that time they shall give them the proper assistance and go into the streets whenever it becomes necessary.

" 'The Spanish militia enlisted as volunteers in our army shall go out at 3 o'clock in the morning and attack Fort Santiago.

" 'Brethren, the country is in danger and we must rise to save it. Europe sees that we are feeble, but we will demonstrate that we know how to do as should be done, shedding our blood for the salvation of our outraged country. Death to the tyrant! War without quarter to the false Americans who wish to enslave us! Independence or death!

" 'A. LUNA.

" 'MALOLOS, February 7, 1899.

" 'COLONEL JOSÉ: By order of General Luna, have several copies of this made, in order that these instructions may be communicated to all.' "—Senate Document 331, part 2, p. 1912, Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session.

[1] Taylor's findings are given in full in previous editions of Worcester's work, Vol. II, pp. 758–763; and in Taylor, "note by compiler on exhibit 816," which is Luna's order.

[2] Taylor, 96 FZ; earlier editions of Worcester, Vol. II, pp. 763–764.

trials among these papers, and not above one or two records of military courts of summary procedure. Law was the will of the official who would force obedience to his desire. If he wanted to kill he killed."[1]

General MacArthur is credited by Blount with the following statement:—

> "The cohesion of Filipino society in behalf of insurgent interests is most emphatically illustrated by the fact that assassination, which was extensively employed, was generally accepted as a legitimate expression of insurgent governmental authority. *The individuals marked for death would not appeal to American protection, although condemned exclusively on account of supposed pro-Americanism.*"[2]

As a matter of fact, plenty of people appealed to the Americans for protection and got it. I have seen document after document each recommending some individual to American officers everywhere as worthy of protection, and as needing it on account of services rendered to Americans. Relative to this matter, Taylor says:—

> "Among the papers of the insurgents there are a few letters to American officers asking for protection against the insurgents. They represent a protest against conditions which were rapidly becoming unbearable; but most of them must have been sent without copies, for in case they fell into the hands of the guerrillas they would have served as death warrants for the men who signed them. From early in 1900, they were much more frequent all over the archipelago than the number which have survived, either in the official records of the American army in the Philippines, or among the papers of the insurgents, would lead the investigator to believe. Those which were sent to the commanders of American detachments were not kept as a rule, for a small detachment has few records. As early as March, 1900, the head of the town of Passi, Panay, asked American protection against robbers and insurgents."[3]

General MacArthur had a fixed idea that all Filipinos were against us, but he was wrong.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 44 HS. [2] Blount, p. 313. [3] Taylor, 70 HS.

[4] "In December, 1900, the people of the town of Santa Cruz, Ilocos Sur, seized the guerilla commander of the town because he had raped some women, and then burnt their acts of adhesion to the insurgent government. They declared themselves adherents of the Americans, proceeded to give them all possible aid and assistance, and captured and delivered to them all the guerillas who dared to enter the place (P. I. R., Books C–13)."—Taylor, 45 HS.

For a strong statement of the view that the Filipino people were "almost unanimous" in support of the guerilla warfare against the Americans, see Kalaw, pp. 220–224. On this subject Judge Elliott has stated: "There was at this time almost complete unanimity of action on the part of the native population in the provinces of the islands not inhabited by Moros and uncivilized tribes. The exceptions were found among the comparatively few educated and intelligent people whose material interests were involved and whose knowledge of the world enabled them to form a fairly just and reasonable judgment on such affairs. But the common people had been so stirred by the events of the war and the appeals of the radical leaders that they refused absolutely to follow the leadership of the conservatives. This unanimity of sentiment had been brought about

In very many cases our efforts to furnish protection were necessarily futile. It is easy enough to protect a town from an open attack. It is often excessively difficult to protect an individual against an assassin who proffers him one hand in assumed frienship and stabs him with the other. We shall never know how many men were murdered in accordance with the orders which I have cited, and other similar ones.

On February 10, 1900, General P. García wrote to General Isidoro Torres advising him to inform the inhabitants of Bulacan, among whom it was understood that the Americans were about to establish municipal governments, "of what occurred in the Island of Negros where two hundred men have been shot and forty more have been cast into the water for having accepted the American sovereignty, and because they were suspected of not being adherents of the cause of the independence of our country."[1]

In reviewing the sentence of the Taytay murderers, General Adna R. Chaffee, who, as the ranking military officer in the Philippines, was closely in touch with the situation, made the following statement:—

> "The number of peaceful men who have been murdered in these islands at the instigation of the chiefs, while impracticable of exact determination, is yet known to be so great that to recount them would constitute one of the most horrible chapters in human history. With respect to these chiefs, the commanding general has, therefore, no other recourse than to invoke the unrelenting execution of the law upon them and to appeal to the intelligent and educated among the Filipino people to aid him by renewed efforts to end a reign of terror of which their own people are the helpless victims."[2]

Taylor has made the following summary of the facts:—

> "The justice of the United States was slow in its course; witnesses had to be examined, and before a notorious criminal could be punished it had to be proved that he had committed some particular crime. Unless the crime was proved to the satisfaction of a military commission by witnesses, the greater part of whose testimony had to be translated into English from some native language by an interpreter, who was almost never an American, the man whom a whole village knew to be an assassin would escape punishment and would return to avenge himself upon those who had denounced him. The justice of Aguinaldo was a different matter. The Americans might hang for murder, but he would bury alive for serving them. The Americans might send a man to prison for burning a town, only to

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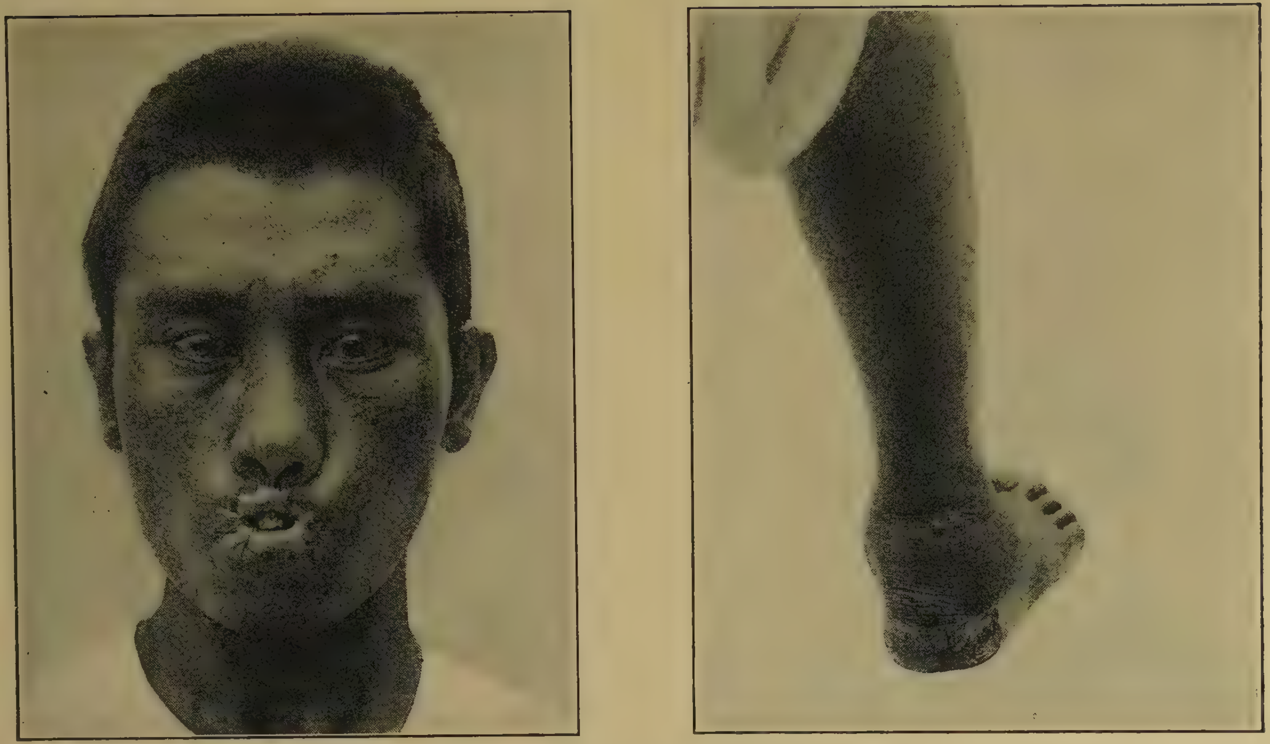
by various means. Intimidation and fear were doubtless potent factors, but they were not alone sufficient to account for the apparently spontaneous actions of several millions of people." (Elliott, p. 485.)

[1] P. I. R., Books A–9, No. 39.

[2] Taylor, 37 HS.



The Penalty for Loyalty to the United States.

This man had his lips cut off and was hamstrung, by order of the bandit chief Felizardo, because he was suspected of giving information to Americans.

release him when an error was found in the proceedings. There were no errors in the proceedings of the guerrillas. There was usually no summoning of witnesses, no slow taking of testimony and no careful search for laches which would invalidate the finding of the court and inure to the benefit of the accused. It was sufficient for some native to be denounced as in the employment of the Americans, or as an agent, or as a civil officer under the United States, for a summons to be issued for his appearance before a court of summary procedure, which was a court in name only; or for a mandate to be sent ordering that 'the serviceable method of *dukut* was to be employed in his case.' That meant that he was kidnapped and murdered, usually after a priest had received his confession; or that he was sent back to the town hamstrung and with his tongue out, as a warning to the people that the justice of Aguinaldo was sharp and that his arm was long." [1]

The blood of these men cries out against those who would deceive the American people into believing that the Filipinos were ever united in loyalty toward the Filipino Republic or the leaders who made murder a governmental agency in the Philippine Islands.

Most of the men who wrote the orders and perpetrated the acts which I have cited are alive and active to-day.[2] Were independence granted, they would rule again the country that they ruled before. Is there any reason for believing that their warped intelligences have straightened, or their hard hearts softened? Would the United States care to assume responsibility for any government which they could set up or would maintain?

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[1] Taylor, 28–29 HS.

[2] 1914.

CHAPTER X

Mr. Bryan and Independence

In order to bring home to some of my Democratic and Anti-Imperialist friends the unreliable character of the testimony of even the very high officers of the so-called Philippine Republic, I here quote certain extracts from the Insurgent records, showing the important part played, doubtless unwittingly, by Mr. William Jennings Bryan in Philippine politics during the war. The first of these might properly have been considered in the chapter entitled "Was Independence Promised?" Others are instructive in that they show the use made of false news in bolstering up the Insurgent cause, and might with propriety have been included in the chapter on "The Conduct of the War." I have thought it best to keep them by themselves. Further comment on them would seem to be superfluous.

"On May 1, 1900 (P. I. R., 516.6), I. de los Santos wrote a long letter in Tagálog and cipher to Aguinaldo, in which he reported upon the progress of what he would have probably called the diplomatic campaign. If this letter is to be believed, the agents in the United States of the junta had been able to form relations which might be of great value to them. Santos said in part:—

" 'Commissioners . . . Señors Kant (G. Apacible) and Raff (Sixto López) duly carried out your last instructions given at Tárlac. Señor Del Pan, sailing by way of Japan, about the middle of October, and Señor Caney (G. Apacible), sailing by way of Europe about the 1st of November, met in Toronto about the middle of February following. But before the arrival of Kant, Raff had already come from Hayti (United States) and was able to pry in upon our political friends and enemies. When they met each other they continued the voyage incognito, as Raff had done previously, making themselves known to a very few people; but later on, and according to the instructions carried by Caney, they made themselves known to a greater number of people, and have succeeded in interviewing Bryan who happened to be in New York. Señor Raff said that Bryan feared being present at a conference, lest he might be called a traitor by members of his own party, and also by those of the opposite or "imperialist" party, who are quite proud over the victories they have gained against our people over there. Nevertheless, Raff was able to be present and talk at some of the anti-imperialist meetings, our political friends introducing him as a friend from the committee (at Hongkong) and as an advocate of the cessation of the war over there in order that our sacred rights may be given consideration by them. And as Bryan could not personally take part in the conference, he sent a most trusted person, his right-hand man, Dr. Gardner. The results of the conference between Señor Raff and Dr. Gardner, the latter acting in the name of Mr. Bryan, are as follows:—

" '1st. That we may fight on, and Bryan will never cease to defend our sacred rights. 2nd. That we must never mention Bryan's name in our manifestos and proclamations, lest the opposite party might say he is a traitor. 3rd. That we are in the right; and hence he promised in the name of Bryan that if this Señor Bryan is victorious in the presidential campaign, he will recognize our independence without delay. Your honored self can easily conclude from all the foregoing that Señor Del Pan, after the receipt of these promises, concurred with him; and he returned to inform Señor Apacible about the results of the conference. So these two studied over the plan of the policy to be adopted and carried out. I write you what their opinions are, viz.: 1st, that they will reside there, pending the outcome of the presidential contest, aiding the propaganda and enlivening it until November, the date set for the desired thing. Owing to what Dr. Gardner said and promised in the name of Bryan, some one ought to stay there in order that Bryan may be approached, if he is elected, so he can sign the recognition of our independence; and this should be done at once, lest in his excitement over the victory he should forget his promise. 3rd. For carrying out the two propositions just mentioned, they request 2000 pounds sterling, that is $20,000 in silver, to be used for the propaganda, for paying newspapers and for bribing senators—this last clause is somewhat dangerous and impossible. And 4th, that the money must be sent immediately, and that you should be informed not to mention the name of Bryan in the manifestos and proclamations.

" 'In order to answer quickly and decisively that proposition, and as I did not have the desired money here, I answered as follows: "Plan approved; for the sake of economy we have decided that one of the two retire, but before doing so make arrangements, establish communications with leaders of Bryan's party, and he who remains should thus cultivate the relations; he who is to retire will locate himself in Paris near Señor Katipalad (Agoncillo) with whom he will secretly discuss political problems that may arise. So he will watch for the opportune moment of Bryan's election, in order to go immediately to Hayti and formally arrange the contract with Bryan." [1]

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" 'By the end of 1899, by the time guerrilla warfare was well under way, by the time that any Filipino government, unless an expression of the unfettered will of the nearest bandit who can muster a dozen rifles may be called a government, had ceased to exist, a strong opposition to the policy of the administration had arisen in the United

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[1] Taylor, 13 KK, E.

States and a demand for the recognition of the independence of the Philippines. The junta in Hongkong were assured that the Democratic party would come into power in the next elections and that this would mean the success of the patriotic efforts of Aguinaldo and his followers. The news was good and was forthwith spread abroad in "Extracts from our correspondence with America," "News from our foreign agents," "News from America," and "Translations from the foreign press"—circulars and handbills printed on thin paper which were smuggled into the Philippines and passed into the hands of the guerrilla leaders who could read Spanish. They gathered their followers about them and told them that a powerful party had arisen in America which was going to give them all they had ever asked for. They had only to fight on, for success was certain. In America the "Anti-imperialists" were hanging the "Imperialists," and they should continue to harry the American adherents among the natives of the Philippines.

" 'There are a number of these publications among the papers captured from the insurgents, and the adoption of this method of propaganda seems to have been nearly coincident with Aguinaldo's orders declaring guerrilla warfare. It does not seem likely that the matter contained in them was supplied by a Filipino, for if it was he assumed a general acquaintance among the people with American politics and American methods which they were far from possessing.

" 'In these publications the Filipinos were assured that the Imperialists were kept in power only by the lavish contributions of the "truts," whatever they may have been; but the people of the United States were growing weary of their domination and were about to return to the true principles of Washington and Jefferson. The illustrious Americans "Crosvy, Sticcney, and Vartridge" were all laboring for the cause of Philippine independence. Long lists of American cities were given in which the illustrious orators Mr. Croshy and Mr. Schurts had addressed applauding crowds upon the necessity of throttling the "truts" because they opposed recognition of the rights of the Filipinos. In August, 1900, "News from our agents in America" informed its readers that—

" ' "W. J. Bryan has stated in a speech that his first act upon being elected President will be to declare the independence of the Philippines."

" 'On June 16, 1900, Gen. Riego de Dios, acting head of the Hongkong junta, wrote to Gen. I. Torres (P. I. R., 530), the guerrilla commander in Bulacán Province, and assured him that a little more endurance, a little more constancy, was all that was needed to secure the attainment of their ends. According to their advices the Democratic party would win in the approaching elections in the United States, and—"it is certain that Bryan is the incarnation of our independence."

" 'The number of men opposed to the policy of the administration was said to be continually increasing.

" 'The attitude of those who protect us cannot be more manly and resolute: "Continue the struggle until you conquer or die," Mr. Beecher of the League in Cincinnati writes us. "I shall always be the champion of the cause of justice and of truth," says Mr. Winslow of the Boston League. "Not even threats of imprisonment will make me cease in my undertaking," Doctor Denziger assures us. "I shall accept every risk and responsibility," says Doctor Leverson. "If it is necessary, I shall go so far as to provoke a revolution in my own country," repeats Mr. Udell. "It is necessary to save the Republic and democracy from the abyss of imperialism and save the worthy Filipinos from oppression and extermination" is cried by all, and the sound of this cry is ever rising louder and louder.' "[1]

Extract from a letter of Papa Isio[2] dated March 4, 1901:—

"I have received from Luzón an order to proceed more rapidly with my operations this month, as Bryan ordered Emilío to keep the war going vigorously until April, and he also said that if independence was not given the Philippines by that time, he, Bryan, and his followers would rise in arms against the oppressors."[3]

"TARLAC, Oct. 26, 1899.

"To the Military Governor of This City, and
To the Secretary of the Interior.

"As a meeting shall be held on the morning of Sunday next in the Presidential Palace of this Republic in return for that held in the United States by Mr. Bryan, who drank to the name of our Honourable President as one of the heroes of the world, and for the purpose of celebrating it with more pomp and contributing to it the greater splendor with your personnel, I will be obliged to you if you will please call at this office to confer with me on the matter.

"God preserve you, etc.

(Signed) "F. BUENCAMINO."[4]

In a letter written by A. Flores, acting secretary of war, to the military governor of Tarlac on October 27, 1899, there occurs the following:—

"In the United States meetings and banquets have been held in honor of our Honourable President, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, who was pronounced one of the heroes of the world by Mr. Bryan, future president of the United States. The Masonic Society, therefore, interpreting the unanimous desires of the people, and with the approval of the government, will on Sunday the 29th instant, organize a meeting or popular assembly in the interest of national independence and in honor of Mr. Bryan of the anti-imperialist party, the defenders of our cause in the United States. The meeting will consist of two functions; first—at nine A.M. of the 29th the assembly will convene in a suitable place, a national hymn will inaugurate the exercises, after which appropriate addresses will be delivered; and second—at four P.M. a popular demonstration will take place throughout the town, with bands of music parading the streets; residents will decorate and illuminate their houses.

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[1] Taylor, 15 and 16 KK, E.

[2] "Pope" Isio was the last of a series of bandit leaders, claiming for themselves miraculous powers, who long infested the mountains of Negros.

[3] P. I. R., 970. 7.

[4] P. I. R., 1134-1.

"Which I have the pleasure of transmitting to you for your information and guidance and for that of the troops under your command." [1]

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[1] P. I. R., 17. 9.

CHAPTER XI

The First Philippine Commission

I HAVE elsewhere mentioned the appointment of the First Philippine Commission. On January 18, 1899, its civilian members met at Washington and received the President's instructions. We were to aid in "the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants."

We were directed to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila and to announce by a public proclamation our presence and the mission intrusted to us, carefully setting forth that while the established military government would be continued as long as necessity might require, efforts would be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity and to provide for the safety of persons and property by such means as might be found conducive to those ends.

We were to endeavour, without interfering with the military authorities, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order were practicable, and for this purpose were to study attentively the existing social and political state of the several populations, particularly as regarded the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation and the need of public improvements, reporting through the Department of State the results of our observations and reflections, and recommending such executive action as might, from time to time, seem to us wise and useful.

We were authorized to recommend suitable persons for appointment to offices, made necessary by personal changes in the existing civil administration, from among the inhabitants who had previously acknowledged their allegiance to the American government.

We were to "ever use due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the United States," and were commissioned on account of our "knowledge, skill, and integrity as bearers of the good-will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation."[1]

There was no war in the Philippines when we started for Manila, and we were expressly enjoined from interfering with the military government or its officers. We were sent to deliver a message of good-will, to investigate, and to recommend, and there our powers ended. Mr. Schurman and I, with a small clerical force, sailed from Vancouver, January 31, 1899. On our arrival at Yokohama we learned with keen regret of the outbreak of hostilities at Manila. The dogs of war had not been loosed when we started, and one of the main purposes in sending us was to keep them in their kennels if possible.

On our arrival at Yokohama we were promptly informed by a secretary from the United States Legation that no less a personage than Marquis Ito had been in frequent communication with the Filipinos since 1894, that they had been looking to him for advice and support, and that he had interested himself in the present situation sufficiently to come to the American minister and offer to go to the Philippines, not in any sense as an agent of the United States, but as a private individual, and to use his influence in our behalf. His contention was that the then existing conditions resulted from misunderstandings.

He said that Americans did not understand Asiatics, but he was an Asiatic himself and did understand the Filipinos, and thought that he could settle the whole affair. The minister had cabled to Washington for instructions. Naturally the offer was not accepted.

I was reminded, by this extraordinary incident, of a previous occurrence. I spent the month of March, 1893, in Tokio when returning from my second visit to the Philippines, and was kindly invited to inspect the zoölogical work at the Imperial University. When I visited the institution for that purpose, I was questioned very closely on the islands, their people and their resources. The gentlemen who interrogated me may have been connected with the university, but I doubt it.

We reached Hongkong on February 22. Here I had an interview with Dr. Apacible of the junta, while Mr. Schurman visited Canton. Apacible told me that the Filipinos wanted an independent republic under an American protectorate. Pressed for the details of their desires, he said that "the function of a protector is to protect." Further than that he could not go. I tried to convince him of the hopelessness of the course the Filipinos were then pursuing and of the kindly intentions of my government, but felt that I made no impression on him.

We arrived at Manila on March 4, 1899, too late to land. Firebugs were abroad. We watched a number of houses burn, and heard the occasional crackle of rifle fire along the line of the defences around

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[1] For the full text of these instructions, see Appendix I.

Building the Benguet Road.

In this, as in many other places, it proved necessary to blast the road out of the solid rock.

the city. The next morning there was artillery fire for a time at San Pedro Macáti. Everywhere were abundant evidences that the war was on.

This left little for us to do at the moment except to inform ourselves as to conditions, especially as Colonel Denby had not yet arrived, and General Otis was overwhelmed with work and anxiety. I renewed my acquaintance with many old Filipino and Spanish friends and improved the opportunity, not likely to recur in my experience, to see as much as possible of the fighting in the field.

One day when I was at San Pedro Macáti, Captain Dyer, who commanded a battery of 3.2-inch guns there, suggested that if I wished to investigate the effect of shrapnel fire I could do so by visiting a place on a neighbouring hillside which he indicated. Acting upon his suggestion, I set out, accompanied by my private secretary, who, like myself, was clad in white duck. The Insurgent sharpshooters on the other side of the river devoted some attention to us, but we knew that so long as they aimed at us we were quite safe. Few of their bullets came within hearing distance.

We were hunting about on the hillside for the place indicated by Captain Dyer, when suddenly we heard ourselves cursed loudly and fluently in extremely plain American, and there emerged from a neighbouring thicket a very angry infantry officer. On venturing to inquire the cause of his most uncomplimentary remarks, I found that he was in command of skirmishers who were going through the brush to see whether there was anything left there which needed shooting up. As many of the Insurgent soldiers dressed in white, and as American civilians were not commonly to be met in Insurgent territory, these men had been just about to fire on us when they discovered their mistake. We went back to Manila and bought some khaki clothes.

At first my interest in military matters was not appreciated by my army friends, who could not see what business I had to be wandering around without a gun in places where guns were in use. I had, however, long since discovered that reliable first-hand information on any subject is likely to be useful sooner or later, and so it proved in this case.

For several weeks after we reached Manila there was no active military movement; then came the inauguration of the short, sharp campaign which ended for the moment with the taking of Malolos. For long, tedious weeks our soldiers had sweltered in muddy trenches, shot at by an always invisible foe whom they were not allowed to attack. It was anticipated that when the forward movement began it would be active. Close secrecy was maintained with regard to it. Captain Hedworth Lambton, of the British cruiser *Powerful,* then lying in Mänila Bay, exacted a promise from me that I would tell him if I found out when the advance was to begin, so that we might go to Caloocan together and watch the fighting from the church tower, which commanded a magnificent view of the field of operations.

I finally heard a fairly definite statement that our troops would move the following morning. I rushed to General Otis's office and after some parleying had it confirmed by him. It was then too late to advise Lambton, and in fact I could not properly have done so, as the information had been given me under pledge of secrecy. Accompanied by my private secretary, Dr. P. L. Sherman, I hastened to Caloocan, where we arrived just at dusk, having had to run the gantlet of numerous inquisitive sentries *en route*.

We spent the night in the church, where General Wheaton and his staff had their headquarters, and long before daylight were perched in a convenient opening in its galvanized iron roof, made on a former occasion by a shell from Dewey's fleet. From this vantage point we could see the entire length of the line of battle. The attack began shortly after daylight. Near Caloocan the Insurgent works were close in, but further off toward La Loma they were in some places distant a mile or more from the trenches of the Americans.

The general plan of attack was that the whole American line should rotate to the north and west on Caloocan as a pivot, driving the Insurgents in toward Malabon if possible. The latter began to fire as soon as the American troops showed themselves, regardless of the fact that their enemies were quite out of range. As most of them were using black-powder cartridges, their four or five miles of trenches were instantly outlined. The ground was very dry so that the bullets threw up puffs of dust where they struck, and it was possible to judge the accuracy of the fire of each of the opposing forces.

Rather heavy resistance was encountered on the extreme right, and the turning movement did not materialize as rapidly as had been hoped. General Wheaton, who was in command of the forces about the church, finally moved to the front, and as we were directly in the rear of his line and the Insurgents, as usual, overshot badly, we found ourselves in an uncomfortably hot corner. Bullets rattled on the church roof like hail, and presently one passed through the opening through which Major Bourns, Colonel Potter, of the engineer corps, and I were sticking our heads. Immediately thereafter we were observed by Dr. Sherman making record time on all fours along one of the framing timbers of the church toward its tower. There we took up our station, and thereafter observed the fighting by peeping through windows partially closed with blocks of volcanic tuff. We had a beautiful opportunity to see the artillery fire. The guns were directly in front of and below us and we could watch the laying of the several pieces and then turn our field-glasses on the particular portions of the Insurgent trenches where the projectiles were likely to strike. Again and again we caught bursting shells in the fields of our glasses and could thus see their effect as accurately as if we had been standing close by, without any danger of being perforated by shrapnel.

After the Insurgent position had been carried we walked forward to their line of trenches and followed it east to a point beyond the La Loma Church, counting the dead and wounded, as I had heard wild stories of tremendous slaughter and wanted to see just how much damage the fire of our troops had really done. On our way we passed the Caloocan railroad station which had been converted into a temporary field hospital. Here I saw good Father McKinnon, the chaplain of the First California Volunteers, assisting a surgeon and soaked with the blood of wounded men. He was one chaplain in a thousand. It was always easy to find him. One had only to look where trouble threatened and help was needed. He was sure to be there.

On my way from the railway station to the trenches I met a very much excited officer returning from the front. He had evidently had a long and recent interview with Cyrus Noble,[1] and was determined to tell me all about the fighting. I escaped from him after some delay, and with much difficulty. Later he remembered having met me, but made a grievous mistake as to the scene of our encounter, insisting that we had been together in "Wheaton's Hole," an uncommonly hot position where numerous people got hurt. He persisted in giving a graphic account of our experiences, and in paying high tribute to my coolness and courage under heavy fire. My efforts to persuade him that I had not been with him there proved futile, and I finally gave up the attempt. I wonder how many other military reputations rest upon so slender a foundation! This experience was unique. I never saw another officer under the influence of liquor when in the field.

At the time that we visited the Insurgent trenches, not all of our own killed and wounded had been removed, yet every wounded Insurgent whom we found had a United States army canteen of water at his side, obviously left by some kindly American soldier. Not a few of the injured had been furnished hardtack as well. All were ultimately taken to Manila and there given the best of care by army surgeons.

Sometime later a most extraordinary account of this fight, written by a soldier, was published in the *Springfield Republican*. It was charged that our men had murdered prisoners in cold blood, and had committed all manner of barbarities, the writer saying among other things:—

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[1] A brand of whiskey then much in use.

> "We first bombarded a town called Malabon and then entered it and killed every man, woman and child in the place."

The facts were briefly as follows: There was an Insurgent regiment in and near a mangrove swamp to the right of this town. When it became obstreperous it was shelled for a short time until it quieted down again. None of the shells entered the town. Indeed, most of them struck in the water. Our troops did not enter Malabon that day, but passed to the northward, leaving behind a small guard to keep the Insurgents from coming out of Malabon in the rear. Had they then entered the town, they would not have found any women, children or non-combatant men to kill for the reason that all such persons had been sent away some time before. The town was burned, in part, but by the Insurgents themselves. They fired the church and a great orphan asylum, and did much other wanton damage.

Being able to speak from personal observation as to the occurrences of that day, I sent a long cablegram direct to the *Chicago Times-Herald* stating the facts. After my return to the United States, President McKinley was kind enough to say to me that if there had been no other result from the visit of the first Philippine Commission to the islands than the sending of that cablegram, he should have considered the expense involved more than justified. He added that the country was being flooded at the time with false and slanderour rumours, and people at home did not know what to believe. The statements of army officers were discounted in advance, and other testimony from some unprejudiced source was badly needed.

On April 2, 1899, Colonel Denby arrived, and our serious work began. The fighting continued and there was little that we could do save earnestly to strive to promote friendly relations with the conservative element among the Filipinos, and to gather the information we had been instructed to obtain.

On April 4, 1899, we issued a proclamation setting forth in clear and simple language the purposes of the American government.[1] It was translated into Tagálog and other dialects and widely circulated. The Insurgent leaders were alert to keep the common people and the soldiers from learning of the kindly purposes of the United States. They were forbidden to read the document and we were reliably informed that the imposition of the death penalty was threatened if this order was violated. In Manila crowds of Filipinos gathered about copies of the proclamation which were posted in public places. Many of them were soon effaced by Insurgent agents or sympathizers. This document unquestionably served a very useful purpose.[1] For one thing, it promptly brought us into much closer touch with the more conservative Filipinos.

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[1] For the text of this document see Appendix II.

We soon established relations of friendliness and confidence with men like Arellano, Torres, Legarda and Tavera, who had left the Malolos government when it demonstrated its futility, and were ready to turn to the United States for help. Insurgent sympathizers also conferred freely with us. We were invited to a beautiful function given in our honour at the home of a wealthy family, and were impressed, as no one can fail to be, with the dignified bearing of our Filipino hosts, a thing which is always in evidence on such occasions. We gave a return function which was largely attended and greatly aided in the establishing of relations of confidence and friendship with leading Filipino residents of Manila.

The Filipinos were much impressed with Colonel Denby. He was a handsome man, of imposing presence, with one of the kindest hearts that ever beat. They felt instinctively that they could have confidence in him, and showed it on all occasions.

Meanwhile we lost no opportunity to inform ourselves as to conditions and events, conferring with Filipinos from various parts of the archipelago and with Chinese, Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, Austrians, Englishmen, Spaniards and Americans. Among the witnesses who came before us were farmers, bankers, brokers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, railroad men, shipowners, educators and public officials. Certainly all classes of opinion were represented, and when we were called upon by the President, a little later, for a statement of the situation we felt fully prepared to make it.

It has been charged that the commission attempted to interfere with the conduct of the war, and that conferences with Insurgents cost the lives of American soldiers. No conference with Insurgent leaders was ever held without the previous knowledge and approval of the general, who was himself a member of the commission.

Late in April General Luna sent Colonel Arguelles of his staff to ask for a fifteen days' suspension of hostilities under the pretext of enabling the Insurgent congress to meet at San Fernando, Pampanga, on May 1, to discuss the situation and decide what it wanted to do. He called on the commission and urged us to ask Otis to grant this request, but we declined to intervene, and General Otis refused to grant it.

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[1] In view of the alleged attitude of General Otis toward the work of the commission, the following statement by him as to the effect of this proclamation is of interest:—

General Otis said: "It was unanimously decided to print, publish, post, and disseminate as much as possible among the inhabitants under insurgent domination this address, printing the same in the English, Spanish, and Tagálog languages. This was done, but scarcely had it been posted in Manila twenty-four hours before it was so torn and mutilated as to be unrecognizable. It suffered the same fate as the proclamation of January 4, set out in pages 113 and 114 of this report, but it produced a marked beneficial influence on the people, especially those outside our lines, as it carried with it a conviction of the United States' intentions, on account of the source from which it emanated, it being an expression from a committee of gentlemen especially appointed to proclaim the policy which the United States would pursue."—TAYLOR, 90 AJ.

Taylor adds: "The commander of one of the regiments of sandatahan in Manila reported that he had forced the people of the city to destroy the proclamations issued by the commission. (P. I. R., 73. 9.) As he found this necessary, the action of the people could hardly have reflected their real feelings in the matter."

Mabini continued Luna's effort, sending Arguelles back with letters to Otis and to the commission. In the latter he asked for "an armistice and a suspension of hostilities as an indispensable means of arriving at peace," stating explicity that the Philippine government "does not solicit the armistice to gain a space of time in which to reënforce itself."

The commission again referred Arguelles to General Otis on the matter of armistice and suspension of hostilities. We suspected that the statement that these things were not asked for in order to gain time was false, and this has since been definitely established.

Taylor says:—

> "On April 11 Mabini wrote to General Luna (Exhibit 719) that Aguinaldo's council was of the opinion that no negotiations for the release of the Spanish prisoners should be considered unless the American Commission agreed to a suspension of hostilities for the purpose of treating, not only in regard to the prisoners, but for the purpose of opening negotiations between Aguinaldo's government and the American authorities.
>
> " 'In arriving at this decision we have been actuated by the desire to gain time for our arsenals to produce sufficient cartridges, if, as would seem to be probable, they persist in not even recognizing our belligerency, as means for furthering the recognition of our independence.' "[1]

Arguelles, on his return, was instructed to ask Otis for a—

> "general armistice and suspension of hostilities in all the archipelago for the short space of three months, in order to enable it to consult the opinion of the people concerning the government which would be the most advantageous, and the intervention in it which should be given to the North American Government, and to appoint an extraordinary commission with full powers, to act in the name of the Philippine people."[2]

General Otis naturally again declined to grant the request for a suspension of hostilities.

Little came of the conference between Arguelles and the commission, except that we really succeeded in convincing him of the good intentions of our government, and this promptly got him into very

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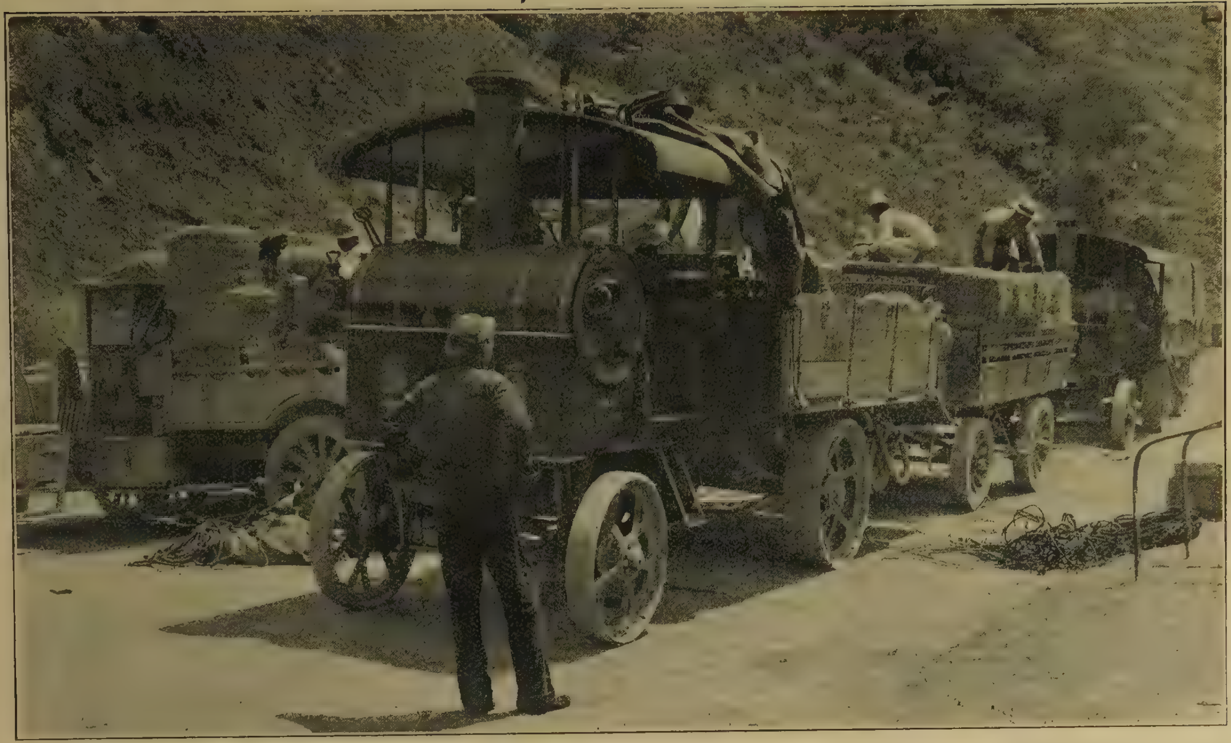
[1] Taylor, 96 AJ.

[2] *Ibid.*



Freight Autos on the Benguet Road.

This road has been correctly described as "an automobile boulevard," but the autos in use on it are not all pleasure machines.

serious trouble, as we shall soon see. I took him to a tent hospital on the First Reserve Hospital grounds where wounded Insurgents were receiving the best of treatment at the hands of American surgeons, and he was amazed. He had been taught to believe that the Americans murdered prisoners, raped women, and committed similar barbarities whenever they got a chance. As we have seen, stories of this sort were industriously spread by many of the Insurgent leaders among their soldiers, and among the common people as well. They served to arouse the passions of the former, and stirred them up to acts of devilish brutality which they might perhaps not otherwise have perpetrated. Arguelles told the truth upon his return, and this, together with his suggestion that it might be well to consider the acceptance of the form of government offered by the United States, nearly cost him his life. Relative to this matter Taylor says:—

> "When Arguelles returned to the insurgent lines, it must have been considered that he had said too much in Manila. While he had been sent there to persuade the Americans to agree to a suspension of hostilities to be consumed in endless discussion under cover of which Luna's army could be reorganized, he had not only failed to secure the desired armistice, but had come back with the opinion that it might after all be advisable to accept the government proposed by the United States. On May 22 General Luna ordered his arrest and trial for being in favour of the autonomy of the United States in the Philippine Islands. He was tried promptly, the prosecuting witness being another officer of Luna's staff who had accompanied him to Manila and acted as a spy upon his movements (P. I. R., 285.2). The court sentenced him to dismissal and confinement at hard labor for twelve years. This did not satisfy Luna's thirst for vengeance, and he was imprisoned in Bautista on the first floor of a building whose second story was occupied by that officer. One night Luna came alone into the room where he was confined and told him that although he was a traitor, yet he had done good service to the cause; and it was not proper that a man who had been a colonel in the army should be seen working on the roads under a guard. He told him that the proper thing for him to do was to blow his brains out, and that if he did not do it within a reasonable time the sentinel at his door would shoot him. He gave him a pistol and left the room, Arguelles decided not to kill himself, but fully expected that the guard would kill him. Shortly afterwards Luna was summoned to meet Aguinaldo, and never returned. On September 29, 1899, his sentence was declared null and void and he was reinstated in his former rank (P. I. R., 285. 3, and 2030. 2)."[1]

Colonel Arguelles has told me exactly the same story. For a time it seemed as if the views expressed by him might prevail.

[1] Taylor, 97 AJ.

"According to Felipe Buencamino and some others, the majority of the members of congress had been in favour of absolute independence until they saw the demoralization of the officers and soldiers which resulted in the American occupation of Malolos. In the middle of April, 1899, they remembered Arellano's advice, and all of the intelligent men in Aguinaldo's government, except Antonio Luna and the officers who had no desire to lay down their military rank, decided to accept the sovereignty of the United States. At about the same time copies of the proclamation issued by the American Commission in Manila reached them and still further influenced them toward the adoption of this purpose. By the time congress met in San Isidro on May 1, 1899, all of the members had accepted it except a few partisans of Mabini, then president of the council of government. At its first meeting the congress resolved to change the policy of war with the United States to one of peace, and this change of policy in congress led to the fall of Mabini and his succession by Paterno. The first act of the new council was the appointment of a commission headed by Felipe Buencamino which was to go to Manila and there negotiate with the American authorities for an honourable surrender."[1]

"Although Mabini had fallen from power, Luna and his powerful faction had still to be reckoned with. He was less moderate than Mabini, and had armed adherents, which Mabini did not, and when Paterno declared his policy of moderation and diplomacy he answered it on the day the new council of government was proclaimed by an order that all foreigners living in the Philippines except Chinese and Spaniards, should leave for Manila within forty-eight hours."[2]

Unfortunately Luna intercepted the Buencamino commission. Its head he kicked, cuffed and threatened with a revolver. One of its members was General Gregorio del Pilar. He was allowed to proceed, as he commanded a brigade of troops which might have deserted had he been badly treated, but Luna named three other men to go with him in place of those who had been originally appointed.[3] They were Gracio Gonzaga, Captain Zialcita, and Alberto Barretto. They reached Manila on May 19, 1899, and during their stay there had two long interviews with the commission.

They said that they had come, with larger powers than had been conferred on Arguelles, to discuss the possibility of peace, the form of ultimate government which might be proposed in future, and the attitude of the United States government toward needed reforms. Meanwhile, on May 4, we had laid before the President a plan of government informally discussed with Arguelles, and had received the following reply, authorizing, in substance, what we had suggested:—

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[1] Taylor, 97 AJ.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Nominally they were named by Aguinaldo.

"WASHINGTON, May 5, 1899, 10.20 P.M.

"SCHURMAN, MANILA:

"Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a governor-general, appointed by the President; cabinet, appointed by the governor-general; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; the governor-general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.

"HAY."[1]

Our proclamation of April 4, 1899, was also taken up at their request and was gone over minutely, sentence by sentence. We were asked to explain certain expressions which they did not fully understand. They told us that it would be hard for their army to lay down its arms when it had accomplished nothing, and asked if it could be taken into the service of the United States. We answered that some of the regiments might be taken over and employment on public works be found for the soldiers of others. We endeavoured to arrange for an interview with Aguinaldo, either going to meet him or assuring him safe conduct should he desire to confer with us at Manila. They left, promising to return in three weeks when they had had time to consider the matters under discussion, but they never came back.

Shortly thereafter there was an odd occurrence. Soon after our arrival we had learned that Mr. Schurman was a man of very variable opinions. He was rather readily convinced by plausible arguments, but sometimes very suddenly reversed his views on an important subject. At the outset Archbishop Nozaleda made a great impression upon him. The Archbishop was a thoroughgoing Spaniard of the old school, and entertained somewhat radical opinions as to what should be done to end the distressing situation which existed. After talking with him Mr. Schurman seemed to be convinced that we ought to adopt a stern and bloody policy, a conclusion to which Colonel Denby and I decidedly objected.

A little later he made a trip up the Pasig River with Admiral Dewey and others and had a chance to see something of the aftermath of war. It was not at all pretty. It never is. I was waiting for him with a carriage at the river landing on his return and had hard work to keep him away from the cable office. His feelings had undergone a complete revulsion. He insisted that if the American people knew what we were doing they would demand that the war be terminated immediately at any cost and by whatsoever means, and he wanted to tell them all about it at once. By the next morning, however, things fortunately looked rather differently to him.

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[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, part 1, p. 9.

Mr. Schurman acquired a working knowledge of the Spanish language with extraordinary promptness. Shortly thereafter Colonel Denby and I discovered that when Filipinos came to see the commission in order to impart information or to seek it, he was conferring with them privately and sending them away without our seeing them at all.

Soon after we had made our formal statement of the situation to the President, Mr. Schurman had an interview with an Englishman who had been living in Insurgent territory north of Manila, from which he had just been ejected, in accordance with Luna's order. This man told him all about the mistakes of the Americans and evidently greatly impressed him, for shortly thereafter he read to us at a commission meeting a draft of a proposed cablegram which he said he hoped we would approve. It would have stultified us, had we signed it, as it involved in effect the abandonment of the position we had so recently taken and a radical change in the policy we had recommended. Mr. Schurman told us that if we did not care to sign it, he would send it as an expression of his personal opinion. Colonel Denby asked him if his personal opinion differed from his official opinion, and received an affirmative reply. We declined to approve the proposed cablegram, whereupon he informed us that if his policy were adopted, he and General Aguinaldo would settle things without assistance from us, and that otherwise he would resign. He inquired whether we, too, would send a cable, and we told him certainly not, unless further information from us was requested. He sent his proposed message, in somewhat modified form, and received a prompt reply instructing him to submit it to the full commission and cable their views.

He did submit it to Colonel Denby and myself at a regularly called commission meeting, argued that in doing this he had obeyed the President's instructions, and vowed that he would not show it to General Otis. I showed it to the General myself, allowing him to believe that I did so with Mr. Schurman's approval, and thus avoided serious trouble, as he had been personally advised from Washington of the instructions to Mr. Schurman. The General then joined with Colonel Denby and myself in a cablegram setting forth our views, and so this incident ended.

Mr. Schurman did not resign, but thereafter we saw very little of him. He made a hasty trip to the Visayas and the Southern Islands

THE FAMOUS ZIG-ZAG ON THE BENGUET ROAD.

and sailed for the United States shortly after his return to Manila, being anxious to get back in time for the opening of the college year at Cornell.

Colonel Denby and I were instructed to remain at Manila, where we rendered such assistance as we could give, and continued to gather information relative to the situation, the country and the people. In this latter work we were given invaluable help by Jesuit priests, who prepared for us a comprehensive monograph embodying a very large amount of valuable information, and furnished us a series of new maps as well. The latter were subsequently published by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in the form of an Atlas of the Philippines.

Early in September we had a most interesting interview with Sr. José de Luzuriaga, a distinguished and patriotic Filipino from western Negros, where American sovereignty had been accepted without resistance. Up to that time it had been possible for the people of Negros to keep out Tagálog invaders. Sr. Luzuriaga assured us that so long as this condition continued, there would be no trouble, and he was quite right. Aguinaldo's agents eventually gained a foothold there for a short time, and did some mischief, but it did not result very seriously.

We felt an especial interest in this island, as General Otis had asked us carefully to study and to criticise a scheme for its government which had been drafted by General James F. Smith, who afterward became justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, secretary of public instruction and governor-general of the islands, and was then in command of the troops in Negros.

General Lawton arrived in the Philippines during our stay. His coming had been eagerly looked forward to by the army. He had sailed with the understanding that he was to be put in charge of field operations. While he was at sea, influences were brought to bear which changed this plan.

It is my firm conviction that if Lawton had been put in command, the war would have ended promptly. He was a wonderful man in the field. He possessed the faculty of instilling his own tremendous energy into his officers and men, whose privations and dangers he shared, thereby arousing an unfaltering loyalty which stood him in good stead in time of need. If there was fighting to be done, he promptly and thoroughly whipped everything in sight. He punished looting and disorder with a heavy hand, treated prisoners and noncombatants with the utmost kindness, and won the good-will of all Filipinos with whom he came in contact.

General MacArthur was always declaring that the Filipinos were a unit against us and that he could never get information from them.

General Lawton never lacked for such information as he needed, and constantly and successfully used the Filipinos themselves as messengers and for other purposes. I came to know him intimately, and learned to admire and love him as did all those who had that great privilege.

For some time I had charge of his spies. Never have men taken longer chances than did the faithful few who at this time furnished us with information as to events in Insurgent territory. Discovery meant prompt and cruel death. For a long time Major F. S. Bourns had performed the uncongenial task of directing the spies. He was then the chief health officer of Manila, and as all sorts of people were compelled to consult him on sanitary matters, visits to his office aroused no suspicion. He spoke Spanish, and this was imperatively necessary. Our spies simply would not communicate results through interpreters. The facts revealed by the Insurgent records show how right they were in refusing to do so.

Major Bourns eventually returned to the United States. His work was taken over by an army officer, with the result that two of our best men died very suddenly in that gentleman's back yard. As I spoke Spanish, and as all sorts of people came to see the commission, I was the logical candidate for this job, which I thereupon inherited.

Each morning, if there was news, I myself laboriously thumped out my notes on the typewriter, making an original and one copy. The copy I took at once to General Lawton. The original I took, later, to General Otis.

General Lawton was firmly convinced that most army officers were unfitted by their training to perform civil functions. He organized municipal governments with all possible promptness in the towns occupied by his troops, and in this work he requested my assistance, which I was of course glad to give. Sr. Felipe Calderon drafted a simple provisional scheme of municipal government which I submitted for criticism to that most distinguished and able of Filipinos, Sr. Cayetano Arellano.[1] When the final changes in it had been made, I accompanied General Lawton on a trip to try putting it into effect. We held elections and established municipal governments in a number of the towns just south of Manila, and in some of those along the Pasig River.

General Otis watched our operations and their results narrowly, and was sufficiently well pleased with the latter to order General Kobbé to follow a similar course in various towns on or near the railroad north of Manila. Kobbé did not profess to know much about municipal government, and asked me to go with him and help until he got the hang of the thing, which I did. Thus it happened that the first Philippine Commission had a sort of left-handed interest in the first municipal governments established in the islands under American rule.

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[1] Later chief justice of the Philippine Supreme Court.

General Lawton was the best friend I ever had in the United States Army. I saw him almost daily when he was in Manila, and he showed me the whole telegraphic correspondence which passed between him and General Otis on the subject of the withdrawal from San Isidro and Nueva Ecija, which was certainly one of the most ill advised moves that any military commander was ever compelled to make. General Lawton's unremitting attacks had absolutely demoralized the Insurgent force, and my information is that when he finally turned back, Aguinaldo and several members of his cabinet were waiting, ten miles away, to surrender to him when he next advanced, believing that they could never escape from him. I have not the telegraphic correspondence before me, but I remember its salient features. Otis ordered Lawton to withdraw, and Lawton, convinced of the inadvisability of the measure, objected. Otis replied that, with the rainy season coming on, he could neither provision him nor furnish him ammunition. Lawton answered that he had provisions enough to last three weeks and ammunition enough to finish the war, whereupon Otis peremptorily ordered him to withdraw. The Philippine Commission had no more to do with this matter than they had to do with the similar order against advancing which Otis sent Lawton on the day the latter won the Zapote River fight, when the Insurgents were running all over the Province of Cavite. Lawton wanted to push forward and clean the whole place up. The reply to his request to be allowed to do so ran, if memory serves me well, as follows:—

"Do nothing. You have accomplished all that was expected of you."

Later on, Lawton and his devoted officers and men had to duplicate the fierce campaign which had resulted in the taking of San Isidro. This made possible the movement that Lawton had had in mind in the first instance, which was made with the result that organized armed resistance to the authority of the United States promptly ceased in northern Luzón.

While on this subject I wish to record the fact that shortly after his return from the San Isidro campaign General Lawton asked me to accompany him on a visit to General Otis and act as a witness. I did so. In my presence Lawton said to Otis that if the latter would give him two regiments, would allow him to arm, equip and provision them to suit himself, and would turn him loose, he would stake his reputation as a soldier, and his position in the United States Army, on the claim that within sixty days he would end the insurrection and would deliver to General Otis one Emilio Aguinaldo, dead or alive. The general laughed at his offer. General Lawton asked me some day to make these facts public. As life is an uncertain thing, I deem it proper to do so now. Personally I am convinced that if his offer had been accepted he would have kept his promise.

On September 15, 1899, Colonel Denby and I sailed for the United States, having been recalled to Washington. Shortly after our arrival there the commission issued a brief preliminary report. The winter was spent in the preparation of our final report, which constituted a full and authoritative treatise on the islands, the people and their resources. Father José Algué, the distinguished head of the Philippine Weather Bureau, gave us invaluable assistance.

Our preliminary report, dated November 2, 1899, and the first volume of our final report, published on January 31, 1900, contained our observations and recommendations relative to poltical matters.

Mr. Schurman has been credited with saying in an address made on January 11, 1902: "Any decent kind of government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans." [1]

On November 2, 1900, he signed the following statement: [2]—

> "Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless, they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos cannot stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honour in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignity entails; and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

More than fourteen years' experience in governmental work in the Philippines has profoundly impressed me with the fundamental soundness of these conclusions of the first Philippine Commission. Every statement then made still holds true.

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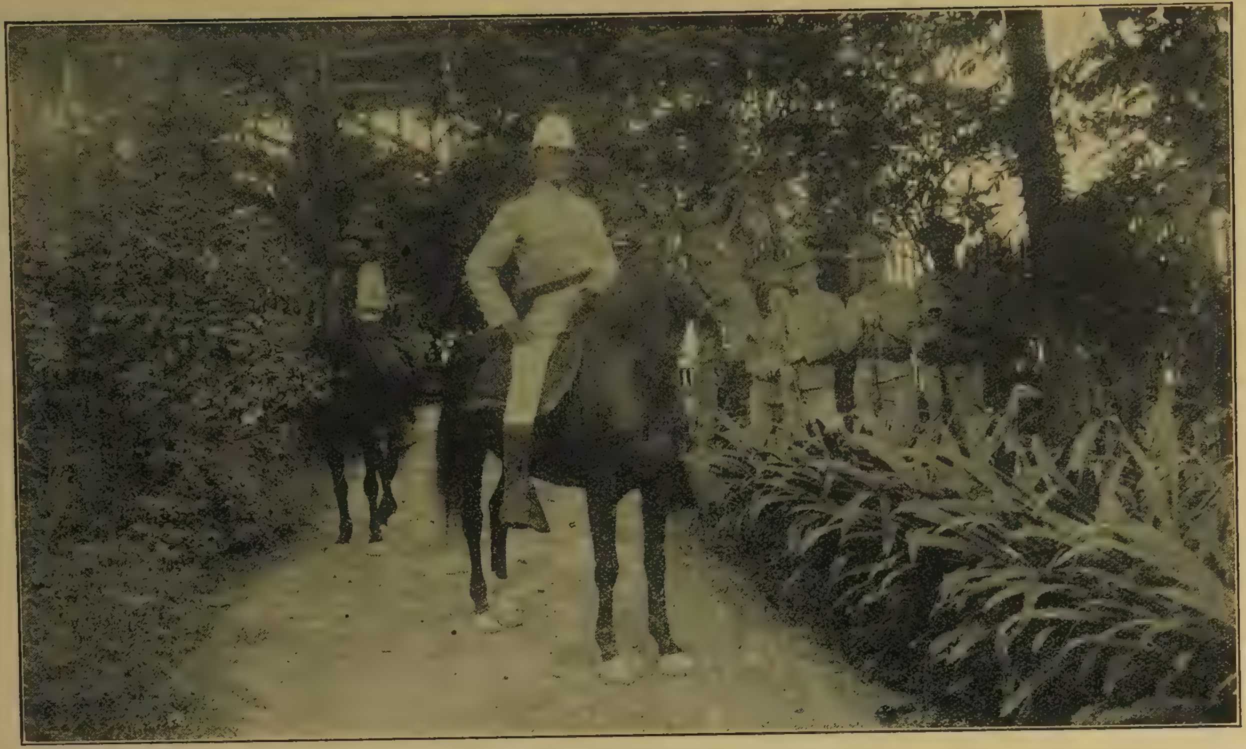
[1] Cornell Founders' Day Address, January 22, 1902.

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1900, part 1, p. 183.



Major General Henry W. Lawton.

This photograph was taken by the author at General Lawton's Manila residence, two months before his death.

CHAPTER XII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

THE first Philippine Commission did not complete its work until March, 1900. By this time conditions had so far improved in the archipelago that President McKinley was prepared to initiate a movement looking toward the establishment of civil government there. With this end in view he appointed the following commission of five civilians; William H. Taft of Ohio, Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Henry C. Ide of Vermont and Bernard Moses of California. Our appointments were dated March 16, 1900. Our instructions, which were full, are given in the appendix.[1] I was the only member of the first commission to be reappointed. Neither General Otis nor Admiral Dewey cared to serve, and indeed the professional duties of each of them rendered his appointment to the new commission difficult, if not impossible. Mr. Schurman had at one time expressed himself as vigorously opposed to the idea of a new commission, maintaining that the best results could be obtained by the appointment of a civil governor with wide powers. It was therefore taken for granted that he would not desire reappointment. Colonel Denby was keenly interested in the work and would have been glad to continue it, but he was past seventy and with his good wife had then spent some fifteen years in the Far East. He doubted whether his strength would be adequate to bear the strain of the arduous task which obviously lay before the new commission, and Mrs. Denby desired to remain in the United States where she could be near her children from whom she had been long separated, so her husband felt constrained to say that he did not wish to return to the Philippines.

I separated from him with the keenest regret. He was an amiable, tactful man of commanding ability and unimpeachable integrity, actuated by the best of motives and loyal to the highest ideals. He constantly sought to avoid not only evil but the appearance of evil. I count it one of the great privileges of my life to have been associated with him.

The second Philippine commission, hereinafter referred to as "the commission," received its instructions on April 7, 1900.[2] They covered a most delicate and complicated subject, namely, the gradual transfer of control from military to civil authority in a country extensive regions of which were still in open rebellion.

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[1] Appendix III.

[2] The instructions were actually prepared by the Secretary of War, the Hon. Elihu Root. See Forbes, I, p. 129.

In the opinion of President McKinley there was no reason why steps should not be taken, from time to time, to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory came under the permanent control of our troops, and indeed, as we have seen, this had already been done by the army. It was provided that we should continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil governments already commenced by the military authorities. In doing this we were to act as a board of which Mr. Taft was designated president. It was contemplated that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers would be gradual, and full and complete coöperation between these authorities was enjoined. Having familiarized ourselves with the conditions then prevailing in the islands, we were to devote our attention first to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives should be given the opportunity to manage their local affairs to the fullest extent and with the least supervision and control found to be practicable. We were then to consider the organization of larger administrative divisions, and when of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands was such that the central administration could safely be transferred from military to civil control were to report this conclusion to the secretary of war with our recommendations as to the form of central government which should be established.

Beginning with September 1, 1900, we were authorized to exercise, subject to the approval of the President and the secretary of war, the legislative power, which was then to be transferred from the military governor to us until the establishment of civil central government, or until Congress should otherwise provide. We were authorized during a like period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational, and civil service systems, and in the municipal and departmental governments, as were duly provided for. Until the complete transfer of control the military governor was to remain the chief executive head of the government and to exercise the executive authority previously possessed by him and not expressly assigned to the commission by the President in his instructions. In establishing municipal governments we were to take as the basis of our work those established by the military governor, under the order of August 8, 1899, which I had helped to set up, as well as those established under the report of a board constituted by the military governor by his order of January 29, 1900, of which Señor Cayetano Arellano was the president.

In the establishment of departmental or provincial governments we were to give special attention to the then-existing government of the island of Negros, established with the approval of the people of that island under the order of the military governor of July 22, 1899.

We were instructed to investigate troubles growing out of large land holdings, including those of the religious orders, and to promote, extend and improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities, giving first importance to the extension of a system of primary education free to all, which would tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. Instruction was to be given at first in the native dialects, but full opportunity for all of the people to acquire English was to be provided as soon as possible. If necessity demanded, we were authorized to make changes in the existing system of taxation and in the body of the laws under which the people were governed, although such changes were to be relegated to the civil government which we were to establish later, so far as might be. Our instructions contained the following important passages:—

"In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

"At the same time the commission should bear in mind, and the people of the islands should be made plainly to understand, that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar.

"It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed these inviolable rules:—

"That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offence, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed."

It has been the fashion in some quarters to sneer at the last of these paragraphs, and to insinuate, if not to charge, that President McKinley in his policy toward the Philippine Islands was actuated by unworthy motives. Nothing could be further from the truth. From the beginning to the end the real good of the several peoples of the archipelago came first with him, and no one who had the privilege of knowing him well doubts it. Thoroughly imbued with the lofty sentiments expressed by him in our instructions, we set forth on our long pilgrimage to a country where we were to undertake a heavy task essentially different from that which had ever before fallen to the lot of any five citizens of the United States.

On April 17, 1900, we sailed from San Francisco on the United States army transport *Hancock*. We were forty-five strong. Of this goodly company only four remain in the Philippines today,[1]—Mr. and Mrs. Branagan, Mrs. Worcester and myself. Singularly enough, with two exceptions, all of the others are still alive and at work. Arthur W. Ferguson, prince of interpreters, who was later appointed Executive Secretary, died in the service after more than six years of extraordinarily faithful and efficient work. James A. LeRoy, my faithful, able and efficient private secretary contracted tuberculosis, and fell a victim to it after a long and gallant fight.

At Tokio we had an audience with the Emperor and were received by the Empress as well. In the high official who had charge of the palace where these events took place, I discovered an old University of Michigan graduate who made the occasion especially pleasant for me.

We finally reached Manila on the morning of June 3. Although the thermometer was in the nineties, a certain frigidity pervaded the atmosphere on our arrival, which General MacArthur, the military governor, seemed to regard in the light of an intrusion.

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[1] September 15, 1913.

He had been directed to provide suitable office quarters for us. To our amazement and amusement we found desks for five commissioners and five private secretaries placed in one little room in the Ayuntamiento.[1] While it was possible to get through the room without scrambling over them, it would have been equally possible to circle it walking on them, without stepping on the floor. In the course of our first long official interview with the General, he informed us that we were "an injection into an otherwise normal situation."

He added that we had already mediatized the volume of work that flowed over his desk. At the moment none of us were quite sure what he meant, but we found the word in the dictionary. How often in the weary years that were to follow I wished that some one would materially mediatize the task which fell to my lot! It was General MacArthur's honestly held and frankly expressed opinion that what the Filipinos needed was "military government pinned to their backs for ten years with bayonets." He later changed that view very radically, and when civil provincial governments were finally established it was with his approval, and, in many instances, upon his specific recommendation.

At the outset some effort was made to keep the public away from us. Word was passed that we had no authority, which was true enough, as our legislative activities were not to begin until September 1. The ninety days which intervened were very advantageously spent in gaining familiarity with the situation, which we had no difficulty in doing. Plenty of people were already weary of military rule and flocked to us. None of my companions had ever before set foot in the Philippines, and although I had spent more than four years there, I still had plenty to learn.

In this connection I am reminded of an event which occurred somewhat later. While the commission was en route from Iloilo to Catbalogan when we were establishing civil provincial governments, General Hughes and Mr. Taft became involved in a somewhat animated discussion. The General displayed an accurate knowledge of facts which were of such a nature that one would hardly have expected an army officer to be familiar with them. Mr. Taft said: "General, how do you do it? You have always been a busy man, devoted to your profession. How have you managed to accumulate such a remarkable fund of information?" The General smiled his rare smile and replied: "Governor, I will tell you. I always try to go to bed at night knowing a little more than I did when I got up in the morning." It is a wise plan to follow.

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[1] The building where the offices of the executive departments of the insular government have been located since the American occupation. Since 1921 the offices of the Governor-General and the Vice-Governor have been housed in a handsome stone executive building constructed in the grounds of the Malacñang, the official residence of the Governor-General.

On September 1 we assumed the legislative power, our first official act being to appropriate $2,000,000 Mexican for the construction and repair of highways and bridges.[1] We were impressed with the fundamental necessity of promptly opening up lines of land communication in a country which almost completely lacked them, and there were many poor people in dire need of employment who would be relieved by the opportunity to earn an honest living which the inauguration of road construction would afford them.

Our second act appropriated $5000 Mexican for the purpose of making a survey to ascertain the most advantageous route for a railroad into the mountains of Benguet, where we wished to establish a much-needed health resort for the people of the archipelago.[2]

Seven days later we passed an act for the establishment and maintenance of an efficient and honest civil service in the Philippine Islands. This measure was of basic importance. We had stipulated before leaving Washington that no political appointees should be forced upon us under any circumstances. The members of the second commission, like their predecessors of the first, were firm in the belief that national politics should, if possible, be kept out of the administration of Philippine affairs, and we endeavoured to insure this result.

Our tenth act appropriated $1500 Mexican to be paid to the widow of Salvador Reyes, vice-president of Santa Cruz in Laguna Province, assassinated because of his loyalty to the established government.[3]

Our fifteenth act increased the monthly salaries of Filipino public school teachers in Manila.[4]

Our sixteenth and seventeenth acts reorganized the Forestry Bureau and the Mining Bureau.[5]

On October 15 we appropriated $1,000,000 United States currency, for improving the port of Manila, where there was urgent need of protection for shipping during the typhoon season.[6]

On December 12 we passed an act authorizing the establishment of local police in cities and towns in the Philippine Islands and appropriating $150,000 United States currency for their maintenance.[7]

Two days later we passed a much-needed act regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors within the city of Manila and its attached barrios.[8]

On December 21, we appropriated $75,000 United States currency for the construction of the Benguet Road, little dreaming how much time would elapse and how many more dollars would be appropriated, before a vehicle passed over.[1]

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[1] Act No. 1, Philippine Commission, September 12, 1900.

[2] Act No. 2, Philippine Commission, September 12, 1900.

[3] Act No. 10, October 3, 1900.

[4] Act No. 15, October 10, 1900.

[5] Acts No. 16 and 17, October 10, 1900.

[6] Act No. 22, October 15, 1900.

[7] Act No. 58, December 12, 1900.

[8] Act No. 59, December 14, 1900.

It will be sufficiently evident that I cannot here give an account of the several acts which we passed when I say that they numbered four hundred forty-nine during the first year. We created the administrative bureaus of a well-organized government, established civil rule in numerous municipalities and provinces, provided for the necessary expenses of government, organized courts and reformed the judiciary. So important were the results following the establishment of the Civil Service Act and the act providing for the organization of courts for the Philippine Islands that I have devoted a chapter to each.

Although there were no limits on our power to enact legislation other than those imposed by our instructions hereinbefore referred to, nothing was further from our desire than to exercise too arbitrarily the authority conferred upon us.

Taylor has correctly described our method of procedure in the following words:—

> "On September 1, 1900, the Commission began its legislative and executive duties. In performing them it adopted the policy of passing no laws, except in cases of emergency, without publishing them in the daily press, nor until after they had passed a second reading and the public had been given an opportunity to come before the Commission and suggest objections or amendments to the bills. Before enacting them they were submitted to the military governor for his consideration and comment."[2]

The other especially important events of our first legislative year were the establishment of civil rule in the municipalities as well as in thirty-eight provinces and the substitution of the military central government by the gradual creation of bureaus and the ultimate appointment of a civil governor and of five heads of executive departments.

On November 23, 1900, we passed an act providing for the establishment of a civil government in the province of Benguet, and thus it happened that a province practically all of whose inhabitants were members of a non-Christian tribe was the first to enjoy the benefits of civil rule.[3] This action grew out of investigations by General Wright and myself made when visiting Baguio during the latter part of July, which led us to the conclusion that civil government could be established in Benguet at any time and should be established as soon as possible. In view of the rather primitive state of civilization of the people for whom we were legislating, a special act adapted to local conditions was passed providing for a provincial government and fixing a form of government for the several settlements.

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[1] Act No. 61, December 21, 1900.

[2] Taylor, 18 HS.

[3] Act No. 48, Philippine Commission, November 22, 1900; and Act No. 49, November 23, 1900.

On January 31, 1901, we passed an act for the organization of municipal governments in the Philippine Islands [1] which, with various amendments, is still in effect and has been made applicable to all municipal corporations of the Philippines inhabited chiefly by Filipinos, except the city of Manila, the city of Baguio and a few small settlements in the so-called special government provinces.[2]

On February 6, 1901, we passed a general act for the organization of provincial governments in the Philippine Islands.[3] A special act was required to make it applicable to any given province.

Having thus prepared for the serious work of establishing civil government throughout the archipelago so fast and so far as conditions might seem to justify, we determined to visit the several provinces and to familiarize ourselves with conditions on the ground in each case before taking action. We invariably sought the opinion of the military authorities as to the fitness of the provinces under consideration for civil rule, and never established it except with their approval. Indeed, in several cases we yielded to their judgment and organized provinces which we ourselves thought might better wait for a time.

Our first trip was to the northward along the line of the Manila-Dagupan railway, and in the course of it we organized the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac and Pangasinán.

On the 2d of March we crossed Manila Bay to Bataan and established a civil provincial government there.

The first provincial officers were necessarily appointed, not elected. I well remember the consternation which Mr. Taft created on this trip, when in announcing the appointment of a man of strong character who was much disliked by some of the people present, he said that if the appointee did not behave well his official head would be promptly removed. Surprise showed on almost every face in the audience. They had become sufficiently accustomed to the idea of being beheaded or otherwise sent out of the world by their own people, but had been led to believe that the Americans were a humane nation, and it took Mr. Taft at least five minutes to explain his joke.

During the second week in March the commission transferred its offices bodily to the United States Army Transport *Summer* and started on a long journey in the course of which it visited and established provincial governments in eighteen provinces,[4] returning to Manila on the 3d of May.

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[1] Act No. 82, Philippine Commission, January 31, 1900.

[2] This name is applied to certain provinces organized under special acts because the majority of their inhabitants are non-Christians.

[3] Act No. 83, Philippine Commission, February 6, 1901.

[4] Tayabas, Romblon, Masbate, Iloilo, Antique, Capiz, Cebú, Bohol, Occidental Negros, Oriental Negros, Leyte, Albay, Ambos Camarines, Sorsogon, Marinduque, Batangas, Surigao and Misamis.

A Typical Baguio Road.

The roads in Baguio were originally built with money obtained from the sale of lots. Some insular government funds have been expended in surfacing them.

This trip was most interesting but dreadfully wearing. Everywhere we were overwhelmed by the hospitality of our Filipino friends. We arrived at some new place nearly every morning, and the programme in each was much the same. After an early breakfast we hurried ashore, drove or walked about for a short time to see what the town was like, and then attended a popular meeting in its largest building, where we held long and frank converse with the people on local conditions, giving them every opportunity to air their views, with the result that the local orators, of whom there were usually more than a sufficiency, had an opportunity to bring their heavy guns into action. Then followed a recess in the course of which we partook of a very elaborate lunch, and when possible conferred privately with influential men, often learning things which they did not care to tell us in public. Then came another open meeting at which the actual organization of the province was effected and the officials were appointed and sworn in. After this there was a long formal dinner, with the endless courses which characterize such functions in the Philippines, and then came a ball which lasted till the wee small hours. When at last we got on board, tired out, our steamer sailed, and often brought us to some new place by sunrise.

In several instances we did not pass the act organizing a given province at the time of our visit, but for one reason or another postponed action until a later date. We visited a number of places like Joló, Basilan, Zamboanga, Cotabato, Davao and Samar, where we had no intention of establishing civil government, in order to observe local conditions.

We touched at Marinduque on our trip south, and found that nothing could then be done there, but the better element were anxious for a change, and we promised them that if they would bring about certain specified results before our return we would give them a provincial government. They undertook to do so, and kept their word. Needless to say we also kept ours.

We had grave doubts as to the advisability of establishing civil governments in Cebú, Bohol and Batangas. In the first of these places the people were sullen and ugly. In the second there was a marked disinclination on the part of leading citizens to accept public office. There had been a little scattering rifle fire on the outskirts of the capital of the third very shortly before our arrival there, but the organization of all these provinces was recommended by the military authorities, and we decided to try an experiment which could do little harm, as we could return any one of them to military control in short order should such a course seem necessary.

An effort has been made to make it appear that in organizing Cebú, Bohol and Batangas, we acted prematurely and upon our own initiative thus complicating the situation for the military authorities.

I submit the essential portions of the record to show exactly the position of General MacArthur upon this matter.

On February 5, 1901, Governor Taft wrote General MacArthur a letter closing with the following paragraph:—

> "As already communicated to you the purpose of the Commission is to make a Southern trip on the 23rd of February, or as soon thereafter as practicable, with the idea of arranging for provincial governments there, and I am directed by the Commission to request your opinion as to the provinces in which provincial governments may be safely established. It is understood that Panay, Romblon, Tayabas, and possibly one or two of the Camarines are ready for this. What has been said with reference to the Northern provinces applies to these, but we shall communicate with you further as to the Southern provinces when we have been advised as to the possibility of securing a steamer."

On February 9, General MacArthur gave the following instructions to the Commanding General, Department of the Visayas:—

> "The Military Governor desires that you report to this office at the earliest date practicable the provinces in your department that may be considered ready for the establishment of civil governments therein and in this connection directs me to say that it should not be considered as necessary that complete pacification has been brought about in a province before reporting it as ready for such government; that the provincial civil governments to be established will doubtless prove useful agents in the further work of pacification."

On February 27, that officer reported that in his opinion Iloilo, Capiz, Oriental Negros and Occidental Negros were ready; that Antique might be in a few days, and that Cebú, Bohol and Leyte were not. These facts were reported to Governor Taft by General MacArthur on March 4, and on the same day Lieutenant-Colonel Crowder wrote to the commanding general of the Visayas:—

> "The Military Governor directs me to say that he regards the initiation of provincial civil government as an aid in the work of pacification, in which view it is not necessary that a province should be completely pacified as a condition to the initiation of such government. He has expressed to the Commission the opinion that you may be able, upon their arrival at Iloilo, to submit a supplementary list of provinces in which it would be advisable to establish at once these governments."

Meanwhile General MacArthur wrote on February 13, to Governor Taft:—

"In partial reply to your letter of the 5th instant I have the honor to inform you that the Commanding General, Department of Southern Luzón, reports but one province, Tayabas, as ready at the present time for civil government. I add the provinces of Laguna, Batangas and Cavite, believing that the institution of civil government in all these provinces will be in assistance of the military authorities in the work of pacification."

General MacArthur's communications seem to me to show something more than "a mere soldierly acquiescence in the will of Mr. McKinley," especially as the President had no knowledge of these provinces, and never made any recommendation whatsoever relative to the establishment of civil government there.

Similarly, in establishing civil government in Cebú and Bohol, the commission acted on the specific recommendation of the military, and rather against its own judgment. There seemed no very good reason for refusing to try civil government, if the commanding general wanted it tried, and when it failed, as it promptly did, in Cebú, Bohol and Batangas, these provinces were immediately returned to the full control of the military, and left there until conditions became satisfactory.

Having escaped the perils of the deep, and the much graver perils of the dinner table, during our southern trip, we returned to Manila, wearier, wiser and sadder men than when we started, for we had learned much of the superstitions, the ignorance and the obsessions which prevailed among the Filipinos, and we knew that many of the men who from love of country had accepted office under us had done so at the peril of their lives. We had all had an excellent opportunity to come to know the Filipinos. Their dignity of bearing, their courtesy, their friendly hospitality, their love of imposing functions, and of *fiestas* and display, their childishness and irresponsibility in many matters, their passion for gambling, for litigation and for political intrigue, even the loves and the hatreds of some of them, had been spread before us like an open book. It is a fact that except for the inhabitants of Cebú, Bohol and Batangas, the people wanted what we had to give them and were grateful for it. Never before had they had their day in court, and they appreciated it.

The establishment of civil government throughout so large a proportion of the provinces in the islands would have been impossible at this time had it not been for the helpful activities of the Federal Party organized on December 23, 1900, by many of the best and most influential Filipinos in the archipelago for the purpose of aiding in the establishment of peace and order.[1] Its members were tireless in their activities. They succeeded in persuading many Insurgent leaders to lay down their arms, so that a normal condition could be restored in territory which the latter had previously harried. They convinced many of the common people of the true purposes of the American government, and in numerous other ways rendered invaluable services.

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[1] For a history of the organization and purposes of the Federal Party, see T. H. Pardo de Tavera, "A History of the Federal Party," in *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, app. A; also Kalaw, p. 269, *et seq.;* and Forbes, II, ch. xviii.

The officers and many of the members and agents of this party were promptly sentenced to death by Aguinaldo, and many of them were assassinated,[1] but the party persisted in its efforts until success was attained.

During June of 1901 Professor Moses and I made a horseback trip through Pangasinán, La Union, Benguet, Lepanto and Ilocos Sur, accompanied by our private secretaries. Professor Moses was in wretched health as the result of overwork and confinement, and needed out-of-door exercise. I had been intrusted with the drafting of legislation for the government of the non-Christian tribes, and wanted to learn as much about them as possible, so that I could act intelligently.

We started from Dagupan mounted on horses kindly furnished us by the army, and escorted by four mounted infantrymen. None of us had ridden for years, and army officers were offering wagers that we would not get as far as Baguio. At Mangaldan a cavalry outfit replaced our mounted infantrymen, and while the members of our new escort were resting under the shade of a tree in the cemetery, I heard them voicing joyful anticipations of the easy time they were to have travelling with tenderfeet. I made up my mind to give them some healthful exercise on the trip.

Having first visited the work at the lower end of the Benguet Road and then travelled across country in a driving storm over wretched trails, we reached Bauáng, our point of departure for the interior. Here I called the sergeant in charge and asked him where the extra shoes for our horses were. In some confusion he confessed that he had brought none, whereupon I read him a homily on the duties of a cavalryman, and sent the whole outfit to San Fernando to get the horses reshod and provided with extra shoes for the trip.

We arrived at Baguio in a howling typhoon. When we emerged from the hills into the open, and our horses got the full sweep of the storm, they at first refused to face it. We forced them into it, however, and a few moments later had found refuge in the house of Mr. Otto Scheerer, a hospitable German. The cavalrymen and the horses got in under the building. It gave me great joy to hear through the floor the voice of the sergeant remarking, with much emphasis of the sort best represented in print by dashes, that if he had known the sort of a trip he was starting on he would have been on sick report the morning of his departure.

We waited in vain three days for the storm to end and then rode on. Mr. Scheerer, who accompanied us, had sent ahead to arrange for lunch at the house of a rich Igorot named Acop, but when we arrived at this man's place, soaked, cold, and hungry, we found it shut up. He had not received the message and was away from home. Investigation showed that our only resource in the commissary line were some wads of sticky, unsalted, boiled rice which our Igorot carriers had inside their hats, in contact with their frowsy hair! We ate as much of this as the Igorots could spare, killing its rather high flavour with cayenne peppers picked beside the trail, and continued our journey. In descending a steep hill my horse stumbled and while attempting to recover himself drove a sharp stone into his hoof and turned a complete somersault, throwing me over his head on to the rocks. When I got him up he was dead lame, and I walked the rest of the way to Ambuklao, where we arrived just at sunset.

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[1] For further details see pp. 237, 241, *supra*.

This once prosperous little Igorot hamlet had been burned by the Spaniards, for no apparent reason, during their flight from the province in 1906, and we found only two houses standing. They were naturally crowded. I was so dead with fatigue that I threw my saddle on the ground, and using it as a pillow, lay down in a couple of inches of water and fell sound asleep. Later the Igorots vacated one of the houses, and placed it at our disposal. I spent the greater part of the night in a contest with an old Igorot woman, who for the commendable purpose of keeping us warm tended a smoky pitch-pine fire, and shut the door, which afforded our only means of ventilation, every time I dropped asleep. Awakened by the stifling smoke I would open it again, but as soon as I dozed she would shut it. I finally solved the problem by lying down with my head sticking out of the door.

The next day was bright and clear. We rested until noon, drying out our belongings meanwhile, and then continued our journey, visiting the Igorot settlements on the Agno River and those in southern Lepanto and finally reaching Cervantes, the capital of that sub-province. The Igorots of Benguet and Lepanto received us with the utmost friendliness, and when not in danger of breaking our necks by falling over the edges of the wretched trails, we greatly enjoyed our trip.

At Cervantes we were met by a delegation of Bontoc Igorots, who begged us to visit their country, and we were just preparing to do so when we received a telegram recalling us to Manila to be present at the inauguration of Mr. Taft as civil governor. During our absence the commission had established provincial governments in Rizal, Cavite and Nueva Ecija. Mr. Taft was inaugurated on July 4, 1901. Thenceforth he exercised control over the provinces where civil government had been established, while the military governor continued in charge of each of the remaining provinces until it was duly organized and transferred to civil control.

In August, 1901, the commission sailed on a tour of the remaining northern provinces, visiting La Union, Ilocos Sur, Abra, Ilocos Norte, Cagayan, Isabela and Zambales in the order named, and establishing a government in each. On the trip to Abra those members of the commission not previously accustomed to roughing it in the islands were given a novel experience, for we went up the Abra River on bamboo rafts. However, a veritable ship of state had been prepared for Governor Taft, and no one suffered any great discomfort.

At Vigan, the capital of Ilocos, we narrowly escaped drowning in the surf when returning to our steamer. For a time our good *viray*[1] with some twenty oarsmen was unable to make headway through the rolling waves. It broached to, nearly filled with water, and struck the bottom heavily several times. Some of the men quit rowing and began to pray, whereupon General J. F. Bell, who was sitting in the stern, rose to his feet, and shouted at them until they became more afraid of him than of the sea, and pulled for dear life until we were out of danger. Upon arrival at the ship we watched with interest the progress of other boats through the surf, and were alarmed to see the men in one madly divesting themselves of their clothing. When it finally came alongside its occupants made flying leaps for the gangway, and we discovered that a great hole had been knocked in its bottom, and that raincoats, ordinary coats, and trousers had been jammed into this opening in order to keep the rapidly sinking craft afloat for a few moments.

In the Cagayan valley we had a taste of real tropical heat. Never have I seen a man suffer more than did Mr. Taft at Ilagan on the day when we established a provincial government for Isabela, and the night that followed still lingers in my memory. The air was suffocating. My bed was in a corner. I dragged it out between a window and a door and threw both wide open. Still I could not sleep. Slipping off my pajamas, I seated myself on the broad window sill. The heat was intolerable. I poured water over myself and resumed my seat in the window. The water would not evaporate. I sat there until morning, as I could not endure the heat lying down.

Such conditions are unknown throughout the greater part of the archipelago, where cool sea breezes temper the heat at all times. In the Cagayan valley an immense plain is bordered by ranges of high mountains to the east and the west. They seem to shut off both monsoons to a considerable extent, and there very trying heat is by no means unusual.

On September 1, 1901, the first day of the second year of actual service of the commission, a complete central civil government was established. Commissioner Wright was appointed secretary of commerce and police Commissioner Ide, secretary of finance and justice; Com-

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[1] A native surf boat.

One of the First Benguet Government Cottages.

missioner Moses, secretary of public instruction, and I myself secretary of the interior. The commission was strengthened by the addition of three Filipino members: Señor Benito Legarda, Señor José R. de Luzuriaga, and Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, all of whom were men of exceptional ability and had rendered distinguished service in the establishment of peace and order.

Except for the addition of one more Filipino on July 6, 1908, the organization of the commission has remained unchanged up to the present time,[1] although there have been numerous changes in its personnel. The task which lay before it was to enact a code of laws adapted to the peculiar conditions existing in the Philippines, and this was indeed a herculean undertaking. Its members laboured unremittingly. Governor Taft and General Wright were towers of strength in the early days. The rest of us did what we could, and I, for one, am very proud of the result. Certainly no one can ever claim that the commission was not industrious. Before it finally ceased to be the legislative body of the islands it had passed some eighteen hundred acts. Obviously, as it is not my purpose to write an encyclopedia of law, I cannot discuss them in detail, and must content myself with here barely mentioning a few of the more important results obtained, leaving the more detailed discussion of some of them for later chapters.

In general, it may be said that the additional bureaus necessary for the work of the Insular government were created, and given proper powers. Civil government was gradually extended to the entire archipelago.[2] The criminal code was amended and supplemented by the passage of new laws. The administration of justice was reorganized and reformed.[3] An efficient native insular police force was organized, and an admirable state of public order brought about.[4] The health service was extended to the provinces, and health conditions were greatly improved throughout the islands.[5] Baguio was made accessible and became both the summer capital and a health resort for the people of the islands.[6] The scientific work of the government was coordinated, and efficiency and economy in its performance were insured.[7]

Primary and secondary schools were established throughout the islands, supplemented by trade schools, and a normal school at Manila.[8] Legislation was enacted, and submitted to the President and to Congress, covering the disposition of public lands.[9] The purchase of extensive estates belonging to certain religious orders, and the sale of their holdings therein to tenants, was provided for.[10] Fairly adequate legislation for the protection and development of the forest resources of the islands was enacted.[11] Means of communication by land and sea were greatly improved, and the development of commerce was thus stimulated.[1]

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[1] September 15, 1913.

[2] See Chapters XXI–XXIV.

[3] Chap. XV.

[4] Chap. XIV.

[5] Chap. XVI.

[6] Chap. XVII.

[7] Chap. XVIII.

[8] Chap. XIX.

[9] Chap. XXIX.

[10] Chap. XXIX.

[11] Chap. XXX.

It is a noteworthy fact that all of these things were done with a per capita taxation of about $1.35.[2]

Another fundamentally important aid to the commercial development of the islands was afforded by a radical reformation of the currency.[3]

The islands under the sovereignty of Spain had their own distinct silver coinage in peso, media peso, peseta and media peseta pieces.

In 1878 the Spanish government, hoping to check the heavy exportation of gold currency from the Philippines, passed a law prohibiting the importation of Mexican dollars, but allowed the Mexican dollars then in the islands to continue to circulate as legal tender.

When the American troops arrived, there were in circulation the Spanish-Philippine peso and subsidiary silver coins; Spanish pesos of different mintings; Mexican pesos of different mintings; Hongkong dollars, fractional silver coins from different Chinese countries, and copper coins from nearly every country in the Orient. Although a law had been passed prohibiting the introduction of Mexican dollars into the islands, they were being constantly smuggled in. Fluctuations in the price of silver affected the value of the silver coins, and the money in common use was in reality a commodity, worth on any given day what one could get for it. These conditions affected most disastrously the business interests of the islands. Merchants were forced to allow very wide margins in commercial transactions, because they did not know what their goods would actually cost them in local currency upon arrival. The most important business of the local banks was in reality that of exchange brokers and note shavers. They hammered the exchange rate down and bought silver, then boosted the rate skyward and sold.

The American army brought in a large amount of gold, but this did not remain in circulation long, as it was exported by the different business concerns, or hoarded.

United States silver money had a limited circulation during the early days of American occupation, but it passed at less than its true value. An effort was made under the military administration to keep the ratio of exchange at two to one by the purchase from the public of all United States currency offered at that rate to the banks.

For a long time the banks refused to carry private accounts in United States currency, but when it was offered for deposit it was changed into Mexican with a heavy charge for the transaction, and an account opened in Mexican currency to the credit of the depositor. If the depositor afterward desired to get United States currency, he gave a check for it at the then existing rate of exchange. Such conditions were intolerable, and the commission passed an act making it an offence to refuse to accept for deposit the currency of the sovereign power, but this did not remedy the fundamental difficulty. There came a heavy slump in the price of silver. The Insular government lost a very large sum because of the decrease in value of its silver coin.

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[1] Chap. XXXI.

[2] The per capita taxation in 1907 was $1.32; in 1908, $1.41. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, p. 45.) In 1913 it was $1.37. (Forbes, I, p. 262.) The average for 1923–1927 was $3.55. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 193.)

[3] An excellent account of the reform of the Philippine currency system is given in Forbes, I, pp. 272–277.

Mr. Charles A. Conant had been brought from the United States to make a report on the feasibility of providing an American coinage for the islands.[1] He recommended that the unit of value should be a peso, equivalent to fifty cents United States currency. Congress, by an act passed July 1, 1902,[2] vested general authority over the coinage in the Philippine government, but the commission decided not to take action until more specific authority could be obtained from Congress, as the proposed reform was radical, and it was very important that the new currency should at the outset command the confidence so essential to its success.[3]

After long discussion, Congress authorized, by an act passed March 2, 1903,[4] a new currency system based on a theoretical peso of 12.9 grains of gold 900 fine, equivalent to one-half of a United States gold dollar. The circulating medium was to be the Philippine silver peso, which was to be legal tender for all debts, public and private, and its value was to be maintained on a parity with the theoretical gold peso. For this purpose the creation of a gold standard, or gold reserve fund, was provided for, and this fund was to be maintained and could be used for no other purpose.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in introducing the new currency into the islands. The banks at first failed to give any assistance to the government. The business men of Manila, and especially the Chinese, discounted the new Philippine peso, because it did not contain as much silver as did the Mexican dollar. They were quickly brought to time, and given to understand where they stood if they discredited the currency of the country.

The Spanish Philippine coins and the Mexican coins in circulation were collected by the treasury and exported to the San Francisco mint, where they were reminted into new coins of the weight and fineness prescribed by law.

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[1] The commission also received expert assistance from Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks, who had just made an extensive investigation into economic conditions in the English and Dutch colonies in the Orient. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, part II, pp. 699–707.)

[2] *An Act Temporarily to Provide For the Administration of the Affairs of Civil Government in the Philippine Islands, and For Other Purposes.* Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, Secs. 76–83. Cited hereafter as *Organic Act*, 1902.

[3] Resolution adopted by the Philippine Commission, September 30, 1902. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, part 2, p. 706.)

[4] *An Act to Establish a Standard of Value and to Provide for a Coinage System in the Philippine Islands.* Act of Congress approved March 2, 1903. See *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 281–290 for an account of the establishment of the new system. Professor E. W. Kemmerer assisted the Commission in this undertaking.

The establishment of a gold standard fund to maintain the parity between the gold and silver dollar was quickly effected by the sale of exchange on the United States in accordance with the established law, at a cost estimated to be the same as the transportation of the gold coin itself. The army, by direction of the secretary of war, ceased to pay in United States money, and its paymasters were given credit at the Insular Treasury, where they obtained the necessary funds in Philippine currency.

The government also authorized, in addition to the coinage of silver, the issuance of paper money in two, five, and ten peso notes. All of the coins and bills were readily interchangeable with the United States coins in common use, the dollar being worth two pesos, the half dollar one peso, the twenty-five cent piece a half peso, the ten-cent piece a peseta, the five-cent piece a media peseta and the cent two centavos.

Unfortunately the silver value of the new peso was such that when the price of silver again rose, its bullion value was greater than its money value, and in consequence coins of this denomination were hoarded and exported. It proved necessary to prohibit their exportation, and to issue new coins of less bullion value, but this was the only really serious difficulty attending a fundamental reform which put the currency on a sound basis. The original pesos were recoined and a handsome profit made on the transaction.

No one who has not lived in a country where the circulating medium is constantly fluctuating in value can fully appreciate the enormous benefit conferred on the Philippine Islands by this important reform.

Another reform of far-reaching importance was the readjustment of the burden of taxation so that it should bear lightly on the necessities of life, and heavily on its luxuries. This was a complete reversal of the scheme which we found in force, under which wheat flour and kerosene oil paid very heavy import duties while cigars and champagne were lightly taxed.

We imposed export taxes on certain products of the country. Such taxes are objected to by many political economists, but were approved of by the Filipinos, who strongly opposed the imposition of a logical and very necessary personal tax to provide funds for the construction and maintenance of highways and bridges. It is usually wise, when practicable, to obtain funds for necessary governmental purposes by the imposition of taxes which are willingly paid.

Mr. Taft resigned the governorship of the Philippines to become secretary of war, his resignation taking effect January 31, 1904. He

Typical Cottages at Baguio.

Cottages of this type are used by officers of the government.

had performed a monumental work for the Filipinos, and for humanity at large, during his years of service in the islands, and carried with him the good will of most of the people whom he had so faithfully, efficiently and self-sacrificingly served. He had at one time very gravely impaired his health by hard work, and when the opportunity came to satisfy a lifelong ambition by accepting appointment as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he had passed it by, in order to perform his duty to the people of the Philippine Islands. As secretary of war, and as President of the United States, he availed himself of every opportunity which these high offices afforded to help the Filipinos, and to increase the prosperity of their country. They have had no better friend, and no other friend whom they have ever had has been so useful to them. One more proof of his real greatness is afforded by the fact that to-day, after being reviled by many Filipino politicians whom he befriended, who have succeeded to a large degree in making the common people of the Philippines consider him their enemy, his interest in the people of the Islands is as keen, and his eagerness to help them is as great, as in the early days when they acclaimed him their deliverer.

General Luke E. Wright, a democrat of Memphis, Tennessee, was appointed by President Roosevelt civil governor in Mr. Taft's place. He rendered his country and the Filipinos most distinguished service. It is one thing to build up a great government, with numerous political appointments at one's disposal, and another to stand by and keep it running smoothly and efficiently, when a lot of disappointed politicians, who have seen their last hope of political preferment go a-glimmering, are throwing sand into the bearings of the machine. This latter class had begun to plot against Governor Taft before his resignation took effect, but their machinations were rendered fruitless by the wave of regret raised by his coming departure.

They now devoted themselves, with a good deal of success, to injuring Governor Wright, who declined to be dictated to, in the matter of appointments, by the Federal Party, and aroused the ire of many politicians by occasionally telling the Filipinos unpalatable but wholesome and necessary truths relative to their fitness for immediate independence.

General Wright, whose title had been changed from governor to governor-general on February 6, 1905, went on leave during the latter part of that year, fully expecting to return and resume his work in the Philippines, but the islands were not to see him again. He resigned, effective April 1, 1906, to become United States Ambassador to Japan. In my opinion, the acceptance of his resignation at this time was one of the gravest mistakes ever made in the Philippine policy of the United States. The islands were deprived of the services of a very able and distinguished man, thoroughly conversant with their needs, who had the courage of his convictions, and whose convictions were thoroughly sound.

Certain Filipino politicians openly boasted that they had secured his removal, and they and their ilk were encouraged to put forth new and pernicious efforts.[1] Had General Wright returned to the islands much of the political unrest from which they have since suffered would have been avoided. He was beloved by his associates. who felt a sense of personal loss when they learned that the places which had known him in the Philippines would know him no more.

He was succeeded for the brief period of five and a half months by Judge Henry C. Ide, vice-governor and secretary of finance and justice, who had performed his duties while he was on leave. Judge Ide was a republican, from Vermont. He resigned on September 19, 1906.

He was succeeded by General James F. Smith, a democrat from California, who had come to the islands as a colonel of volunteers, and had won promotion because of his valuable services in the Visayas, and more especially in the island of Negros, where he had earned the good will of the Filipinos by his tact and kindness. Later he had served, unwillingly, as head of the Manila custom house.

He was subsequently made a justice of the supreme court of the Philippines. A lawyer by profession, he had resigned this position with regret to accept appointment, on January 1, 1903, as secretary of public instruction. He did not desire the governor-generalship and made a strong but unsuccessful effort to avoid accepting the position, which he finally took from a sense of duty. He was a good lawyer, with a big heart, and a keen insight into human nature. He thoroughly understood the Filipinos, and he made an excellent governor-general. It was during his term of office that the Philippine Legislature, composed of an upper appointive house, the Philippine Commission, and a lower elective house, the Philippine Assembly, met for the first time on October 16, 1907.

I devote a separate chapter [2] to the Philippine Legislature and its work, so need not discuss it here. Suffice it to say that such success as attended the work of this body during its inaugural, first and special sessions, was very largely due to the tactful influence of Governor-General Smith, who gave the speaker of the assembly much valuable, friendly counsel, and kept the two houses working in comparative harmony. Having struggled through one session of the legislature, Governor-General Smith felt at liberty to resign. He greatly desired to leave the Philippine government service and return to the practice of his profession. His resignation was reluctantly accepted, about a year after he had tendered it, and he left the service on November 10, 1909.

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[1] Former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes has stated that the cabal against Governor-General Wright was engineered by influential Filipinos interested in distilleries and tobacco factories who had resented his active support of a law imposing heavier taxation upon manufactured tobacco and alcoholic liquors. (Forbes, I, p. 169.)

[2] Chapter XXVI.

He was succeeded by Vice-Governor W. Cameron Forbes, a republican from Massachusetts,[1] who had accepted appointment as secretary of commerce and police on June 15, 1904. A man of independent means, Mr. Forbes entered the public service only because of the opportunity for greater usefulness which was thus afforded him. He brought to bear on the problems which confronted him as secretary of commerce and police intelligence and ability of a very high order. Wide practical experience in the management of large business interests had admirably fitted him to improve the organization and increase the efficiency of the insular police force, and to mature and carry out plans for bettering means of communication and otherwise facilitating and stimulating the normal, healthful commercial development of the islands. I have devoted several chapters to the discussion of the results accomplished along these lines and will not attempt here to enumerate them.

Like all of his predecessors, Mr. Forbes brought to the office of governor-general mature experience gained on the ground, having been in the service more than five years at the time of his promotion. As governor-general, he not only retained his keen interest in the large problems which had previously engaged his attention, and laboured unceasingly and most successfully in the performance of the duties of his new office, but took an especial interest in the development of the summer capital, and in the work for the non-Christian peoples of the islands, devoting a much greater amount of time and attention to familiarizing himself with the needs of this portion of the population than had ever previously been given to it by any governor-general. He visited the Moros and the Bukidnons in the south, and the Negritos, the Benguet Igorots, the Lepanto Igorots, the Bontoc Igorots, the Ilongots, the Ifugaos, the Kalingas, and both the wild and the civilized Tingians, in the north, repeatedly inspecting the several sub-provinces of the Mountain Province.

Through his generosity in making proper grounds available, public interest in outdoor sports was greatly stimulated at Manila and at Baguio, while his own participation in polo, baseball and golf was a good example to Americans and Filipinos alike, in a country where vigorous outdoor exercise is very necessary to the physical development of the young and the preservation of the health of the mature. He was a true friend of the Filipinos, whom he genuinely liked and was always ready to assist. His personal influence was a powerful factor in the success of the very important work carried on at the Philippine Normal School and the Philippine Training School for Nurses.

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[1] Writing in 1928, Mr. Forbes stated: "Governor-General Forbes was appointed to the Commission, and to be Vice-Governor by President Roosevelt. He was appointed Governor-General by President Taft. Neither of these ever inquired as to his politics. As a matter of fact, while he had never had any sympathy with most of the policies of the Democratic Party, he had never joined the Republican Party because of difference of opinion as to its tariff policies." (Forbes, II, p. 200, n. 1.)

During his term of office the prosperity of the islands increased by leaps and bounds, public order became better than ever before in their history, and the efficiency of the civil service reached its maximum. No other governor-general ever drew so heavily on his private means in promoting the public good, and it was the irony of fate that he should have been accused, by certain irresponsible anti-imperialists, of using his public office to promote his private interests. Near the end of his administration grossly and absurdly false charges were made against him on the floor of the House by Representative William A. Jones. As their falsity has been conclusively and finally shown,[1] I will not here lend importance to them by repeating them. No official has ever given any country a cleaner administration than Governor-General Forbes gave the Philippines.

It was his fortune to be in office at the time of the change in the national administration of the United States. After continuing to serve for months with no sign from Washington as to whether his resignation was desired, he was advised by the chief of the bureau of insular affairs that the appointment of Mr. Francis Burton Harrison, a Tammany Hall democrat, as his successor had been sent to the Senate, and three days after its confirmation received a curt request for his resignation to be effected in a week and a day. He was also requested to employ servants for Mr. Harrison. Spaniards who read on the public streets newspapers which printed this message were seen to tear them up and stamp on the pieces! Our Spanish friends are accustomed to expect courtesy in connection with the removal of faithful and efficient public servants.

All other governors-general had taken the oath of office at Manila. Mr. Harrison took it at Washington on September 2, 1913. He is the first American governor of the islands who has entered upon his high duties without previous experience in the country which he is to govern, and he has as yet displayed little inclination to profit by the experience of either Filipino or American administrative insular officials of high rank. It is too soon to discuss any feature of his administration other than his attitude toward the civil service, which I take up elsewhere,[2] and I can only express the hope that when he has gained that knowledge which can come only through personal observation on the ground, he will grow to be a wise, strong, conservative official.

The establishment of civil government in the Philippine Islands under American rule was a gradual evolution up to the time of the

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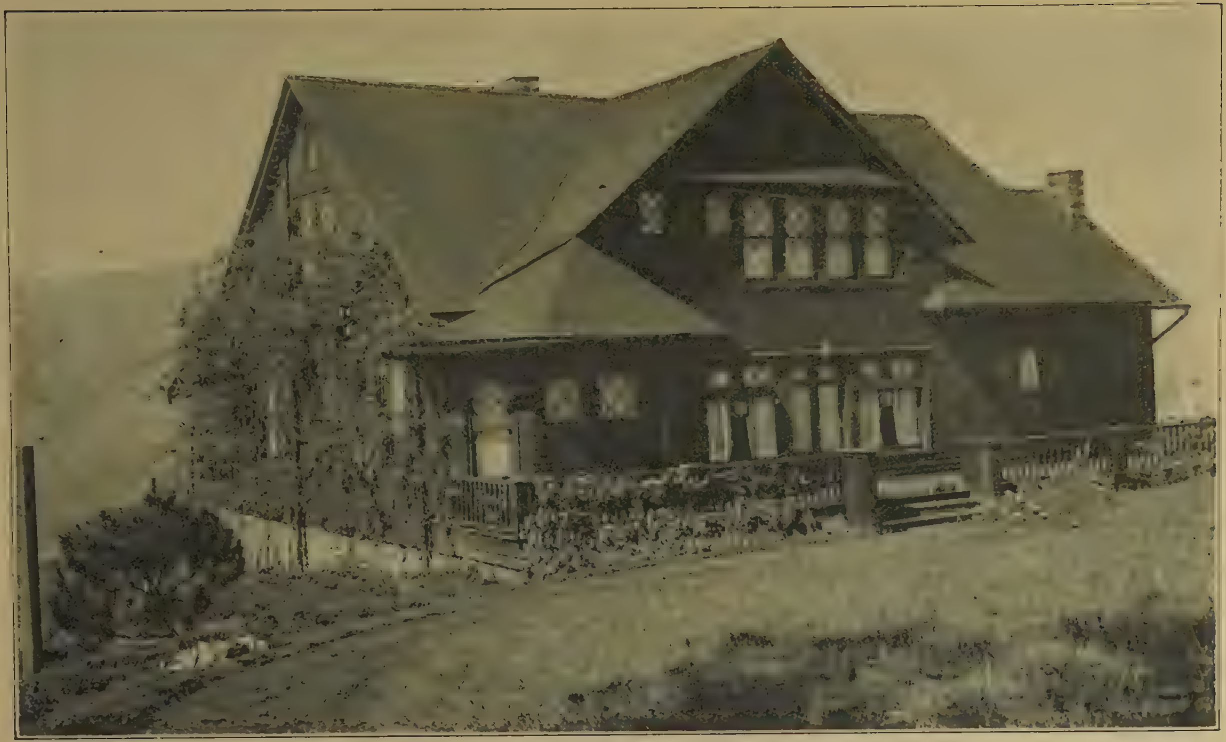
[1] *Reply to Jones* (pamphlet), Manila, 1913. Reproduced, in part, in Forbes, II, pp. 190–195.

[2] See p. 697, *et seq.*



A Baguio Home.

This is the residence of the author. Note the rose bushes climbing up to the second story.

assumption of control by Governor-General Harrison. I shall not attempt to follow in detail all of its successive stages, but in closing this chapter will endeavour briefly to summarize the results obtained up to that time.

The Philippines now have two delegates to the Congress of the United States appointed by the legislature in accordance with the provision of Section 8 of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902. Both are Filipinos.

The ranking executive officials of the insular government are a governor-general, a secretary of the interior, a secretary of finance and justice, a secretary of commerce and police and a secretary of public instruction. All of these officers are appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. The secretary of finance and justice is a Filipino; the other secretaries of departments are Americans.

There is a legislature composed of two houses known respectively as the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. The Philippine Commission is composed of nine members; five are the governor-general and the four secretaries of department *ex officio,* and four are appointed by the President subject to confirmation by the Senate. Four of the members are Filipinos and five are Americans.[1]

The Philippine Assembly is composed of eighty-one elected members, all of whom are Filipinos. They represent thirty-four of the thirty-nine provinces into which the archipelago is divided. The two houses of the legislature have equal powers. Neither has any special privilege in the matter of initiating legislation, and affirmative action by both is required in order to pass it. The Moro Province, the Mountain Province and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Agusan are not represented in the assembly, nor are they subject to the jurisdiction of the Philippine Legislature. The Philippine Commission alone has legislative jurisdiction over them, their population being largely composed of Moros, or members of other non-Christian tribes.

The provinces may be divided into regularly organized provinces governed under the provincial government act, and specially organized provinces, which include the Moro Province, the Mountain Province and the provinces of Mindoro, Palawan, Agusan and Nueva Vizcaya, of which the first is governed under a special law and the remaining four are governed under a different one known as "The Special Provincial Government Act."

Regularly organized provinces have a governor and a treasurer. The governor is elected, and the treasurer is appointed by the governor-general with the approval of the commission. These two officials, with another known as the third member, constitute a provincial board. The third member is elected. As the Filipinos usually elect to office men from among their own people, practically all of the elective provincial officers are Filipinos, as are ten of the appointive officers, it having been the policy to appoint Filipinos whenever possible.

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[1] Under the new régime these figures have been reversed. For a brief description of the government established under the Jones Law, see p. 733, *et seq.*

Regularly organized provinces are divided into municipalities which elect their own officers and control their own affairs for the most part. Provincial treasurers have intervention in municipal expenditures, which are approved in advance for each fiscal year, and municipal officers may be removed for misconduct by the governor-general.

All officers of the six special government provinces are appointed by the governor-general with the approval of the commission.

There are four regularly organized municipalities in these provinces, but the remainder of their territory is divided into townships, which elect their own officers, except their secretary-treasurers, who are appointed by the provincial governor; and into *rancherias* or settlements, with all of their officials appointed by the provincial governor. This latter form of local government is confined to the more primitive wild people.

The judiciary is independent. The details of its organization will be found in Chapter XV. Three of the seven justices of the supreme court, including the chief justice, are Filipinos, as are approximately half of the judges of the courts of first instance and practically all justices of the peace.

At the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, 71 per cent of the employees in the classified civil service of the islands were Filipinos painstakingly trained for the positions to which they had been appointed. Prior to the American occupation, the Filipinos had practically no intervention in the government of their country.

The changes introduced in the twelve years since the establishment of civil government are of a sweeping and radical nature. For reasons hereinafter fully set forth, I believe they have been somewhat too sweeping, and too radical. At all events, it is now certainly the part of wisdom carefully to analyze their results before going further.[1]

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[1] A book written by an anti-imperialist which is still valuable in study of the early years of the American occupation is H. Parker Willis, *Our Philippine Problem*, New York, 1905; Daniel R. Williams, *The Odyssey of the Philippine Commission*, Chicago, 1913, gives a most interesting contemporary account of the actual establishment of civil government in the provinces; *The United States and the Philippines*, by the same author, an important book written from the "imperialist" standpoint, has several chapters on this period.

CHAPTER XIII

The Philippine Civil Service

Before the Philippine Commission left Washington, a clear understanding was reached with the President and secretary of war to the effect that no political appointee whatsoever should under any circumstances be forced upon us. After arrival at Manila early attention was given to the drafting of a civil service act by Mr. Taft, who was fortunate in having the assistance of Mr. Frank M. Kiggins, chief of the examining division of the United States Civil Service Commission. The passage of this act [1] and its strict enforcement led to very favourable comment in the United States. In his first annual message President Roosevelt said:—

> "It is important to have this system obtain at home, but it is even more important to have it rigidly applied in our insular possessions. . . .
>
> "The merit system is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government, and in the long run the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient."

Secretary Root also gave us his fullest support, calling attention to the fact that the law which we had passed was of a very advanced type, and that under such circumstances as confronted us, the securing of the best men available should outweigh, and indeed practically exclude, all other considerations.

Our action met with the unqualified approval of organizations which especially interest themselves in the maintenance of clean and efficient public service, such as the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civil Service Reform Association [2] and the National Civil Service Reform League, whose committee on civil service in dependencies spoke in very high terms of existing conditions in the Philippines.[3]

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[1] Act No. 5, Philippine Commission, September 19, 1900.

[2] "The merit sysetm has received renewed support from President Roosevelt in his administration, and by the extension of civil service throughout the nation, as well as in our new possessions. The Philippine service is reported to be very satisfactory, and efforts are being made for the extension and larger development of regulations in Porto Rico."

[3] "From the President down, every official charged with a duty touching the government of our dependencies is imbued with a profound sense of duty, and adequate realization of the situation and the imperative necessity of an unselfish, patriotic execution of the laws and regulations in the interest of the highest welfare of the inhabitants of the dependencies. With this state of affairs, the establishment of the merit system in them on an enduring basis should follow as a matter of course. It will be the aim of this Committee to aid in every possible way in extending and improving the system, and to that end to give to the whole subject careful and detailed study."

In its first annual report the Civil Service Board called attention to some of the more important provisions of the Act in the following words:—

"Competitive examinations must, whenever practicable, be held for original entrance to the service, and promotions of employees must also be based upon competitive examinations, in which the previous experience and efficiency of employees shall be given due consideration. The examinations for entrance to the service must be held in the United States and in the Philippine Islands, and applicants are required to be tested in both English and Spanish.

"Disloyalty to the United States of America as the supreme authority in the Islands is made a complete disqualification for holding office, and every applicant for admission to the service must, before being admitted to examination, take the oath of loyalty. By an amendment to the Civil Service Act on January 26, 1901, it is further declared that all persons in arms against the authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, and all persons aiding or abetting them, on the first day of April, 1901, shall be ineligible to hold office.

"A minimum age limit of eighteen years and a maximum age limit of forty years are fixed for those who enter the lowest grades in the service. This avoids the difficulty and embarrassment that would result from the admission of men advanced in years to positions where the duties can be better performed by younger and more energetic persons.

"The Board is given authority to investigate matters relative to the enforcement of the act and the rules, and is empowered to administer oaths, to summon witnesses, and to require the production of office books and records in making such investigations. Without such a provision it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to conduct satisfactory investigations, but with the authority conferred by the act, the Board can make a rigid inquiry into the facts of every case arising under the act and the rules.

"The act provides for the ultimate classification of all positions in the service, from laborers to heads of bureaus and offices, and the Board may, in its discretion, determine the efficiency of those now in the service as well as those who may enter hereafter through its examinations. This authority will enable the Board to ascertain the fitness of all employees so that only the most competent will be retained in the service.

"As a check upon the illegal payment of salaries the act provides that whenever the Board finds that a person has been appointed in violation of its provisions or of the rules of the Board, and so certifies to the disbursing and auditing officers, such payments shall be illegal, and if payment is continued the disbursing officer shall not receive credit for the same and the auditing officer who authorizes the payment shall be liable on his official bond for the loss to the government."

In its third annual report the Civil Service Board mentioned the following among its distinctive duties:—

> "All appointments to classified positions are required to be made on a form prescribed by the Board, and the Board's attestation is required in each case before the Civil Governor or Secretary of Department will approve the appointment and before the disbursing officer will pay any salary.
>
> "The papers in all cases of reduction, removal and enforced resignation are required to be submitted to the Board for recommendation before transmission to the Civil Governor or Secretary of Department for final action.
>
> "The Board is required to keep a record of all unclassified as well as classified employees in the Philippine civil service, showing among other things date of appointment, original position and salary, place of employment, all changes in status and grade, and all accrued and sick leave granted.
>
> "From its service records the Board is required to compile annually, for publication on January 1, a roster of the officers and employees under the Philippine Government.
>
> "Applications from employees, classified and unclassified, for accrued and sick leave for more than two days must be made on a form prescribed by the Board and forwarded to it for verification of service record and previous leave granted and for recommendation before final action is taken by the Civil Governor or Secretary of Department."[1]

These extracts from official reports clearly show that the act was indeed of a very advanced type, and if honestly enforced would of necessity lead to the establishment and maintenance of "an efficient and honest civil service," for which purpose it was enacted.

In 1905 the insular government dispensed with boards as administrative agencies,[2] and in accordance with this general policy, a bureau of civil service with a director at its head was substituted for the Civil Service Board, thus securing greater administrative efficiency and increased economy.

At first the Civil Service Act applied to comparatively few positions, as only a few bureaus and offices had been created, but as the government was organized and grew, the different bureaus and offices were placed in the classified service, the acts organizing them leaving in the unclassified service positions to which in the judgment of the commission the examination requirements of the act should not apply. Ultimately these requirements were made applicable to the treasurers of all municipalities and to all positions, including teachers, in the executive and judicial branches of the central government, the provincial governments, and the governments of the cities of Manila and Baguio, except a few specifically excepted by law, which for the most part are unclassified or exempt in almost all governments, national, state and municipal, having civil service laws. None of the states of the Union has such a widely extended classification of its civil service.

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[1] "Third Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board," *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1903, part 1, p. 431.

[2] A general reorganization of the administrative machinery of the government occurred in 1905.

With the exception of the positions specifically placed in the unclassified service by law and of appointments made by the Philippine Commission, all positions in the Philippine civil service are classified and must be filled by appointees who have passed civil service examinations. Neither the governor-general nor the Bureau of Civil Service can, by the promulgation of civil service rules, or in any other manner whatever, transfer any position from the classified to the unclassified service or except from examination any position in the classified service. Under most of the civil service laws of the United States the President or the governor of the state has authority to transfer positions from the non-classified or exempted class to the competitive classified civil service or *vice versa,* these powers sometimes leading to manipulation of the civil service rules for political purposes.

In the Philippines, where emergencies, such as cholera epidemics, sometimes lead to the employment of large bodies of temporary employees without examination, when the emergency has passed the temporary employees have always been discharged; and no employee has ever received classification without examination on account of temporary service. This is in marked contrast to the practice in the United States, where large bodies of employees taken on for temporary service due to emergencies, such as the war with Spain, are not infrequently blanketed into the classified service without examination.[1]

In its last annual report the board recommended that a number of official positions in the unclassified service be placed in the classified service, and gave as a reason therefor that such action would "add to the attractiveness of the classified service by increasing the opportunities therein for promotion to responsible positions." This recommendation was adopted by providing that all vacancies in the positions of heads and assistant heads of bureaus or offices and of superintendents shall be filled by promotion, with or without examination, in the discretion of the civil governor or proper head of a department, of persons in the classified civil service, if competent persons are found therein.

This provision is an important and distinguishing feature of the

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[1] In this connection the Wood-Forbes Report (*Report of the Special Mission to the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War.* House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d. Session, Washington, 1922) states: "Again, the legislature has passed laws tending to demoralize and introduce into the civil service the infection of politics. For example, numerous exceptions from the requirements of the civil service and many provisions for temporary employment. All these defects can—and unless we fail to understand the spirit of the legislature and the leaders—will be corrected in the islands." (*Wood-Forbes Report,* p. 23.)

The Baguio Hospital.

This hospital, built on a picturesque site in the midst of imposing mountain scenery, where it gets the full sweep of the cool pine-scented breezes, has done wonderful work. Note the tuberculosis cottages on the crest of the ridge.

Philippine Civil Service Act. The federal civil service has none comparable with it. It is of special value in that it induces young men of exceptional ability and training to enter the lower grades, for they have the certainty that faithful and efficient work will in the end earn for them the highest positions.

On February 25, 1909, the director of civil service made the following statement with respect to the observance of the law:—

> "A careful study of Act 5 and all acts amendatory thereof will show that there has been no change in the policy adopted by the Commission at the ouset to extend the classified service as widely as possible and to fill by promotion all the higher positions so far as practicable. The provision requiring the higher positions to be filled by promotion so far as practicable has always been regarded by the Philippine Commission, by this Bureau, and by others interested in obtaining the best possible government service in the Philippines as one of the most important provisions of the Civil Service Act. It has been faithfully observed by all Governors-General. . . . With the exception of the positions of Governor-General and Secretaries of Departments, the Philippine Civil Service Act requires the highest positions in the executive civil service, namely, chiefs and assistant chiefs of Bureaus and Offices, to be filled by promotion from the entire service in all cases except when in the opinion of the appointing power there is no person competent and available who possesses the qualifications required, and this provision has been faithfully observed heretofore."

The enforcement of the law by the commission has received the following commendation from the executive committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:—

> "We have further to note with satisfaction the course of the Philippine Commission, by which, if it be persevered in, the merit system will be established in the Islands of that archipelago at least as thoroughly and consistently as in any department of government, Federal, State, or Municipal, in the Union. This must be, in any case, regarded as a gratifying recognition of sound principles of administration on the part of the Commission, and justifies the hope that, within the limits of their jurisdiction at least, no repetition of the scandals of post-bellum days will be tolerated."

Up to the time of the appointment of Governor-General Harrison the provisions of the Civil Service Act and rules were firmly supported by all of the governors-general and secretaries of departments, and the annual reports of the governor-general uniformly expressed satisfaction with their practical operation. Mr. Taft was always an enthusiastic supporter of the merit system.

Governor-General Forbes in his inaugural address made the following statements:—

> "It is necessary that the civil service should be rigidly maintained and its rules carefully observed. One very distinguished Filipino has recently been appointed to administrative control of one of the most important departments of the Government, equal in rank to any executive position in the Islands with the exception of the Executive head. In the executive branch of the Government, the Filipinization of the service must steadily continue. As vacancies occur Filipinos will be gradually substituted for Americans as rapidly as can be done without positive detriment to the service. At the same time, care will be taken to provide a suitable career for honest and capable Americans who have come out here in good faith. They should know that during good behavior and efficient performance of their duty they are secure in their positions, and that when they desire to return to the United States an effort will be made to place them in the civil service at home.
>
> "I want no better men than the present officers and employees of the Government, Americans and Filipinos. They compare favorably with any set of men I have ever seen both as regards ability and fidelity to duty."

Under the operation of the Civil Service Act the proportion of Filipinos employed has increased from 49 per cent, in 1903, to 71 per cent in 1913.[1] For the first few years after the establishment of the government large numbers of Americans were appointed, as there were comparatively few Filipino candidates with the necessary educational qualifications. During the last two years, 89 per cent of the persons appointed in the islands have been Filipinos.

There has been a great increase in the number of Filipinos entering the civil service examinations in English. Ten years ago 97 per cent of those examined took their examinations in Spanish, while during last year 89 per cent of those examined took examinations in English, the total number so examined being 7755. Almost all appointees for ordinary clerical work are now Filipinos, but the supply of bookkeepers, stenographers, civil engineers, physicians, veterinarians, surveyors, chemists, bacteriologists, agriculturists, horticulturists, constabulary officers, nurses, electricians, mechanical engineers, and other scientific employees is still insufficient to meet the demands of the service. Only one Filipino has passed the stenographer examination in English since the organization of the government, and it is necessary each year to bring many American stenographers from the United States. A few

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[1] In 1923 the percentage of Americans in the government, including school teachers, was 5.9 per cent; in 1924, 3.4 per cent; and in 1925, 3.1 per cent. The percentage of Americans, not including school teachers, was only 1.5 in 1925. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1926, p. 26.) In 1927 a little more than 2.4 per cent of the 19,649 regular and permanent civil service employees were Americans, while of the temporary personnel,

Filipinos pass each year the junior stenographer examination and are able to fill some of the positions which would formerly have required the appointment of Americans.[1]

The salaries paid to executive officials, chiefs of bureaus and offices, chief clerks and chiefs of divisions equal in many instances those paid to officials occupying similar positions in the service of the United States government. In the legislative branch the speaker receives $8000 per annum. Members of the Philippine Commission without portfolios receive $7500 per annum. Members of the Philippine Assembly receive $15

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numbering 6,597, less than 1.9 per cent were Americans. (*Statistical Year Book*, 1927, p. 77.)

The following table from the *Report of the Director of the Civil Service*, 1927 (p. 34), gives the numerical proportions between Filipinos and Americans in the civil service, and the salaries paid to the two classes, respectively:

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER AND SALARIES OF REGULARLY AND PERMANENTLY APPOINTED AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS IN THE SERVICE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE FISCAL YEARS INDICATED

Year	Officers and employees			Salaries paid	
	Americans	Filipinos	Total	Americans	Filipinos
				Pesos	*Pesos*
1903	2,777	2,697	5,474	7,236,700	2,189,376
1904	3,228	3,377	6,605	8,663,720	2,932,834
1905	3,307	4,023	7,330	8,942,424	3,309,738
1907 [a]	2,616	3,902	6,518	7,869,242	3,234,494
1908	2,479	4,080	7,559	7,749,236	3,686,855
1909	2,659	4,397	7,056	8,576,962	4,018,988
1910	2,633	4,639	7,272	8,755,486	4,296,896
1911	2,633	4,981	7,614	8,954,834	4,668,825
1912	2,680	6,033	8,713	9,247,124	5,468,175
1913	2,623	6,363	8,986	9,244,642	5,831,372
1914 [b]	2,430	6,791	9,221	8,677,402	6,328,816
1914 [c]	2,148	7,283	9,431	7,758,041	6,957,279
1915	1,935	7,881	9,816	7,156,580	7,787,740
1916	1,730	8,725	10,455	6,376,828	8,428,484
1917	1,310	9,859	11,169	4,803,616	9,561,455
1918	948	10,866	11,814	3,709,962	11,374,371
1919	760	12,047	12,807	3,005,363	13,037,104
1920	582	12,561	13,143	2,372,316	14,297,002
1921	614	13,240	13,854	2,545,551	15,749,946
1922	604	13,726	14,330	2,556,933	16,386,350
1923	562	14,167	14,729	2,366,730	17,267,475
1924	526	15,212	15,738	2,192,002	19,017,237
1925	506	16,339	16,845	2,139,987	20,480,923
1926	462	17,756	18,218	2,004,318	22,558,214
1927 [d]	484	19,165	19,649	2,045,366	24,445,660

[a] No data for 1906. [b] January. [c] July. [d] December 31.

Proper deductions have been made in these figures for persons counted more than once by reason of holding more than one position.

[1] In 1927 the Hon. Eugene A. Gilmore, Acting-Governor-General, made the following statement with reference to the civil service: There were 484 Americans and 19,165 Filipinos permanently employed in the civil service on December 31, 1927, as against 462 Americans and 17,756 Filipinos the year previous. The increase in Americans is accounted for by the appointment of additional teachers in the bureau of education and additional American officers in the constabulary. The appointment of Americans in the Philippine civil service, except for teachers of secondary English and a few persons with special technical qualifications and experience, has practically ceased. The fact that over 11,000 applicants took civil service examinations in English and only 44 in Spanish is an indication of the continually increasing use of the English language. There has been considerable agitation for the enactment of a civil service pension law and such a bill passed the legislature during the last session. It was necessary to veto this bill, however, as its provisions were manifestly unsound, financially." (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 23.) Under existing laws (1929) provision is made for pension systems in the constabulary, the public school system, and the public health service.

a day for each day in which the assembly is in session. In the executive branch secretaries of departments receive $15,500 per annum each, including $5000 received by them as members of the Philippine Commission. The executive secretary receives $9000 per annum. The salaries of other bureau chiefs range from $2500 per annum to $7500. The justices of the Philippine Supreme Court receive $10,000 per annum. Judges of courts of first instance receive from $4500 to $5500.[1]

The following extracts from an article by the chairman of the Philippine Civil Service Board give information with respect to salaries in the Philippine Islands, as compared with salaries paid in surrounding British and Dutch colonies:—

> "The salaries paid officials in all branches of the service of the Straits Settlements are generally lower than those paid in the Philippine civil service. In this connection, however, it is only just to state that the population and extent of the territory under British control, and the expenses of living, are less than in the Philippines, while the difficulty of the problems to be solved is not so great. The salaries paid to natives who fill the lower grade positions in the civil service of the Philippine Islands are three and four times as great as the salaries paid to natives in similar classes of work in the civil service of the British Malay colonies.

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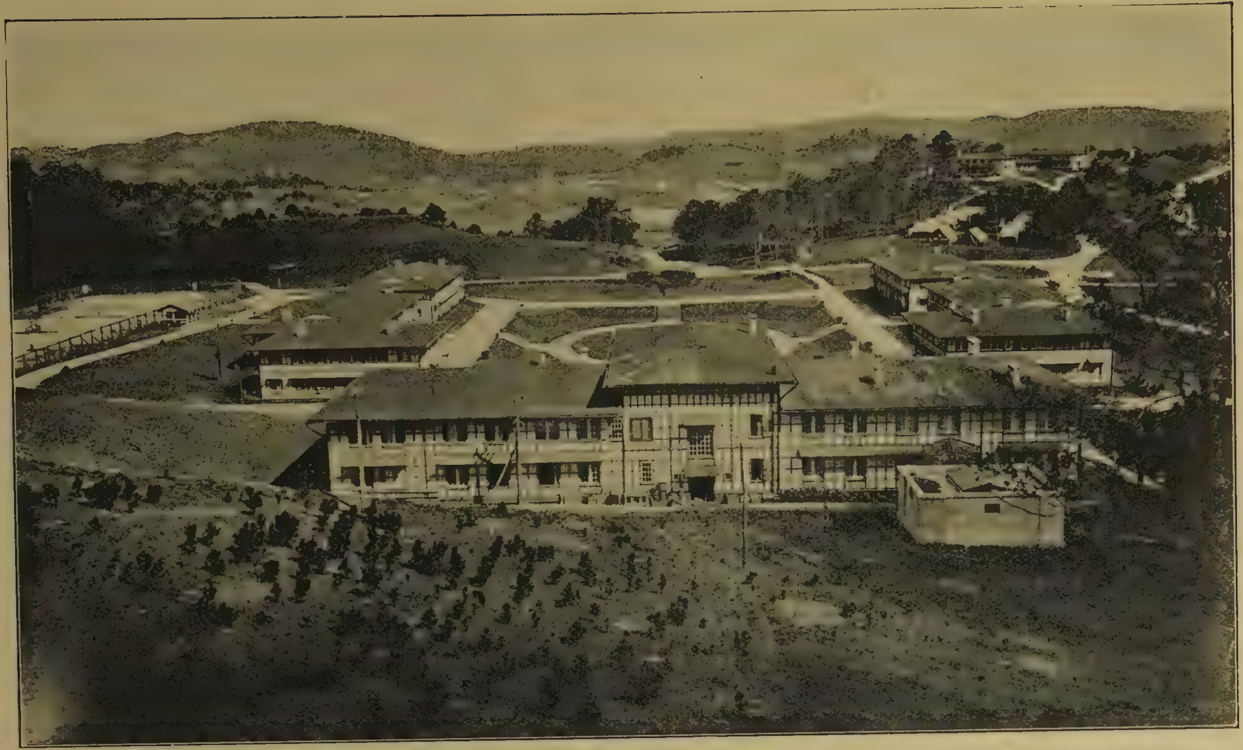
[1] It was the policy of the government during the Harrison régime to reduce the salaries of the higher officials of the civil service. A horizontal cut was made in 1914, and further reductions followed. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1914, p. 13.) In some instances the reductions had the practical effect of forcing Americans out of the service. The Jones Act fixed the annual salaries of those officials appointed by the President of the United States, with the confirmation of the Senate, as follows: governor-general, $18,000, with the occupancy of an official residence; vice-governor, $10,000; chief justice of the supreme court, $8,000; associate justices of the supreme court, $7,500; auditor, $6,000; deputy auditor, $3,000. (Section 29, Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916.) In 1928 the salary of the chief justice was increased to $10,500, and those of the associate justices to $10,000 per annum. (Public Act No. 614, 70th Congress, approved May 29, 1928.) For a number of years the auditor has received an additional remuneration of $4,000 for services performed for the Philippine National Bank.

The salaries which are under the control of the Philippine Legislature have been arranged on a scale which is intended to be in accordance with Filipino needs and standards, not those of American officials resident in the islands. The secretaries who head the executive departments receive $6,000 per annum; the under-secretaries, $3,750; bureau chiefs, and officials such as the public welfare commissioner, in most instances $3,600; the chiefs of divisions within the bureaus, $2,500; the judges of the courts of first instance, from $4,000 to $5,000; the attorney general, $5,500; the solicitor general, $4,000. In instances where it seems desirable to obtain, or retain, the services of an American as the chief of a bureau, this official is usually paid the normal salary for the position, plus an additional sum stipulated in a special contract. In the cases of the Directors of Education, Forestry, Public Works, and the Bureau of Science this additional remuneration brings the total salary up to $6,000. This was the average salary of the bureau chiefs, most of whom were Americans, prior to 1914.

In 1917, the first year in which the legislature consisted of two elective, all-Filipino chambers, the total expense of the legislature was $480,098.30. In 1928 $959,106.50 was appropriated for the expenses of this part of the government. (Act No. 3459, Philippine Legislature, December 7, 1928.) See Forbes, II, 267–271, for a discussion of the salary question.

Under the present law legislative annual salaries are as follows: President of the Senate, $8,000; each senator, $4,100; Speaker of the House of Representatives, $8,000; each representative, $3,600. (Act No. 3270, Philippine Legislature, August 11, 1926.) Provision is made in the appropriation act for 1929 for: a secretary, a private secretary, and an assistant private secretary to the President of the Senate; a clerk for each senator at a salary not to exceed $900; supplies, materials, postage, etc., $175 per Senator; a secretary and a private secretary to the Speaker; a clerk for each representative at a salary not to exceed $600; supplies, materials, postage, etc., $125 per representative. (Act No. 3459, Philippine Legislature, December 7, 1928.)



Government Centre at Baguio.

"A study of the colonial civil service of the Dutch in the islands of Java and Madura gives us somewhat different results. . . .

"The matter of salaries is peculiarly interesting. The comparison made above of the compensations received by the high officials in the civil service of the English colonies and by those in the Philippines does not hold good when applied to the Dutch in Java. In fact, the salary of the Governor-General of Java is somewhat remarkable in contrast with that of the Civil Governor of the Philippines. As is well known, the latter receives $20,000, while the salary of the Governor-General of Java amounts to 132,000 gulden or something over $53,000. The American official is given, in addition, free transportation on all official investigations and free use of the governor's palace, but not the cost of maintenance. On the other hand, the Dutch governor is granted 51,000 gulden (about $21,500) as personal and household expenses and travel pay.

"The general secretary of the government receives 24,000 gulden ($9648), as compared with the executive secretary of the Philippine government, whose salary is $7500.[1] The seven heads of departments in the Javanese service each receive a like compensation of 24,000 gulden. The Raad, or Council, of the Dutch colonial government is composed of a vice-president and four members—the former receiving about $14,500, the latter slightly over $11,500 each. In the Philippine government the executive functions of heads of departments are exercised by four members of the legislative body, each of whom receives $10,500 for his executive services and $5000 for his legislative duties. Without going further into detail, the conclusion is evident that all officials of high rank are much better paid in the Dutch service. When a comparison is made between the chief clerks and other office employees of middle grades—not natives—the salaries are seen to be about the same in the two countries.

"All natives in positions of lower grades, however, in the Philippine Islands fare better than their Malay brethren, either in the Straits Settlements or in the East Indies."—(*Second Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board,* pp. 60, 61.)

"Difference in salaries for subordinate positions in the British and Dutch colonial services and the Philippine service are distinctly in favour of subordinate employees in the Philippine service; only the higher officials, after long experience, in the British colonial service receive larger salaries than corresponding officials in the Philippine service; the leave of absence and other privileges for the Philippine service are not less liberal than for other colonial services."—(*Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1905, p. 74.)

The entrance salaries of Americans brought to the islands are considerably in excess of the entrance salaries received on appointment to the civil service in the United States.

The following table shows the minimum entrance salaries given to

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[1] He now (1914) receives $9000.

Americans appointed in the United States to the United States civil service, as shown by the manual of examinations of the United States Civil Service Commission for the fall of 1913, and to Americans appointed in the United States to the Philippine Civil Service:—

	Philippines	United States
Aid (Surveyor)	$1400	$ 900
Civil Engineer	1400	1200
Forester, assistant	1400	1200
Scientific Assistant (Agricultural Inspector)	1400	600
Physician	1600	1320
Printer	2000	.50 per hour
Stenographer	1200	700
Trained Nurse	600 Board, quarters and laundry	600 and laundry
Teacher	1000	540
Veterinarian	1600	1200

The following cases taken from the official rosters show some promotions to the higher positions in the service of employees who entered the lower ranks of the classified service:—

A clerk who entered the service in 1899 at $1800 per annum was appointed in 1903 an assistant chief of bureau at $3000 per annum and in 1908 executive secretary at $9000 per annum. A teacher appointed in 1899 at $720 per annum was appointed a chief of an office at $4000 per annum and in 1912 a judge at $4500 per annum. A teacher who entered the service in 1901 at $1200 per annum was in 1909 appointed a chief of a bureau at $6000 per annum. A teacher who entered the service in 1904 at $1000 per annum was appointed in 1911 an assistant chief of a bureau at $6000 per annum. A clerk who entered the service in 1901 at $1200 per annum was appointed in 1909 an assistant chief of the executive bureau at $3750 per annum and in 1912 a chief of a bureau at $6000 per annum. A stenographer who entered the service in 1902 at $1400 per annum was in 1908 appointed an assistant chief of a bureau at $5000 per annum. A transitman who entered the service in 1905 at $1400 per annum was in 1913 appointed an assistant chief of a bureau at $4500 per annum. An accountant who entered the service in 1901 at $1800 per annum was in 1907 appointed an assistant chief of a bureau at $3750 per annum and in 1909 a chief of a bureau at $6000 per annum. A law clerk who entered the service in 1904 at $1800 per annum was in 1913 appointed judge at $4500 per annum. In no service anywhere has promotion depended more directly on demonstrated ability, and in many instances it has been rapid.

Young men living two in a room may obtain room and board in boarding houses in Manila at a rate as low as $35 per month each.

In the Young Men's Christian Association building, a large reënforced concrete structure with reading room, gymnasium, and a good restaurant, the charge for two in a room is $10.25 each. Board costs $27.50, a total of $37.75. The expenses for clothing in Manila are less than in the United States, as white clothing is worn the whole year and white duck suits may be obtained for about $3 each. The expenses for laundry amount to about $5 a month. The necessity of employing a *muchacho*[1] is *nil,* in the case of an unmarried employee who boards. Servants are far cheaper and better in the Philippines than in the United States.[2]

In a discussion of the salaries paid in the Philippine civil service the question of the leave allowed should be considered. Classified employees who receive an annual salary of $1000 or more per annum may be granted twenty-eight days' leave per annum to cover absences from duty due to illness or other causes. If not taken during the calendar year in which it is earned or in January or February of the succeeding year, it is forfeited. Employees taking vacation leave during the months of December, January, February and March may take fifty-six days, corresponding to two years of service, at one time, and may thus get time to visit Australia, Japan, China and neighbouring countries.

In addition to vacation leave an employee whose salary is $1000 or more but less than $1800 per annum is entitled to thirty days' accrued leave per annum, and an employee whose salary is $1800 per annum or more is entitled to thirty-five days' accrued leave per annum. Accrued leave may accumulate for not more than five years of service.

All classified employees are entitled to visit the United States or foreign countries once in every three years, receiving in addition to their accrued leave, one year's vacation leave, allowance of actual travel time at half pay not to exceed sixty days, and return travel expenses from place of residence in the United States, or from port of embarkation in a foreign country to Manila, on the completion of two years of service after date of return. An employee entitled to thirty-five days' accrued leave per annum who visits the United States after having rendered three years of service receives a total of two hundred thirteen days' accrued leave, vacation leave, and half-pay travel time. If he postpones his visit till he has completed five years of service, he receives a total of two hundred ninety-one days' accrued leave, vacation leave and travel time. An employee entitled to thirty days' accrued leave per annum who visits the United States after three years of service receives a total of one hundred ninety-four days' leave and half-pay travel time, and if he postpones his visit until he has rendered five years of service, he receives a total of two hundred fifty-nine days' leave and travel time.

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[1] Male servant.

[2] Living expenses in Manila have greatly increased since 1913. Most Americans in the public service seem to spend about the same proportion of their income as they would at home.

It will be seen that these are very liberal allowances. An employee receiving $1200 at the end of two years of service may spend eight weeks of vacation leave visiting Japan or other surrounding countries, and at the end of an additional year's service he may visit his home in the United States with six and a third months' absence on full and half pay and with his expenses from his home to Manila payable two years after his return, and during every three years of his service he may have the same privileges.

The law also provides that if an employee is wounded or injured in the performance of duty, he may have a total of six months' leave on full pay in addition to any accrued leave to his credit.

Employees who have rendered satisfactory service and resign after three or more years receive in a lump sum all accrued leave due and thirty days' half salary. For example, an employee who has received $1800 per annum and has served five years without taking any leave in excess of the four weeks' vacation leave allowable annually would draw $1025 were he to resign.

The school sessions amount to forty weeks per annum and the school vacations to twelve weeks per annum.[1] Teachers receive an annual salary and draw full pay during vacations as well as during school sessions. Every third year they are allowed to visit the United States or foreign countries with an allowance of sixty days' half-pay travel time in addition to the ten weeks' long vacation, and on completing two years of service after return to the islands they are entitled to their travelling expenses from place of residence in the United States to Manila or from port of embarkation in a foreign country to Manila.[2]

It is interesting to compare these provisions with the regulations governing leave of absence in the British colonial service:—

> (1) There is no distinction between sick leave and ordinary leave, the leave of absence on account of sickness being charged against the ordinary leave allowable.
>
> (2) There are two classes of leave: vacation leave on full pay and half-pay leave.
>
> (3) The vacation leave amounts to three months every two years, and must be taken during the two years, as it does not accumulate.
>
> (4) The half-pay leave amounts to two months for each year of service, but cannot be taken until after a period of six years' resident service in the Colony, except in cases of serious indisposition supported

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[1] Two weeks at Christmas and ten weeks in April, May and June.

[2] The present 1929) leave provisions of the law governing the civil service are based upon the same principles as in 1913, although a number of the detailed provisions have been modified. For the laws and orders regulating the Philippine Civil Service see the *Report of the Director of Civil Service*, 1927, pp. 39–151.

by medical certificate, or of "urgent private affairs," the nature of which must be stated to the governor. In either case, the governor and council must be satisfied that the indulgence is indispensable.

Half pay in African and Asiatic colonies may accumulate for twelve years' service—*i.e.* twenty-four months' half-pay leave.

(5) After the exhaustion of all vacation leave and half-pay leave, an advance of six months' half-pay leave may be made on special grounds ("urgent private affairs" or illness supported by a medical certificate), the advance being charged against leave accruing subsequently.

(6) For the purpose of visiting home, an officer may be granted the vacation leave due him (which is never more than three months) on full pay, and his accumulated half-pay leave, to commence at the expiration of his vacation leave.

(7) Judicial and education officers do not receive the vacation leave described in paragraph 3 above, the vacation of courts and schools being considered equal to this, but they do receive the half-pay leave described in paragraph 4, and may, when visiting home on half-pay leave, receive full pay during any ordinary vacation of the court or school.

It will be noted that although officers in the British colonial service are allowed much longer periods of absence, the greater part of their absence is on half pay and the total money value of the leave allowable in the British colonial service and in the Philippine civil service is about the same. As officers naturally prefer to be on full pay instead of half pay while on leave, the provision of the Philippine law is in their interest; it is also in the interest of the service, as the periods of the absence from duty are not so prolonged.

The Philippine Civil Service Law is now about to be put to its first really severe test as a result of the change in the national administration. Heretofore those whose duty and privilege it has been to enforce it have been in the most full and hearty sympathy with its purposes. President McKinley was from the outset definitely committed to the widest application of the merit system to appointments in the Philippines. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft firmly supported that system, as has each succeeding governor-general up to, but not including, Mr. Harrison, who is as yet an unknown quantity.

It is interesting, however, to note that on the day following his arrival there was a demand for the instant resignation of Mr. Thomas Cary Welch, a faithful and efficient employee of the government, who had been for nearly ten years in the service, whose position was desired for, and immediately given to, Mr. Stephen Bonsal. That gentleman had been appointed at Washington a member of the Municipal Board of Manila immediately after Mr. Harrison's confirmation as governor-general. It is not recorded that Mr. Bonsol rendered any valuable service to the city on the voyage, or during the twenty-four hours of his occupancy of his municipal post subsequent to his arrival! Nor does it appear that he passed any examination before his early promotion.

Following closely upon the removal of Mr. Welch came a demand for the resignation of Captain Charles H. Sleeper, Director of Lands, who was unquestionably one of the ablest and most efficient of the bureau chiefs.

He had earned the ill-will of the *politicos* by insisting that persons authorized to make public land surveys, or other surveys on which claims of title as against the government were to be based, should know enough about surveying to make one correct survey when given an opportunity practically to demonstrate their abilities under very favourable conditions. He had also incurred the dislike of influential *caciques* by defending the occupants of small holdings on friar estates from the rapacity of their rich neighbours, and by protecting free-patent applicants and homesteaders when large landowners opposed their applications in order to prevent their securing land, so that they might the more easily be held as peon labourers.

He had started in his bureau a practical school for Filipino surveyors which was training really well-qualified candidates for positions desired by the politicians for themselves or their incompetent friends.

Last, but not least, he had helped to upset the plans of the men primarily responsible for the so-called "friar lands investigation" conducted by the House Committee on Insular Affairs, which cost the United States government a very large sum, and resulted in demonstrating his uprightness and the efficiency of his administration.

Mr. John R. Wilson, the assistant director of lands, was absent at the moment, but his resignation was demanded on the day of his return. He too was an active, efficient, upright man.

Both of these removals were political acts, pure and simple. Sr. Manuel Tinio was appointed Director of Lands. He is a bright young Ilocano of good character, who had become a "general" in the Insurgent army at twenty-one years of age. He is unfit to hold the place, because, as he has himself frankly said, he knows nothing about the work. He is charged with the duty of administering $7,000,000 worth of friar lands, and the whole public domain of the Philippine Islands, and with such minor duties as the checkmating of the machinations of numerous wealthy Filipinos who seek fraudulently to acquire great tracts through fraudulent claims to unperfected titles and by other improper means.

While in Honolulu, *en route* to Manila, Mr. Harrison gave out

A Scene in the Baguio Teachers' Camp.

an interview, which I am credibly informed he has since confirmed in substance. It contained the following statement:—

> "For years I have been of the minority in Congress and have seen the Democrats kicked about, trampled upon, and otherwise manhandled by Republicans, so that I must confess it now gives me a saturnine pleasure to see the Democrats in a position to do the same thing to the Republicans."

His early official acts after arrival at Manila confirmed the belief that this was indeed the spirit in which he was facing the grave responsibilities which there confronted him. It is beyond doubt or cavil that high ideals heretofore have prevailed in the Philippine Civil Service. Are they now to be superseded by the methods of the ward politician?

In its report for 1901 the Philippine Commission said:—

> "The civil service law has been in operation since our last report, and we see no reason to change our conclusion as to the absolute necessity for its existence, and strict enforcement. Without this law American government in these Islands is, in our opinion, foredoomed to humiliating failure."[1]

I signed that report. I have not since seen any reason to change my mind.

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[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 23.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY AND PUBLIC ORDER

DURING the last thirty years of Spanish rule in the Philippines evil-doers were pursued and apprehended and public order was maintained chiefly by the *guardia civil.* At the time of its organization in 1868 this body had a single division. By 1880 the number had been increased to three, two for Luzón and one for the Visayan Islands.

The *guardia civil* was organized upon a military basis, its officers and soldiers being drawn from the regular army of Spain by selection or upon recommendation. Detachments were distributed throughout the provinces and were commanded according to their size by commissioned or non-commissioned officers. Central offices were located in district capitals; company headquarters were stationed in provincial capitals, and detachments were sent to places where they were deemed to be necessary. Under ordinary conditions they rendered service as patrols of two men each, but for the purpose of attacking large bands of outlaws one or several companies were employed as occasion required.

The *guardia civil* had jurisdiction over all sorts of violations of laws and municipal ordinances. They made reports upon which were based the appointments of municipal officers, the granting of licenses to carry firearms, and the determination of the loyalty or the disloyalty of individuals. They were vested with extraordinary powers. Offences against them were tried by courts-martial, and were construed as offences against sentinels on duty. Penalties were therefore extremely severe.

Officers of the *guardia civil* on leave could by their own initiative assume a status of duty with the full powers and responsibilities that go with command. This is contrary to American practice, under which only dire emergency justifies an officer in assuming an official status unless he is duly assigned thereto by competent authority.

The *guardia civil* could arrest on suspicion, and while the Spanish Government did not directly authorize or sanction the use of force to extort confessions, it was not scrupulous in the matter of accepting confessions so obtained as evidence of crime, nor was it quick to punish members of the *guardia civil* charged with mistreatment of prisoners. Reports made by the *guardia civil* were not questioned, but were accepted without support even in cases of the killing of prisoners alleged to have attempted to escape, or of men evading arrest.

This method of eliminating without trial citizens deemed to be undesirable was applied with especial frequency in the suppression of active brigandage, and latterly during the revolution against Spain. Prisoners in charge of the *guardia civil* were always tied elbow to elbow. They knew full well that resistance or flight was an invitation to their guards to kill them, and that this invitation was likely to be promptly accepted.

In the investigation of crime the members of this organization arrested persons on suspicion and compelled them to make revelations, true or false. Eye-witnesses to the commission of crime were not needed in the Spanish courts of that day. The confession of an accused person secured his conviction, even though not made in the presence of a judge. Indirect and hearsay evidence were accepted, and such things as writs of habeas corpus and the plea of double jeopardy were unknown in Spanish procedure.

The *guardia civil* could re-arrest individuals and again charge them with crimes of which they had already been acquitted. I have been assured by reliable Filipinio witnesses that it was common during the latter days of Spanish sovereignty for persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the government to be invited by non-commissioned officers to take a walk, which was followed either by their complete disappearance or by the subsequent discovery of their dead bodies.

It naturally resulted that the members of the *guardia civil* were regarded with detestation and terror by the people, but their power was so absolute that protest rarely became public. The one notable exception was furnished by Dr. Rizal's book entitled "Noli Me Tangere," which voiced the complaints of the Filipinos against them. There is not a vestige of doubt that hatred of them was one of the principal causes of the insurrection against Spain.

In 1901 the American government organized a rural police force in the Philippines. It was called the Philippine constabulary. The insurrection was then drawing to a close, but there were left in the field many guerrilla bands armed and uniformed. Their members sought to excuse their lawless acts under the plea of patriotism and opposition to the forces of the United States. In many provinces they combined with professional bandits or with religious fanatics. Various "popes" arose, like Papa Isio in Negros. The Filipinos had become accustomed to a state of war which had continued for nearly six years. Habits of peace had been abandoned. The once prosperous haciendas were in ruins. War and pestilence had destroyed many of the work animals, and those which remained continued to perish from disease. Asiatic cholera was sweeping through the archipelago, and consternation and disorder followed in its wake.

Under such circumstances the organization of a rural police force was imperatively necessary. Unfortunately the most critical situation which it was to be called upon to meet had to be faced at the very outset, when both officers and men were inexperienced and before adequate discipline could be established.

The law providing for its establishment was drawn by the Honourable Luke E. Wright, at that time secretary of commerce and police and later destined to become governor-general of the Philippines and secretary of war of the United States.[1] It was intended that the constabulary should accomplish its ends by force when necessary but by sympathetic supervision when possible, suppressing brigandage and turning the people towards habits of peace. The fact was clearly borne in mind that the abuses of the *guardia civil* had not been forgotten and the new force was designed to meet existing conditions, to allay as rapidly as possible the existing just rancour against the similar organization established under the Spanish régime, and to avoid the evils which had contributed so much toward causing the downfall of Spanish sovereignty. The law was admirably framed to achieve these ends.

The officers of the constabulary were selected chiefly from American volunteers recently mustered out and from honourably discharged soldiers of the United States army. Some few Filipinos, whose loyalty was above suspicion, were appointed to the lower grades. This number has since been materially augmented, and some of the original Filipino appointees have risen to the rank of captain.

It was inevitable that at the outset there should be abuses. The organization was necessarily born at work; there was no time to instruct, to formulate regulations, to wait until a satisfactory state of discipline had been brought about. There were not barracks for housing the soldiers; there were neither uniforms, nor arms, nor ammunition. There was no system for rationing the men. All of these things had to be provided, and they were provided through a natural evolution of practical processes, crystallizing into form, tested by the duties of the day. The organization which grew up was a true survival of the fittest, both in personnel and in methods. The wonder is not that some abuses occurred, but that they were so few; not that there were occasional evidences of lack of efficiency, but that efficiency was on the whole so high from the beginning.

The several provinces were made administrative units, the com-

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[1] Act No. 175, Philippine Commission, July 18, 1901.

The Baguio Country Club.

manding officer in each being designated as "senior inspector." The men who were to serve in a given province were by preference recruited there, and a departure was thus made from the usual foreign colonial practice. In 1905 the total force was fixed at one hundred companies with a nominal strength of two officers and fifty men each. Under special conditions this rule may be departed from, and the size of the companies or the number of officers increased.

Each province is divided by the senior inspector into sections, and the responsibility for patrol work and general policing rests on the senior company officer in each station. The provinces are grouped into five districts, each commanded by an assistant chief who exercises therein the authority, and performs the duties appropriate to the chief for the entire Philippines. The higher administrative positions have always been filled by detailing regular officers of the United States army.

The constabulary soldiers are now neatly uniformed, armed with Krag carbines and well disciplined. They show the effect of good and regular food and of systematic exercise, their physical condition being vastly superior to that of the average Filipino. They are given regular instruction in their military duties. It is conducted in English.

The Philippine constabulary may be defined as a body of armed men with a military organization, recruited from among the people of the islands, officered in part by Americans and in part by Filipinos, and employed primarily for police duty in connection with the establishment and maintenance of public order.

Critics of the administrations of Taft, Wright and Smith have declared that the organization of the constabulary was premature, and that after the war proper ended, the last smouldering embers of armed and organized insurrection should have been stamped out, and the brigandage which had existed in the Philippines for centuries should have been dealt with, by the United States army rather than by the constabulary.

Even if it were true that the army could have rendered more effective service to this end than could have been expected at the outset from a newly organized body of Filipinos soldiers, the argument against the organization and use of the constabulary would in my opinion have been by no means conclusive. It is our declared policy to prepare the Filipinos to establish and maintain a stable government of their own. The proper exercise of police powers is obviously necessary to such an end.

From the outset we have sacrificed efficiency in order that our wards might gain practical experience, and might demonstrate their ability, or lack of ability, to perform necessary governmental functions. Does any one cognizant of the situation doubt for a moment that provincial and municipal affairs in the Philippine Islands would to-day be more efficiently administered if provincial and municipal officers were appointed instead of being elected? Is any one so foolish as to imagine that the sanitary regeneration of the islands would not have progressed much more rapidly had highly trained American health officers been used in place of many of the badly educated and comparatively inexperienced Filipino physicians whose services have been utilized?

Nevertheless, in the concrete case under discussion I dissent from the claim that more satisfactory results could have been obtained by the use of American troops.

The army had long been supreme in the Philippines. Every function of government had been performed by its officers and men, if performed at all. Our troops had been combating an elusive and cruel enemy. If they were human it is to be presumed that they still harbored animosities, born of these conditions, toward the people with whom they had so recently been fighting. Had the work of pacification been then turned over to them it would have meant that often in the localities in which they had been fighting, and in dealing with the men to whom they had very recently been actively opposed in armed conflict, they would have been called upon to perform tasks and to entertain feelings radically different from those of the preceding two or three years.

A detachment, marching through Leyte, found an American who had disappeared a short time before crucified, head down. His abdominal wall had been carefully opened so that his intestines might hang down in his face. Another American prisoner, found on the same trip, had been buried in the ground with only his head projecting. His mouth had been propped open with a stick, a trail of sugar laid to it through the forest, and a handful thrown into it. Millions of ants had done the rest.

Officers and men who saw such things were thereby fitted for war, rather than for ordinary police duty. The truth is that they had seen so many of them that they continued to see them in imagination when they no longer existed. I well remember when a general officer, directed by his superior to attend a banquet at Manila in which Americans and Filipinos joined, came to it wearing a big revolver.

Long after Manila was quiet I was obliged to get out of my carriage in the rain and darkness half a dozen times while driving the length of Calle Real, and "approach to be recognized" by raw "rookies," each of whom pointed a loaded rifle at me while I did it. I know that this did not tend to make me feel peaceable or happy.

In my opinion it was wholly unnecessary, and yet I did not blame the army for thinking otherwise.

After the war was over, when my private secretary, Mr. James A. LeRoy, was one day approaching Malolos, he was sternly commanded by a sentry to halt, the command being emphasized as usual by presenting to his attention a most unattractive view down the muzzle of a Krag. He was next ordered to "salute the flag," which he finally discovered with difficulty in the distance, after being told where to look. The army way is right and necessary in war, but it makes a lot of bother in time of peace!

This was not the only reason for failing to make more extensive use of American soldiers in police duty. A veteran colonel of United States cavalry was recently asked what he thought of the claim made that the army should have done the police and pacification work of the Philippines. His reply was:—

> "How long would it take a regiment of Filipinos to catch an American outlaw in the United States? Impossible!"

Another army officer said:—

> "Catching Filipino outlaws with the Army is like catching a flea in a twenty-acre field with a traction engine."

There is perhaps nothing so demoralizing to regular troops as employment on police duty which requires them to work singly or in small squads. Discipline speedily deteriorates and instruction becomes impossible.

Successful prosecution of the work of chasing *ladrones* in the Philippines requires a thorough knowledge of local topography and of local native dialects. Spanish is of use, but only in dealing with educated Filipinos. A knowledge of the Filipino himself; of his habits of thought; of his attitude toward the white man; and toward the *illustrado,* or educated man, of his own race; ability to enter a town and speedily to determine the relative importance of its leading citizens, finally centering on the one man, always to be found, who runs it, whether he holds political office or not, and also to enlist the sympathy and coöperation of its people; all of these things are essential to the successful handling of brigandage in the Philippines, whether such brigandage has, or lacks, political significance.

The following parallel will make clear some of the reasons why it was determined to use constabulary instead of American soldiers in policing the Philippines from the time the insurrection officially ended:—

United States Army	Philippine Constabulary
Soldier costs per annum $1400. (Authority: Adjutant General Heistand in 1910.)	Soldier costs per annum $363.50.
American soldiers come from America.	Constabulary soldiers are enlisted in the province where they are to serve.
Few American soldiers speak the local dialects.	All constabulary soldiers speak local dialects.
Few American soldiers speak any Spanish.	All educated constabulary soldiers speak Spanish.
American soldiers usually have but a slight knowledge of local geography and topography.	Constabulary soldiers, native to the country, know the geography and topography of their respective provinces.
Few American soldiers have had enough contact with Filipinos to understand them.	The Filipino soldier certainly knows his own kind better than the American does.
The American soldier uses a ration of certain fixed components imported over sea. (A ration is the day's allowance of food for one soldier.)	The constabulary soldier is rationed in cash and buys the food of the country where he happens to be.
The American ration costs 24.3 cents United States currency (exclusive of cost of transportation and handling). Fresh meat requiring ice to keep it is a principal part of the American ration. To supply it requires a regular system of transport from the United States to Manila and from thence to local ports, and wagon transportation from ports to inland stations.	The constabulary cash ration is 10.5 cents United States currency. (No freight or handling charges.) The constabulary soldier knows not ice. His food grows in the islands. He buys it on the ground and needs no transportation to bring it to him.
The American soldier is at no pains to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the people; and his methods of discipline, habits of life, etc., make it practically impossible for him to gain them.	The idea of enlisting the sympathy and coöperation of the local population is the strongest tenet in the constabulary creed.

Before preparing the foregoing statement relative to the reasons for using Philippine constabulary soldiers instead of soldiers of the United States army for police work during the period in question, I asked Colonel J. G. Harbord,[1] assistant director of the constabulary, who has served with that body nine years, has been its acting director and is an officer of the United States army, to give me a memorandum on the subject. It is only fair to him to say that I have not only followed very closely the line of argument embodied in the memorandum which he was good enough to prepare for me, but have in many instances used his very words. The parallel columns are his.

The constabulary soldier, thoroughly familiar with the topography of the country in which he operates; speaking the local dialect and acquainted with the persons most likely to be able and willing to furnish accurate information; familiar with the characteristics of his own people; able to live off the country and keep well, is under all ordinary circumstances a more efficient and vastly less expensive police officer than the American soldier, no matter how brave and energetic the latter may be. Furthermore, his activities are much less likely to arouse animosity.

Incidentally, the army is pretty consistently unwilling to take the field unless the constitutional guarantees are temporarily suspended, and it particularly objects to writs of habeas corpus. The suspension of such guarantees is obviously undesirable unless really very necessary.

An example of the type of work performed by the constabulary is afforded by the suppression of disorders which arose in the province of Albay during 1901-1902. The facts as to these disorders are briefly as follows:—

In 1902 an outlaw in Tayabas Province who made his living by organizing political conspiracies and collecting contributions in the name of patriotism, who was known as José Roldan when operating in adjoining provinces, but had an alias in Tayabas, found his life made so uncomfortable by the constabulary of that province that he transferred his operations to Albay. There he affiliated himself with a few ex-Insurgent officers who had turned outlaws instead of surrendering, and with oath violators, and began the same kind of political operations which he had carried out in Tayabas, the principal feature of his work being the collection of "contributions."

The troubles in Albay were encouraged by wealthy Filipinos who saw in them a probable opportunity to acquire valuable hemp lands at bottom prices, for people dependent on their hemp fields, if prevented from working them, might in the end be forced to sell them. Roldan soon lost standing with his new organization because it was found that he was using for his personal benefit the money which he collected.

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[1] Major General, U. S. Army, retired. General Harbord later became the commanding officer of the Philippine Constabulary. After having made himself a national figure by his service as Chief of Staff to General Pershing in France, and serving as Deputy Chief of Staff in Washington, General Harbord retired in 1922 to become president of the Radio Corporation of America.

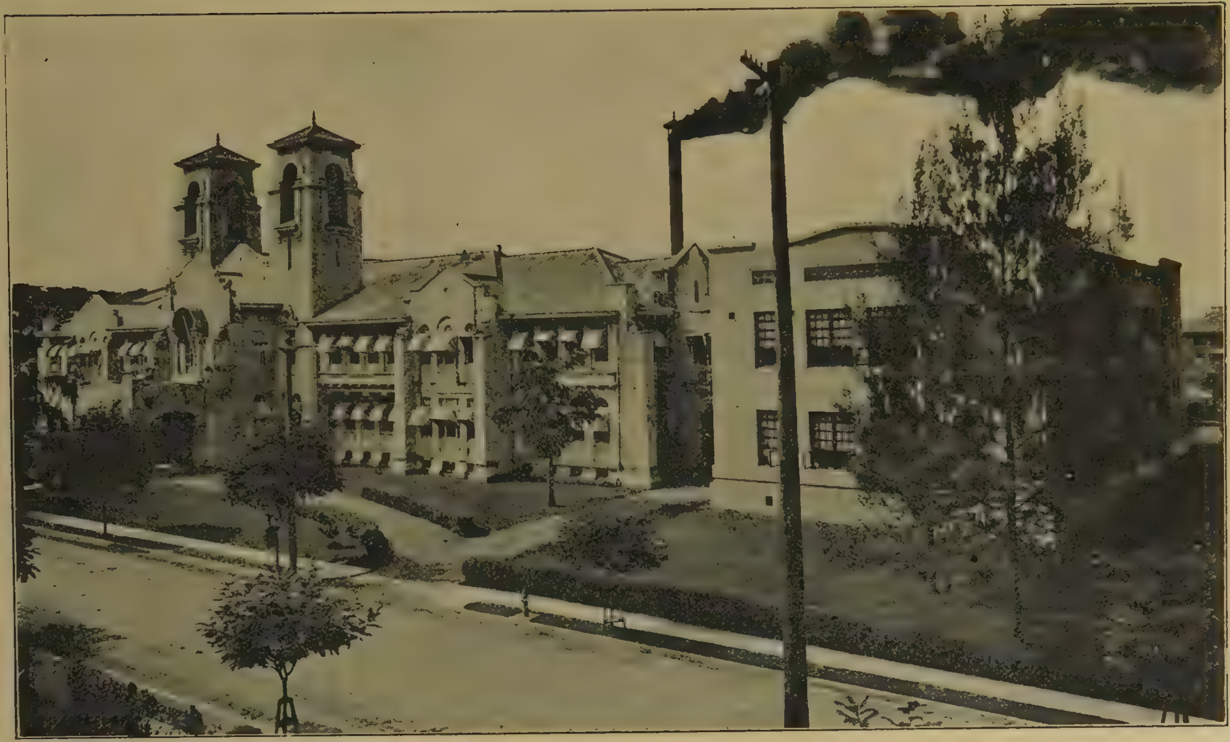
About this time one Simeon Ola joined his organization. Ola was a native of Albay, where he had been an Insurgent major under the command of the Tagálog general, Belarmino. His temporary rank had gone to his head, and he is reported to have shown considerable severity and hauteur in his treatment of his former neighbours in Guinobatan, to which place he had returned at the close of the insurrection. Meanwhile, a wealthy Chinese *mestizo* named Don Circilio Jaucian, on whom Ola, during his brief career as an Insurgent officer, had laid a heavy hand, had become *presidente* of the town.

Smarting under the indignities which he had suffered, Jaucian made it very uncomfortable for the former major, and in ways well understood in Malay countries brought it home to the latter that their positions had been reversed. Ola's house was mysteriously burned, and his life in Guinobatan was made so unbearable that he took to the hills.

Ola had held higher military rank than had any of his outlaw associates, and he became their dominating spirit. He had no grievance against the Americans, but took every opportunity to avenge himself on the *caciques* of Guinobatan, his native town.

Three assistant chiefs of constabulary, Garwood, Baker and Bandholtz, were successively sent to Albay to deal with this situation. Baker and Bandholtz were regular army officers. The latter ended the disturbances, employing first and last some twelve companies of Philippine scouts, armed, officered, paid, equipped and disciplined as are the regular soldiers of the United States army, and a similar number of constabulary soldiers. Eleven stations in the restricted field of operations of this outlaw were occupied by scouts. There were few armed conflicts in force between Ola's men and these troops. In fact, it was only with the greatest difficulty that this band, which from time to time dissolved into the population only to reappear again, could be located even by the native soldiers. It would have been impracticable successfully to use American troops for such work. Colonel Bandholtz and the then chief of constabulary, General Allen, were supported by the civil governor and the commission in their recommendations that no terms should be made with these outlaws. The following statement occurs in a letter from Colonel Bandholtz dated September 21, 1903:—

"No one is more anxious to terminate this business than I am, nevertheless I think it would be a mistake to offer any such induce-



The Bureau of Science Building, Manila.
This is one of the best equipped laboratory buildings in the world.

ments, and that more lasting benefits would result by hammering away as we have been doing."

And General Allen said in an indorsement to the Philippine Commission:—

> ". . . in my opinion the judgment of Colonel Bandholtz in matters connected with the pacification of Albay should receive favourable consideration. Halfway measures are always misinterpreted and used to the detriment of the Government among the ignorant followers of the outlaws."

These views prevailed. The troubles in Albay ended with the surrender of Ola on September 25, 1903. On October 5, 1903, Colonel Bandholtz telegraphed with reference to the final surrender of Ola's band:—

> "The towns are splitting themselves wide open celebrating pacification and Ramon Santos (later elected governor) is going to give a record-breaking fiesta at Ligao. Everybody invited. Scouts and Constabulary have done superb work."

Serious disturbances of public order occurred in the islands of Samar and Leyte between 1903 and 1907. In all countries feuds between highlanders and lowlanders have been common. Although the inhabitants of the hills and those of the lowlands in the two islands under discussion are probably of identical blood and origin, they long since became separated in thought and feeling, and grew to be mutually antagonistic. The ignorant people of the interior have always been oppressed by their supposedly more highly civilized brethren living on or near the coast.

The killing of Otoy by the constabulary in 1911 marked the passing of the last of a series of mountain chiefs who had exercised a very powerful influence over the hill people and had claimed for themselves supernatural powers.

Manila hemp is the principal product upon which these mountaineers depend in bartering for cloth and other supplies. The cleaning of hemp involves very severe exertion, and when it is cleaned it must usually, in Samar, be carried to the seashore on the backs of the men who raise it. Under the most favourable circumstances, it may be transported thither in small *bancas*[1] down the streams.

The lowland people of Samar and Leyte had long been holding up the hill people when they brought in their hemp for sale in precisely the way that Filipinos in other islands are accustomed to hold up members of the non-Christian tribes. They played the part of middlemen, purchasing the hemp of the ignorant hill people at low prices and often reselling it, without giving it even a day's storage, at a very much higher figure. This system was carried so far that conditions became unbearable and finally resulted in so-called *pulájanism* which began in the year 1904.

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[1] Native dugouts.

The term *pulájan* is derived from a native word meaning "red" and was given to the mountain people because in their attacks upon the lowlanders they wore, as a distinguishing mark, red trousers or a dash of red colour elsewhere about their sparse clothing. They raided coast towns and did immense damage before they were finally brought under control. It should be remembered that these conditions were allowed to arise by a Filipino provincial governor, and by Filipino municipal officials. It is altogether probable that a good American governor would have prevented them, but as it was, neither their cause nor their importance were understood at the outset. The *pulájan* movement was directed primarily against Filipinos.

The first outbreak occurred on July 10, 1904, in the Gandara River valley where a settlement of the lowlanders was burned and some of its inhabitants were killed. Eventually disorder spread to many places on the coast, and one scout garrison of a single company was surprised and overwhelmed by superior numbers. Officers and men were massacred and their rifles taken.

In point of area Samar is the third island in the Philippines. In its interior are many rugged peaks and heavily forested mountains. It was here that a detachment of United States marines under the command of Major Waller, while attempting to cross the island, were lost for nearly two weeks, going without food for days and enduring terrible hardships. At the time in question there were not five miles of road on the island passable for a vehicle, nor were there trails through the mountains over which horses could be ridden. The only interior lines of communication were a few footpaths over which the natives were accustomed to make their way from the mountains to the coast.

Troops have perhaps never attempted a campaign in a country more difficult than the interior of Samar. The traditional needle in the haystack would be easy to find compared with an outlaw, or band of outlaws, in such a rugged wilderness. Upon the outbreak of trouble troops were hurried to Samar, and by December, 1904, there were some 1800 native soldiers on the island who were left free for active operations in the field by the garrisoning of various coast towns with sixteen companies of United States infantry.

If the nature of the feuds between the Samar lowlanders and highlanders had then been better understood, the ensuing troubles, which were more or less continuous for nearly two years, might perhaps have been avoided. As soon as it became evident that the situation was such as to demand the use of the army it was employed to supplement the operations of the constabulary.

About the time that trouble ended in Samar it began in Leyte. There was no real connection between the disorders in the two islands. No leader on either island is known to have communicated with any leader on the other; no fanatical follower ever left Samar for Leyte or Leyte for Samar so far as we are informed.

For convenience of administration the two islands were grouped in a single command after the army was requested to take over the handling of the disturbances there, in coöperation with the constabulary. The trouble ended in 1907 and both islands have remained quiet ever since. The same causes would again produce the same results now or at any time in the future, and they would be then, as in the past, the outcome of the oppression of the weak by the strong and without other political significance. Under a good government they should never recur.

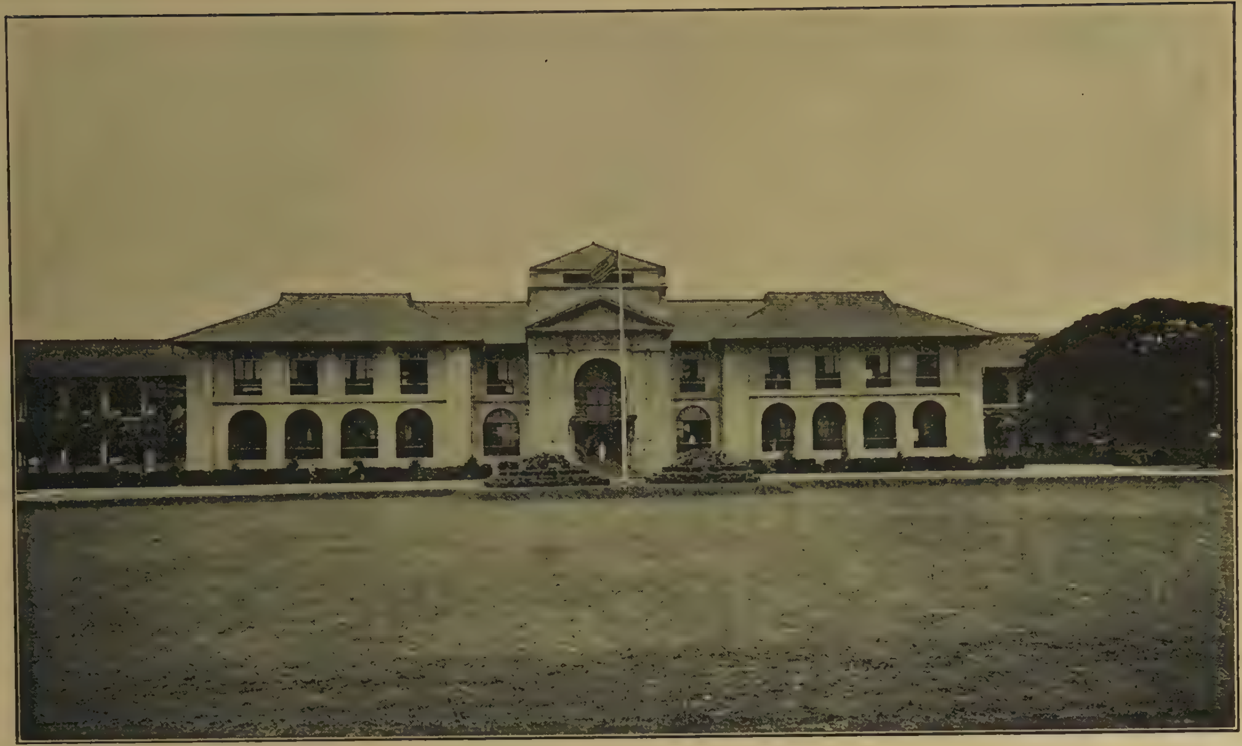
Many circumstances which did not exist in 1902 and 1904 made it feasible to use the army in Samar and Leyte during 1905 and 1906. The high officers who had exercised such sweeping powers during the insurrection had meanwhile given way to other commanders. Indeed, a practically new Philippine army had come into existence. The policy of the insular government as to the treatment of individual Filipinos had been recognized and indorsed by Americans generally, but many of the objections to the use of the troops, including the heavy expense involved, still existed and I affirm without fear of successful contradiction that had it been possible to place in Samar and Leyte a number of constabulary soldiers equal to that of the scouts and American troops actually employed, disorder would have been terminated much more quickly and at very greatly less cost.

With the final breaking up of organized brigandage in 1905 law and order may be said to have been established throughout the islands. It has since been the business of the constabulary to maintain it. The value of the coöperation of the law-abiding portion of the population has been fully recognized. The newly appointed constabulary officer has impressed upon him the necessity of manifesting an interest in the people with whom he comes in contact; of cultivating the acquaintance of Filipinos of all social grades, and of assisting to settle their disagreements and harmonize their differences whenever possible. He is taught a native dialect.

The constabulary have to a high degree merited and secured the confidence and good-will of the people, whose rights they respect. There is a complete absence of the old arbitrary procedure followed by the *guardia civil* and as a result there are frequent requests from Filipino officials for additional detachments, while the removal of a company from a given community is almost invariably followed by vigorous protests. The power of human sympathy is very great, and as the attitude of constabulary officers and men is usually one of sympathy, conciliation and affection, that body has earned and deserved popularity.

The success of the constabulary in apprehending criminals has been both praiseworthy and noteworthy. The courage and efficiency which have often been displayed by its officers and men in hard-fought engagements with Moro outlaws or with organized bands of thieves and brigands have been beyond praise. Many of its officers have rendered invaluable service in bringing the people of the more unruly non-Christian tribes under governmental control, not only bravely and efficiently performing their duty as police officers, but assisting in trail construction or discharging, in effect, the duties of lieutenant-governors in very remote places which could be visited by the actual lieutenant-governors only infrequently. I later take occasion to mention the valuable work done by Lieutenant Case in the early days of Ifugao, and to dwell at length on the splendid service rendered there by Lieutenant Jeff D. Gallman, who was for many years lieutenant-governor of the subprovince while continuing to serve as a constabulary officer. Lieutenant Maimban at Quiangan, and Lieutenant Dosser at Mayoyao, have been and are most useful, though they do not hold official positions under the Mountain Province or receive any additional compensation for the special services which they render. Captain Guy O. Fort served most acceptably as governor of the province of Agusan during the interim between the resignation of Governor Lewis and the appointment of Governor Bryant and Lieutenants Atkins and Zapanta have also rendered valuable service as assistants to the provincial governor. Lieutenant Turnbull is now assistant to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya for work among the Ilongots on the Pacific coast of northern Luzón. Other constabulary officers, who have not been called upon for special service of this kind, have performed their ordinary duties in such a way as to demonstrate that they were actuated by the spirit of coöperation and have been of great help.

But the work of the constabulary has not been confined to police duty. They have been of the greatest assistance to the Director of Health in effectively maintaining quarantine, and making possible the isolation of victims of dangerous communicable diseases like cholera and smallpox, when inefficient municipal policemen have utterly failed to do their duty. They have given similar assistance to the Director of Agriculture in the maintenance of quarantine in connection with efforts to combat diseases of domestic animals. In great emergencies such as those presented by the recent eruption of Taal volcano, and



THE PHILIPPINE GENERAL HOSPITAL.

This photograph shows the administration building, to the right and left of which may be seen portions of two ward pavilions. These latter structures extend backward in a double row, while in the centre, back of the administration building, come the building containing the surgical amphitheatres, private operating room and electrical apparatus and that containing the kitchen and the subsistence storerooms. The several buildings are connected by corridors.

the devastation caused by great typhoons, they have been quick to respond to the call of duty and have rendered efficient and heroic service. They assist internal revenue officers. Except in a few of the largest cities they are the firemen of the islands and by their effective work have repeatedly checked conflagrations, which are of frequent occurrence and tend to be very destructive in this country, where most of the houses are built of bamboo and nipa palm, and where roofs become dry as tinder during the long period when there is little or no rain. They have aided in combating pests of locusts, and, in short, have been ready to meet almost any kind of an emergency which has arisen.

The importance of having such a body of alert, industrious, disciplined, efficient men inspired by a high sense of duty, and physically so well developed that they can continue to perform that duty in the face of long-continued privations and hardships, is beyond dispute. The results which have been obtained by the Philippine constabulary have abundantly justified the policy which led to its organization.

Its task has been no sinecure. Eleven officers and one hundred ninety-seven enlisted men have been killed in action. Forty-eight officers and nine hundred ninety-one men have died of disease. Forty-six officers have been wounded in action. Seven hundred sixty-eight men have been discharged for disability. Seven thousand four hundred twenty-four firearms and 45,018 rounds of ammunition have been captured by, or surrendered to, the constabulary. Four thousand eight hundred sixty-two outlaws have been killed and 11,977 taken prisoners. Twelve thousand two hundred sixty-two stolen animals have been recovered.

There are many things which are not brought home to the reader by such statistics. The weary days and nights on tropical trails: the weakness and pain of dysentery; the freezing and the burning of pernicious malaria; the heavy weight of responsibility when one must act, in matters of life and death, with no superior to consult; the disappointment when carefully laid plans go wrong; the discouragement caused by indifference; the danger of infection with loathsome diseases; ingratitude; deadly peril; aching wounds; sudden death, and, worse yet, death after suffering long drawn out, when one meets one's end knowing that it is coming and that one's family will be left without means or resources,—these are some of the things that the officers and men of this gallant corps have faced unflinchingly.

The work of the constabulary and of the Philippine scouts has conclusively demonstrated the courage and efficiency of the Filipino as a soldier when well disciplined and well led.

The establishment and maintenance of order in the Philippines have afforded opportunity for some of the bravest deeds in the annals of any race, and the opportunity has been nobly met. The head-hunters of the Mountain Province, the Mohammedan Moros of Mindanao, Joló and Palawan, the bloody *pulájanes* of Samar and Leyte, the wily *tulisanes* of Luzón, all unrestrained by any regard for the rules of civilized warfare, have for twelve years matched their fanatical bravery against the gallantry of the khaki-clad Filipino soldiers. Time and again a single officer and a handful of men have taken chances that in almost any other land would have won them the Victoria cross, the legion of honor, or some similar decoration. Here their only reward has been the sense of duty well done.

The force known as the Philippine constabulary was organized for the purpose of establishing and maintaining order. It has established and is maintaining a condition of order never before equalled or approached in the history of the islands. The policy which led to its organization has been a thousand times justified.[1]

[1] That the Philippine Constabulary has continued since 1913 to maintain the high standards of its earlier years is attested by the high praise given to the organization in the Wood-Forbes Report (page 23) and in the annual reports of Governor-General Wood. The policy of Filipinization followed during the Harrison régime, and the withdrawal of American officers for service in the World War resulted in the eventual reduction of the Americans in the service to 13, and the increase of the Filipino officers to 381. After 1921 a number of experienced and able American officers were induced to return to the service. The American element in the service was further increased by the adoption of the policy of commissioning annually a limited number of young non-commissioned officers chosen from the American troops in the Islands and given the excellent course of training provided at the Constabulary School at Baguio. At the end of 1927 the strength of the Constabulary was 394 officers and 6,132 enlisted men. Of the officers, 365 were Filipinos and 29 were Americans. (*Reports of the Governor-General,* 1925, pp. 13–14; 1926, pp. 12–13; 1927, p. 116.)

In 1928 the Philippine Constabulary Academy was made a collegiate institution with a three-year course, and other steps were taken to make it a military academy of the first rank. (Act No. 3496, Philippine Legislature, December 8, 1928.)

From 1917 until his death on January 1, 1927, the Constabulary was commanded by Brig. Gen. Rafael Crame, a distinguished Filipino officer who held the respect of every element in the Philippines. General Crame was succeeded by Brig. Gen. C. E. Nathorst, an officer with a long record of efficient service.

CHAPTER XV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

IN no branch of the public administration have there been more numerous or more beneficial reforms than in the administration of justice. They have resulted in simplifying organization, in decreasing the possibility of corruption and partiality, and in diminishing the cost of litigation and the time which it requires.[1]

Prior to 1898 the slender salaries paid to judges, the fact that in the majority of cases their appointment and promotion were due to influence and suggestion, their liability to be transferred from one court to another or from the Philippines to the Antilles, as frequently happened, and the further fact that the subordinate personnel of the courts was not a salaried one, caused the administration of justice in the Philippine Islands to be looked upon askance. There was a general belief, well founded in many instances, that lawsuits were won through influence or bribery. Clerks and the subordinate personnel of the courts were readily bribed. Indeed, they frequently demanded bribes from litigants, or from defendants in criminal cases, under promise to expedite the trials if paid to do so, or under threat to commit some injustice if payment was not forthcoming. For many years after the American occupation justices of the peace received no salaries and had to look to fees for their compensation. This system worked wretchedly. The positions were only too often filled by very incompetent and unworthy men, who stimulated litigation in order to make more money. Now all justices of the peace receive reasonable salaries.

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[1] There are four grades of courts in the Philippines: justices of the peace (approximately 800), courts of first instance (27 districts, 49 judges, 15 auxiliary judges and 10 additional auxiliary judges for the trial of land registration and cadastral cases), an intermediate court of appeals, and the supreme court (8 associate justices and one chief justice). Justices of the supreme court are appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; judges of the courts of first instance and justices of the peace by the Governor-General, with the consent of the Philippine Senate. Each class of court has much the same jurisdiction as that ordinarily given to courts of similar grade in the states of the Union. The Supreme Court of the United States has appellate jurisdiction over the final judgments and decrees of the supreme court in all cases in which the Constitution or any statute, treaty, title, right, or privilege of the United States is involved, or in cases in which the value in controversy exceeds $25,000, or in which the title or possession of real estate exceeding in value the sum of $25,000 is involved. The city of Manila, in addition to having six branches of the court of first instance, has a municipal court with minor criminal jurisdiction, and a justice of the peace court for dealing with minor civil cases.

The courts of first instance are under the administrative supervision of the Bureau of Justice in the Department of Justice. An attorney-general and a solicitor-general, appointed by the Governor-General with the consent of the Senate, are the chief officers of this bureau, and perform the usual functions of such officials. The law officer of each province is the provincial fiscal, similarly appointed.

In 1914 there were 14 American and 22 Filipino judges of first instance; in 1927, two American and 52 Filipino judges of this rank. The Chief Justice has always been a Filipino; five of the eight Associate Justices are Americans. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court receives a salary of $10,500, and the Associate Justices $10,000 per annum; judges of first instance, $4,000-$5,000; salaries of justices of the peace range from $300, in fourth class municipalities, to $1,800 in the City of Manila, most of them being in the lower ranges.

In earlier editions of this book there appears, at page 988, an appendix, "The Past and Present Organization of the Courts of the Philippine Islands."

The paying of regular salaries and the furnishing of necessary offices and supplies have done much to improve the work of justice of the peace courts, which are now presided over by men who average far better than even their immediate predecessors.

Until they were put on a salary basis the work of the Filipino justices of the peace left much more to be desired than is lacking at present. In many instances they allowed gross brutalities, perpetrated by the rich on the poor, or by the strong on the weak, to go unpunished. The following case furnished me by an American teacher is typical of what has occurred only too often:—

> "On another occasion, I met the brother of my house *muchacha*,[1] a boy about eight. He had a sort of protuberance on one side caused by broken ribs which had not been set. I questioned my *muchacha*. She said her step-father had kicked the child across the room some weeks before and broken his ribs. The next day, I took the child together with Señora Bayot, the wife of the Governor's secretary, before the local Justice of the Peace. Señora Bayot translated and the child told the same story as had his sister. The Justice of the Peace issued an order for the step-father to report to him on the next day. That night my *muchacha* told me that her step-father had threatened to kill the child if he did not tell the Justice that he got the hurt by falling out of an orange tree. The child did as ordered, and the step-father was dismissed. When I questioned the Justice of the Peace as to why he credited the second tale, he said the child was under oath then, and was not under oath in the first statements."

It was not deemed wise at the outset to appoint a Filipino judge for the city of Manila, as it was feared that there would be a lack of confidence in a Filipino who had occasion to decide cases involving large sums of money in which Americans or foreigners on the one hand and Filipinos on the other were interested; but a few years after the establishment of the new judicial system Filipino judges had won such a reputation for justice and fairness as to gain the confidence of Americans and foreigners and the appointment of a Filipino judge for the court of the city of Manila did not arouse any opposition.

Filipino judges of courts of first instance seem usually to have been actuated by a desire to do full justice. The instances in which complaints have been made against them because of partiality to party

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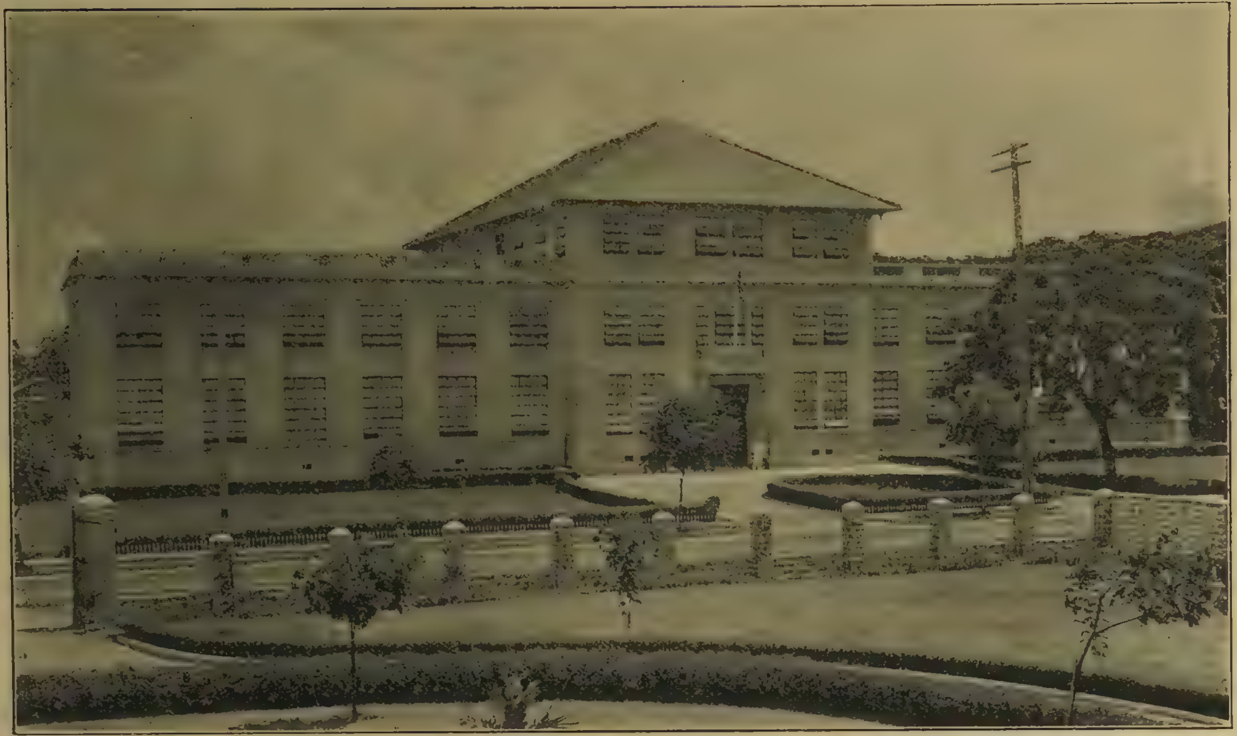
[1] Female servant.



The College of Medicine and Surgery, Manila.

or to race are few. Some of them have been justly criticised for tardiness in cleaning up their dockets, and it is undoubtedly true that their capacity for turning out work is on the average below that of their American associates.

The fact must not be forgotten that Americans are in the majority in the Supreme Court, which reviews the decisions of courts of first instance, and this undoubtedly exercises a restraining influence. It is not possible accurately to judge what would be the actions of a body of men now subject to such control if it did not exist. It is furthermore true that the Filipinos are more inclined to be suspicious of their own countrymen than of Americans, and there have been from time to time specific requests from them that judges in certain provinces be Americans.

Under the Spanish régime the fees paid by litigants were excessive and the use of stamped paper was compulsory. Its value ranged from twenty-five centavos to two pesos for a folio of two sheets according to the amount involved in the suit. Now there are fixed fees of $8 in civil suits, except in probate matters, where the fee is $12.

It was in the power of an unscrupulous litigant to make a lawsuit almost eternal. In matters involving an amount exceeding $250 it was lawful to institute proceedings in the action whereby the decision of the main issue was suspended pending decision of the proceedings, and as a decision was appealable to the *audiencia*, this was often done by attorneys who had an interest in delaying the suit. By instituting one proceeding after another a suit could be indefinitely prolonged.

Another method of securing delay was to object to the judge. In case the judge denied the ground of the objection, a proceeding was instituted against him and the trial of the main issue was turned over to another judge; although the proceeding arising out of the objection did not suspend the trial of the main issue, when the time came to decide the latter the decision was withheld until the proceeding arising out of the objection was settled, and as this latter was one in connection with which other proceedings could be instituted which might delay the decision and consequently the decision of the main issue, there was no end to the matter.

To-day all this has been stopped by the procedure in court. The challenging of judges is not allowed, although they must refrain from the trial of any matter when they are disqualified in any way as regards it. Proceedings which suspend the trial of the main issue cannot be instituted. The procedure itself is more expeditious, the time allowances and formalities have been reduced, and all the long Spanish civil procedure regarding the presentation of evidence has been shortened. Suits are settled with a speediness previously unknown. In order to avoid delay on the part of judges in rendering decisions, an act has been passed prohibiting the payment of their salaries without a certificate that they have no matter which has been awaiting decision for more than three months.[1]

Owing to the inquisitorial procedure which obtained under Spanish rule, the disposition of criminal cases was even slower than that of civil cases. The cause would be commenced, either *de officio,* by the judge who had a knowledge of the crime, or by the prosecuting attorney, or by virtue of private accusation on the part of the person aggrieved. The case once started, the investigations made during the period known as the *sumario* were conducted in the absence of the accused. The latter had no hand in the case, as it was thought that the reserve and secrecy of the procedure ought not to be violated to the end that the accused might not frustrate the evidence of the prosecution by preparing his defence. Owing many times to the inactivity of the judge or of the prosecuting attorney, to the great amount of work which weighed down the courts—for actions were begun when there was knowledge of the commission of the crime, although the perpetrators were not known—and by the manipulations at other times of the private accuser to whose interest it was to harm the accused by delaying the *sumario,* this period was often made to extend over years and years. Meanwhile the defendant was confined in prison, as no bail was allowed in any case in which the penalty was that of *presidio correccional* (from six months and one day to six years' imprisonment) or greater. In addition to this the circumstance that all criminal causes in the islands had to be sent for review to the proper *audiencia* caused a large accumulation of old cases in these higher courts, and this alone made their disposition a matter of some years.

To-day the procedure is rapid. Information having been brought against the defendant, the trial is had in the same term or at most during the next term of court. Sometimes the trial is suspended owing to the non-appearance of witnesses, but it can be said that cases are rare where causes are pending in the docket of the court for a longer period than two terms. Causes appealed to the Supreme Court are disposed of promptly, and as a general rule it does not take over six months to get a decision.

Defendants in criminal cases have now been granted by the Philippine Bill[2] certain fundamentally important rights which they did not formerly enjoy; namely, to appear and defend in person or by counsel at every stage of the proceedings; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to testify as witnesses in their own behalf; to be exempt from testifying against themselves; to be confronted at the trial by, and to cross-examine, the witnesses against them; to have compulsory process issue for obtaining witnesses in their own favour; to have speedy and public trials; to be admitted to bail with sufficient sureties in all cases, except for capital offences. None of these rights were enjoyed under the procedure in effect during the Spanish régime. A man was prosecuted without being notified of the charges against him, and he was only made aware of the case against him after the *sumario*. When all of the evidence of the prosecution had been taken the accused was heard in his own defence. He was compelled to testify, and was subjected to a very inquisitorial examination, including questions which incriminated him. Although he had the right to compel witnesses for the prosecution to ratify over their signatures the evidence against him given during the *sumario*, as the defence of the majority of the accused was in the hands of attorneys *de officio* they nearly always renounced this privilege of the defendant, and, as has already been said, bail was not admitted in any grave offence during the trial.

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[1] Act No. 1552, Philippine Commission, October 27, 1906.
[2] The Organic Act, 1902.

No sentence of acquittal in a criminal case can now be appealed from by the government. Under the Spanish system sentences of acquittal of courts of first instance had to be referred for review to the proper *audienca* and the fiscal of the latter could appeal from a sentence of acquittal by it. The Philippine Bill grants to the inhabitants of the islands other important individal rights which they did not formerly possess.

The Spanish constitution was not in force here, and although the Penal Code contained provisions for punishing, in a way, officials who violated certain rights granted by the Spanish constitution, citizens had no expeditious method of securing their punishment. Now the Code of Civil Procedure grants them certain special remedies by which their rights can be made good. To illustrate: Under the Spanish régime the only remedy for a man illegally detained was to bring a criminal action against the person illegally detaining him. He did not have the remedy of the writ of habeas corpus nor the writ of prohibition against an official who attempted to make him the victim of some unlawful act. His only remedy was to bring a criminal action against such official, or to sue him for damages. He could not compel public officials to perform their ministerial duties by mandamus proceedings.

The individual rights conferred by the Philippine Bill, and the special remedies granted by the Code of Civil Procedure, assure to the inhabitants of the islands liberties and privileges entirely unknown to them during the days of Spanish sovereignty, and these liberties and privileges are adequately safeguarded.

Two things still greatly complicate the administration of justice in the Philippines.

The first is the dense ignorance of the people of the working class who for the most part have failed to learn of their new rights, and even if they know them are afraid to attempt to assert them in opposition to the will of the *caciques,* whose power for evil they know only too well.

The other is the unreliability of many witnesses and their shocking readiness to perjure themselves. It is always possible to manufacture testimony at small expense. While the criminal libel suit brought against certain members of the staff of the newspaper *El Renacimiento,* which libelled me, was in progress the judge showed me the opinion of the two Filipino assessors [1] in one of the cases and told me that it was written by an attorney for the defence. I could not believe this, but a few days later an assessor in another of the cases called at my house, bringing a draft of the opinion of himself and his associate which he sought to submit to me for criticism or modification, saying that I knew much more about the case than they did! He was nonplussed at my refusal to read the document, and left saying "*acqui tiene V. nuevo servidor.*" [2] Had I redrafted the opinion, as I might have done, my "new servant" would have called later for a *quid pro quo.*

Some of the Filipino judges of first instance have proved weak in matters affecting the integrity of public domain and the protection of the public forests, but on the whole these officers have done rather surprisingly well. It must be remembered that the best men in the islands have now been appointed, and that another generation must come on before there will be available any considerable number of new candidates who are up to the standard of the present appointees.[3]

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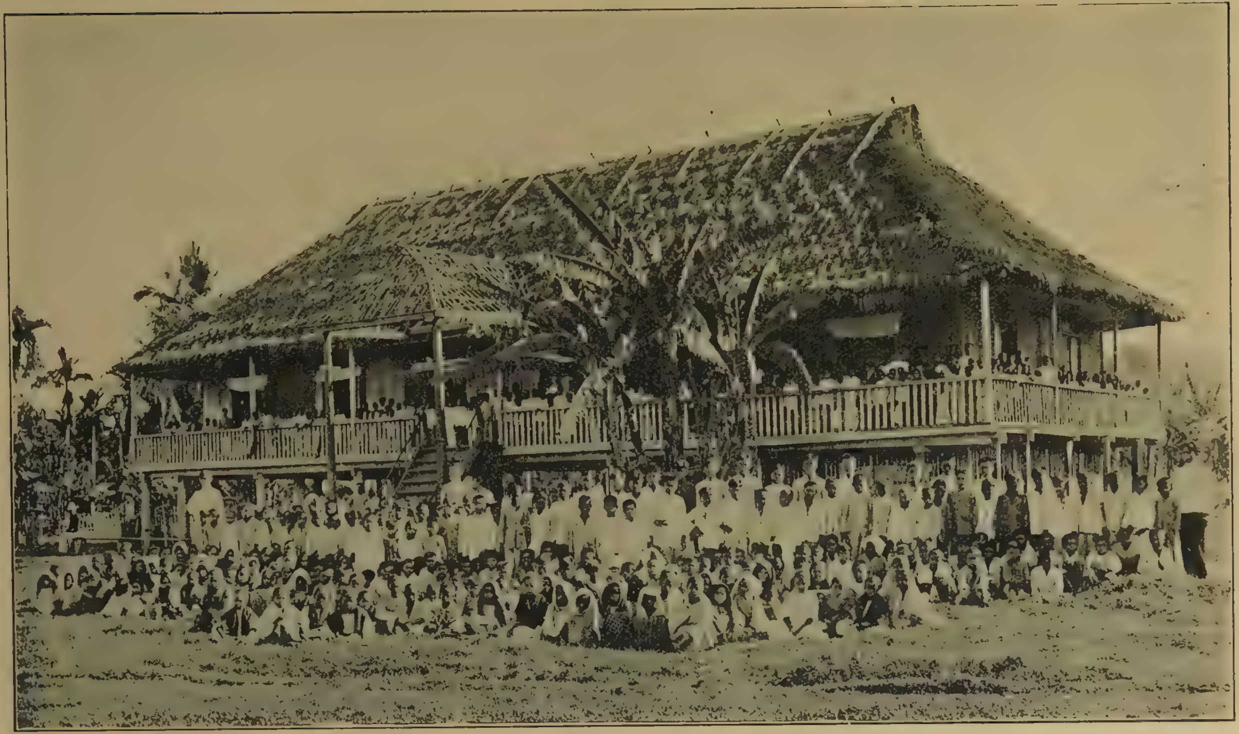
[1] Men appointed to assist the judge in deciding questions of fact. Their decision is not binding on him.

[2] Here [*i.e.* in me] you have a new servant.

[3] The administration of justice since 1913 is dealt with briefly on pp. 748, 753, 767, *infra.*



An Old-style Schoolhouse, with Teachers and Pupils.

CHAPTER XVI

HEALTH CONDITIONS

I HAD abundant opportunity to observe health conditions in the Philippines during the Spanish régime and they were shocking in the extreme. There were no provisions for the sanitary disposal of human waste even in Manila. If one had occasion to be out on foot at night, it was wise to keep in the middle of the street and still wiser to carry a raised umbrella.

Immediately after the American occupation some five hundred barrels of caked excrement were taken from a single tower in one of the old Manila monasteries. The moat around the city wall, and the *esteros,* or tidal creeks, reeked with filth, and the smells which assailed one's nostrils, especially at night, were disgusting.

Distilled water was not to be had for drinking purposes. The city water supply came from the Mariquina River, and some fifteen thousand Filipinos lived on or near the banks of that stream above the intake. The water was often so thick with sediment that one could not see through a glass of it, and it was out of the question to attempt to get it boiled unless one had facilities of one's own.

Conditions in the provinces were proportionately worse. As a rule, there was no evidence of any effort to put provincial towns into decent sanitary conditions. I must, however, note one striking exception. Brigadier General Juan Arolas, long the governor of Joló, had a thorough knowledge of modern sanitary methods and a keen appreciation of the benefits derivable from their application. When he was sent to Joló, practically in banishment, the town was a plague spot to which were assigned Spaniards whose early demise would have been looked upon with favour by those in power. He converted it into a healthy place the death rate of which compared favourably with that of European cities, thereby demonstrating conclusively what could be done even under very unfavourable conditions. No troops in the islands were kept in anything like such physical condition as were the regiments assigned to him, and he bore a lasting grudge against any one inconsiderate enough to die in Joló.[1]

Everywhere I saw people dying of curable ailments. Malaria was prevalent in many regions in which it was impossible to secure good quinine. The stuff on sale usually consisted largely of cornstarch, or plaster of Paris. Fortunately we had brought with us from the United States a great quantity of quinine and we made friends with the Filipinos in many a town by giving this drug gratis to their sick.

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[1] An interesting account of the rule of General Arolas is given in D. C. Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People,* Chapter VIII.

Smallpox was generally regarded as a necessary ailment of childhood. It was a common thing to see children covered with the eruption of this disease watching, or joining in, the play of groups of healthy little ones. The clothing of people who had died of smallpox was handed on to other members of the family, sometimes without even being washed. The victims of the disease often immersed themselves in cold water when their fever was high, and paid the penalty for their ignorance with their lives.

The average Spaniard was a firm believer in the noxiousness of night air, which he said produced *paludismo.*[2] Most Filipinos were afraid of an imaginary spirit, devil or mythical creature known as *asuáng,* and closed their windows and doors after dark as a protection against it. Thus it came about that in a country where fresh air is especially necessary at night no one got it.

Tuberculosis was dreadfully common, and its victims were conveying it to others without let or hindrance.

A distressingly large percentage of native-born infants died before reaching one year of age on account of infection at birth, insufficient clothing, or improper food.[2] I have many times seen a native mother thrust boiled rice into the mouth of a child only a few days old, and I have seen babies taught to smoke tobacco before they could walk.

Before our party left the islands in 1888, cholera had broken out at a remote and isolated place. A little later it spread over a

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[1] Malaria.

[2] Reliable statistics of infant mortality during the Spanish régime are not available. In 1904, however, the rate in the City of Manila was 811.35 to 1,000 births. By 1913 this rate had been reduced to 334.45; in 1918 it was 397.56; since then it has been, reduced to 195.23 in 1925, 166.27 in 1926, and 150.33 in 1927. In 1925 the rate reported for the United States was 71.7. (Figures from Forbes, I. 361; *Report of the Governor-General,* 1925, p. 46; 1927, p. 146.)

The infant mortality rate for the entire Islands was reported as follows in data furnished by the Philippine Health Service: 1904 alone, 224.41; 1905-1909, inclusive, 188.99; 1909-1914, inclusive, 175.58; 1915-1919, inclusive, 206.07; 1920-1924, inclusive, 159.16. Since then the rate has been as follows: 1925, 149.50; 1926, 156.36; 1927, 154.65. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 146.) The marked difference between the rate in Manila and the provinces is probably due to the greater reliability of the statistics in the metropolis. The provincial health statistics are mere approximations, as medical attendance is, in many regions, extremely difficult to obtain, and a very large majority of people are born, go through life, and die without the attendance of a physician.

In 1910 a committee of physicians was created (Act No. 2116, Philippine Legislature, February 1, 1912) to recommend measures for dealing with excessive infant mortality. The Public Welfare Commissioner now supervises extensive maternity and child welfare work. Three hundred and thirty-seven puericulture centers were in operation under his charge in 1929, and a large quantity of tiki-tiki extract was distributed, which reduced infant mortality from beri-beri. The decrease of the rate may be attributed to the work of the office of the Commissioner, the law enforcement and educational activities of the Health Service, and the coöperation of the public schools and of women's clubs in educational work. The activities of these agencies have been ably seconded by a private institution, *La Protección de la Infancia,* popularly known as *La Gota de Leche* (The Drop of Milk), founded by Mrs. Concepcion de Calderon and other Filipino ladies, and Dr. David J. Doherty, of Chicago.

considerable part of the archipelago. On my return in 1890 I heard the most shocking stories of what had occurred. Victims of this disease were regarded with such fear and horror by their friends that they were not infrequently carried out while in a state of coma, and buried alive. It became necessary to issue orders to have shelters prepared in cemeteries under which bodies were required to be deposited and left for a certain number of hours before burial, in order to prevent this result.

In Siquijor an unfortunate, carried to the cemetery after he had lost consciousness, came to himself, crawled out from under a mass of corpses which had been piled on top of him, got up and walked home. When he entered his house, his assembled friends and relatives vacated it through the windows, believing him to be his own ghost. They did not return until morning, when they found him dead on the floor. I heard a well-authenticated story of a case in which all the members of a family died except a creeping infant who subsisted for some time by sucking a breeding sow which was being kept in the kitchen. During the great cholera epidemic in 1882 it is said that the approaches to the Manila cemeteries were blocked with vehicles of every description loaded with corpses, and that the stench from unburied bodies in the San Lazaro district was so dreadful that one could hardly go through it.

Beri-beri was common among the occupants of jails, lighthouses and other government institutions, as well as in certain garrisoned towns like Balabac.

In 1892 I found the wife of a very dear Spanish friend dying from an ailment which in the United States could have been promptly and certainly remedied by a surgical operation. I begged him to take her to Manila, telling him of the ease with which any fairly good surgeon would relieve her, and promising to interest myself in her case on my arrival there. To my utter amazement I found that there was not a surgeon in the Philippine Islands who would venture to open the human abdomen. The one man who had sometimes done this in Spain stated that it would be impossible for him to undertake it in Manila, on account of the lack of a suitable operating room, of instruments and of the necessary anæsthetist and other professional assistants. In fact, at the time of the American occupation there was not a modern operating room, much less a modern hospital, in the Philippines. Thousands upon thousands of people were perishing needlessly every year for the lack of surgical intervention. A common procedure in dealing with wounds was to cover them with poultices of chewed tobacco, ashes, and leaves.

In many provinces the people were without medical assistance of any sort, and fell into the hands of native quacks who were little, if at all, better than witch doctors.

The most fantastic views were entertained relative to the causation of disease. In some towns it was vigorously asserted that after a peculiar looking black dog ran down the street cholera appeared. In other places cholera was generally ascribed to the poisoning of wells by Spaniards or foreigners.

Cemeteries were not infrequently situated in the very midst of towns, or near the local supplies of drinking water. Conditions within their walls were often shocking from an æsthetic view point. As the area available for burials was limited, and the graves were usually unmarked, parts of decomposed bodies were constantly being dug up. It was the custom to throw such remains about the foot of the cross at the centre of the cemetery.

Military sanitation was also very bad. I was at Zamboanga when the wreck of General Weyler's expedition to Lake Lanao began to return. There had been no adequate provision for the medical care of the force in the field, and the condition of many of the soldiers was pitiable in the extreme. Disabled men were brought in by the shipload, and the hospitals at Zamboanga, Isabela de Basilan and Joló were soon filled to overflowing.

The lack of adequate sanitary measures was equally in evidence in dealing with cattle disease. Rinderpest, a highly contagious and very destructive disease of horned cattle, was introduced in 1888 and spread like fire in prairie grass. No real effort was made to check it prior to the American occupation, and it caused enormous losses, both directly by killing large numbers of beef cattle and indirectly by depriving farmers of draft animals.

When I first visited the islands every member of our party fell ill within a few weeks. All of us suffered intensely from tropical ulcers. Two had malaria; one had dysentery; one, acute inflammation of the liver, possibly of amœbic origin; and so on to the end of the chapter. I myself got so loaded up with malaria in Mindoro that it took me fifteen years to get rid of it.

Fortunately the American army of occupation brought with it numerous competent physicians and surgeons, and abundant hospital equipment and supplies, for the soldiers promptly contracted about all the different ailments to be acquired in the islands. When I arrived in Manila on the 5th of March, 1899, I found that a great army hospital, called the "First Reserve," had been established in the old rice market. There was another sizable one on the Bagumbayan drive. A third occupied a large building belonging to French sisters of charity which was ordinarily used for school purposes. In immediate connection with the First Reserve Hospital was a tent hospital where sick and wounded Insurgents were being given the best of care. Field hospitals were promptly established as the troops moved out from Manila, and in connection with many of these Filipinos were given much needed medical and surgical help. The recipients of such kindly treatment were, however, prohibited by Insurgent officers from telling others of their experiences lest the hatred of Americans diminish as a result.

Smallpox had broken out among the Spanish soldiers in the walled city and was spreading badly when my friend, Major Frank S. Bourns of the army medical corps, was given the task of eradicating it, which he promptly accomplished. A little later the use of the Santa Ana church as a smallpox hospital was authorized, and sick Filipinos were carefully tended there.

The army promptly set about cleaning up Manila and waging war upon the more serious ailments which threatened the health of the soldiers and that of the public. The work was at the outset put under the direction of Major Edie, a very capable and efficient medical officer. Subsequently it was turned over to Major Bourns, who, on account of his intimate knowledge of Spanish, and his wide acquaitance with the Filipinos, was able to carry out many much-needed reforms, and in doing so aroused a minimum of public antagonism. Upon the establishment of civil government Governor Taft was very desirous of retaining Major Bourns's services, but this did not prove practicable, as he desired to give up government work and engage in private business.

There was promptly created an efficient board of health made up of men of recognized ability and large practical experience.[1] Its chairman was Major Louis M. Maus, commissioner of public health. The other members were Mr. H. D. Osgood, sanitary engineer; Dr. Franklin H. Meacham, chief sanitary inspector; Dr. Paul C. Freer, superintendent of government laboratories; and Manuel Gomez, secretary.

This board was promptly put upon its mettle. It had inherited from the army an incipient epidemic of bubonic plague in Manila, and the disease soon spread to Cavite and also to Cebú, then the second port of the Philippines in commercial importance. It also appeared in several provincial towns near Cavite. An effective campaign against it, inaugurated at this time, was never abandoned until it was completely eradicated in 1906,—a noteworthy result to achieve in a country like the Philippines.

On March 21, 1902, I was advised that two patients at San Juan de Dios hospital were developing symptoms of Asiatic cholera, and on the following day a positive laboratory diagnosis was made. Other cases followed in quick succession, and we soon found ourselves facing a virulent epidemic of this highly dangerous disease. At the outset the mortality was practically 100 per cent. Unfortunately, there was no one connected with the medical service of the islands who had had practical experience in dealing with cholera, and we had to get this as we went along.[1]

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[1] Act No. 157, Philippine Commission, July 1, 1901; *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1901, part 1, p. 52; appendix M, *pp.* 381–385.

At the time of the outbreak, Governor Taft was in the United States, Acting Governor Wright was in Leyte, the secretary of finance and justice was in Japan, and there were present in Manila only the secretary of public instruction and the secretary of the interior. As the executive head of the government was absent, and there was no quorum of the legislative body, I of necessity arrogated to myself powers which I did not lawfully possess, appointing employees and incurring expenses without the usual formalities.

On the morning of March 22 I informed General Chaffee that four cases of cholera had occurred in Manila, and requested that an adequate military force be despatched to the valley of the Mariquina River to protect the city water supply from possible contamination.

This request was promptly acceded to, and the guard thereafter maintained proved adequate to prevent infection of the city water, although there are three towns on the river above the intake, and it was the custom of their people to bathe and wash their clothing in this stream. Many of the filthy surface wells of the city were filled as rapidly as possible, and those that could not be filled were closed.

The people, entirely unaccustomed as they were to any sanitary restrictions, believing that the disease was not cholera, and firm in their conviction that they had a right to do whatever they liked so long as they kept on their own premises, bitterly resented the burning or disinfection of their houses and effects, and the restriction of their liberty to go and come as they pleased, and in spite of the fact that the number of cases was kept down in a manner never before dreamed of at Manila, there arose an increasingly bitter feeling of hostility toward the work of the board of health. In fact, the very success of the campaign proved an obstacle, and we were assured that the disease could not be cholera, as, if it were, there would be a thousand deaths a day!

An educational campaign was immediately begun, and simple directions for avoiding infection were published and scattered broadcast. Distilled water was furnished gratis to all who would drink it, stations for its distribution being established through the city and supplemented by large water wagons driven through the streets. The sale

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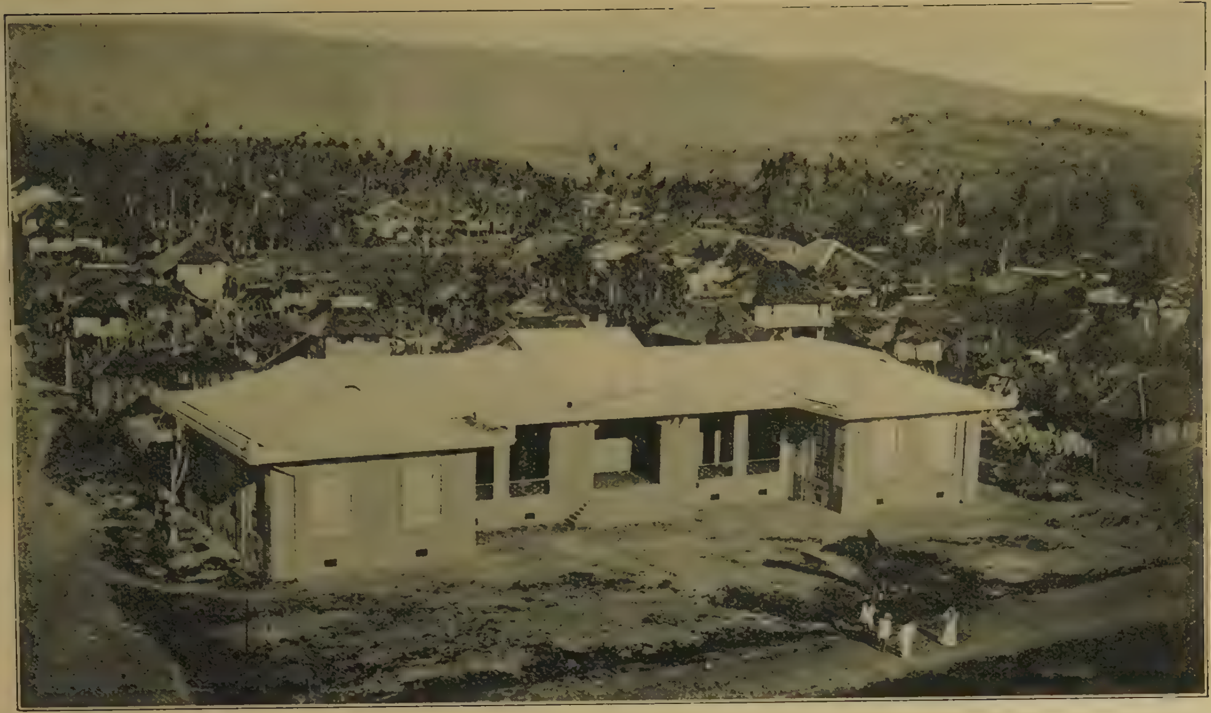
[1] For a detailed account of cholera in the Islands, see D. C. Worcester, *A History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1909.



A Modern Primary School Building.

Contrast this structure with the native houses near it.

of foods likely to convey the disease was prohibited. Large numbers of emergency sanitary inspectors were immediately appointed, and every effort was made to detect all cases as soon as possible. A land quarantine was established around the city, to protect the provinces.

In anticipation of a possible extensive outbreak of contagious disease a detention camp capable of accommodating some twenty-five hundred people had been established previously on the San Lazaro grounds, and to this place were taken the cholera "contacts." A cholera hospital was opened near this camp, and the stricken were removed to it from their homes as speedily as possible, the buildings which they had occupied being thoroughly disinfected, or burned if disinfection was impracticable.

The bodies of the dead were at the outset either buried in hermetically sealed coffins or cremated. When the detention camp and hospital at San Lazaro threatened to become crowded, a second camp and hospital were established at Santa Mesa. At this latter place both "contacts" and the sick were obliged to live in tents.

The Spanish residents were allowed to establish a private cholera hospital in a large and well-ventilated *convento* on Calle Herran. As the number of sick Spaniards was nothing like sufficient to fill this building, they were asked to turn over the unoccupied space in it to the board of health, which they most generously did.

In response to popular clamour a hospital under strictly Filipino management was opened in a nipa building in Tondo. Interest in it soon flagged, and the government found itself with this institution on its hands.

The epidemic came soon after the close of a long-continued war, and there were at that time in Manila not a few evil-intentioned persons, both foreign and native, who welcomed every opportunity to make trouble. The difficulties arising from the claim advanced by a number of reputable but ignorant medical men that the disease was not cholera at all were sufficiently great. They were enormously increased by false and malicious stories to the effect that "contacts" were killed at the detention camp; that patients on arrival at the cholera hospital were given a drink of poisoned *vino*[1] and instantly dropped dead; that the distilled water distributed free of charge was poisoned, and that the Americans were poisoning the wells.

The necessary use of strychnine as a heart stimulant at the cholera hospital was made the basis for a story that the sick were being poisoned with this drug. These silly tales were widely circulated and quite generally believed, and as a result of the fear thus engendered, and of the desire on the part of relatives and neighbours of stricken persons to escape disinfection and quarantine, strong efforts were often made to conceal the sick and the dead, and when this was not possible the "contacts" usually ran away. There were not wanting instances of the driving of cholera victims into the streets.

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[1] A strong alcoholic drink commonly made by diluting low-grade alcohol with water and flavouring it.

In spite of the generally hostile attitude of the public and some grave mistakes in policy, the measures adopted sufficed at the outset to hold the disease in check to an extent which surprised even the health officers themselves. On May 15 there began a rapid and quite steady decline in the number of cases. In June, however, it increased. During July it grew steadily larger, and on the 25th of that month there were ninety-one cases, the largest number which has ever occurred in Manila on any day since the American occupation.

Throughout the early months of the epidemic Major Maus had laboured unceasingly to check it, displaying an energy and an indifference to fatigue and personal discomfort which were highly commendable. The long-continued strain ultimately began to tell on him severely. On May 17 orders were received from the Adjutant-General's Office providing for his relief on or about July 30, and stating that Major E. C. Carter, of the United States Army Medical Corps, would be available for detail as commissioner of public health on that date, if his services were desired. Arrangements were accordingly made to have Major Carter proceed to the Philippines. Major Maus's resignation was accepted, effective July 31. Dr. Frank S. Bourns was urged to take temporary charge of the situation, and consented to do so.

On the 8th of August Major Carter arrived and announced his readiness to assume his duties, but it was suggested to him that he ought first to have some time to familiarize himself with them, and Dr. Bourns was left free to carry out the special work for which he had been appointed. This he did with promptness and despatch, the number of cases for August being but seven hundred twenty as against thirteen hundred sixty-eight for the previous month. On the 8th of September, having brought the disease under control at Manila, he insisted on resigning in order to attend to his private affairs, which were suffering from neglect, and his resignation was reluctantly accepted.

Dr. Bourns's remarkable success in dealing with a very difficult situation was largely due to his ability to devise measures which, while thoroughly effective, were less irritating to the public than were those which had been previously employed. The policy which he had inaugurated was followed by his successor with the result that the cases fell to two hundred seventy-five in September and eighty-eight in October. In November there was a slight recrudescence, but the disease did not again threaten to escape control and in February practically disappeared, there being but two cases during the entire month.

The return of hot, damp weather again produced a slight recrudescence, and scattering cases continued to occur until March, when the epidemic of 1902-1904 ended in Manila. In view of the conditions which then prevailed and of the extreme risk of a general infection of the city water supply, which, had it occurred, would doubtless have resulted in the death of a third of the population, this is a record of which the Bureau of Health may well be proud.

The effort to prevent the spread of infection by maintaining a land quarantine around Manila proved entirely ineffective. The disease promptly appeared in the provinces where the campaign against it was from the outset in charge of newly appointed Filipino presidents of provincial boards of health, aided, when practicable, by medical inspectors from Manila. Before it was finally checked in Manila there were 5581 cases with 4386 deaths; while in the provinces, in many of which it necessarily long ran its course practically unhindered, there were 160,671 cases, with 105,075 deaths.

On the 27th of April, 1904, the board of health passed resolutions declaring that the Archipelago was free from the infection of Asiatic cholera. As a matter of fact, however, it later proved that cholera was endemic in certain swampy regions near Manila, and in 1905 we found ourselves with a new epidemic on our hands. At the end of the second week, beginning August 23, there had been one hundred thirty-seven cases, as compared with one hundred twenty-five for the same period during the epidemic of 1902–1904.

However, the conditions for combating cholera were now far more favourable than in 1902. Major E. C. Carter had at his own request been relieved from duty as commissioner of public health, and Dr. Victor G. Heiser, past assistant surgeon of the United States public health and marine hospital service, had been appointed to succeed him on April 5, 1905. Dr. Heiser was a highly trained officer of one of the most efficient services which has ever been organized for the combating of contagious and infectious diseases.

He had under him in the city of Manila a small but thoroughly trained body of twenty-four medical inspectors, of whom nineteen were Americans and five Filipinos. Profiting by his previous experience and that of his predecessors in the Philippine service, he inaugurated a campaign which practically terminated the epidemic in Manila on February 21, 1906,[1] with a total of two hundred eighty-three cases and two hundred forty-three deaths. This brief and decisive campaign reflects the greatest credit on all concerned with it.

The board of health had one great advantage in the fact that the San Lazaro contagious disease hospital had been completed. This building, with its cool wards and attractive surroundings, made it possible to give cholera victims the best of care. There was at the outset little or no fear of this hospital, but apparently this condition of things was not satisfactory to that small but dangerous element of the Manila public which from the time of the American occupation has never let pass any opportunity to make trouble. As usual, the medium of attack was the local press. *Soberanía Nacional* published a most extraordinary article painting in vivid colours the alleged horrors of the San Lazaro Hospital, and stating among other things that the naked bodies of the dead, tagged and with their feet tied together, lay about the entrance of that institution. A more false statement was never published.

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[1] There was one stray case in March.

Within twenty-four hours after its appearance terror reigned among the lower classes, and living and dead cholera victims were being smuggled out of the city to neighbouring towns.

Feeling that the vicious attitude of a certain section of the press had cost lives enough, I sent the editor of this paper a courteous invitation to call at my office. He made no response. I then wrote him, demanding a retraction, and sending him a correct statement to publish.[1] He was at first disposed to argue the matter, but finding that I meant business published the article which I sent to him and made the following retraction:—

"We are exceedingly glad to affirm in the honour of truth and justice, that the news given by us on the seventh instant under the title 'Painful Scenes,' and 'Naked Dead,' is absolutely absurd, false and unreasonable.

"We have investigated the truth of the said notice, and can affirm to our readers that it is entirely inaccurate, as in the courtyard of the

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[1] "To the Editor of El Soberanía Nacional, Manila, P. I.

"Sir: In your issue of the 7th of July there appeared a paragraph embodying a shameful libel of the administration of the San Lazaro Hospital, which reads as follows:

"'*Un cuadro verdaderamente aterrador es el que presenta el patio del Hospital de San Lazaro. Los fallecidos por la enfermedad del colera, són expuestos desnudos en el atria de dicho Hospital con un cartel atado en los pies con la inscripción de sus respectivos nombres.*'

"This statement was so grossly and ridiculously false and at the same time so extremely harmful in its effect as to bring you fairly and squarely within the reach of the law.

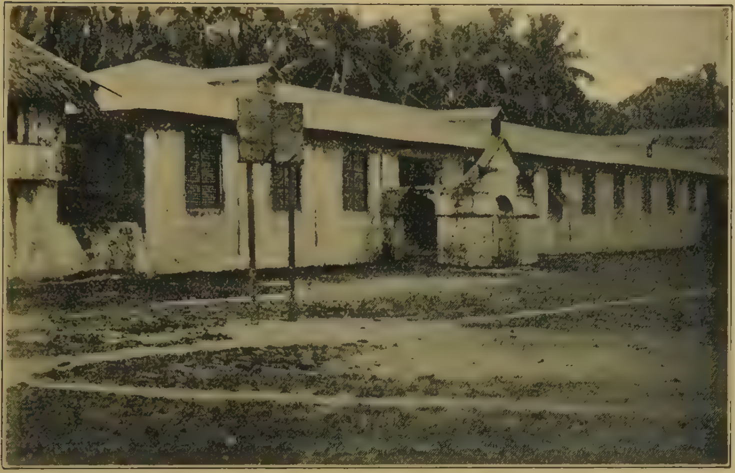
"Yesterday morning I sent you a courteous letter requesting you to come to my office, purposing to discuss the affair with you in a friendly manner, and hoping to find that the statement referred to had been prepared by some irresponsible subordinate and published through oversight.

"As, however, you have neither acceded to my request for a conference nor had the courtesy to reply to my letter, I now have the honour to forward you herewith a communication which embodies a reply to the false statement above referred to and at the same time conveys information as to what is actually being done at the San Lazaro Hospital. I request that you give this letter immediate publicity through your paper, and in the editorial columns or elsewhere in some conspicuous place retract immediately and fully the libellous statement relative to the exposure of the dead, above referred to.

"Kindly advise me of your intention in the matter. The bearer of this communication has instructions to wait for your reply. I shall interpret failure to hear from you by return messenger as refusal to retract this slander and to publish the enclosed communication, and shall act accordingly.

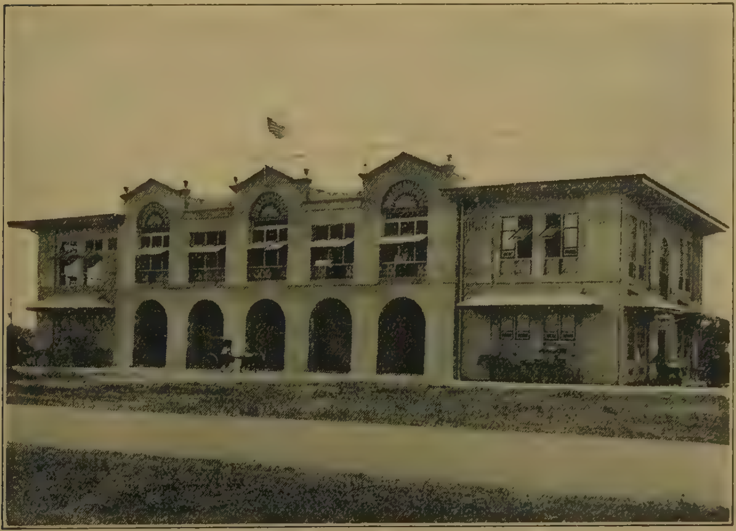
"Very respectfully,

"Dean C. Worcester,
"*Secretary of the Interior.*"



OLD-STYLE CENTRAL SCHOOL BUILDING.

This structure is typical of the better-class school-houses constructed by the Spaniards.



MODERN CENTRAL SCHOOL BUILDING.

This structure is typical of the better-class school-houses constructed under American rule.

said hospital the naked dead that we have spoken of are not now exposed, nor have they ever been so exposed.

"The truth is above all things, and to rectify a baseless piece of news should not be a doubtful action on the part of the person who gave the news, but rather something in his favour that the public should appreciate it at its full value.

"To conclude, we must record our gratitude to the Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, for the investigations made in the premises with the purposes of ascertaining the truth of the alleged facts, and for the courteous way in which he received us this morning when interviewed by one of our reporters."

In the provinces the results of the campaign against cholera were far less satisfactory than in Manila as was to be anticipated, owing to lack of adequate personnel, but the cases, which numbered 34,238, and deaths, which numbered 22,938, were far fewer than during the previous epidemic.

I shall not attempt here to trace the course of the subsequent epidemics which have occurred from time to time, but shall content myself with giving the deaths by years. In 1908, they numbered 18,811; in 1909, 7306; in 1910, 6940; in 1911, 203. In 1912, there were none, and thus far in 1913 there have been none.[1] The superstitious practices which were formerly employed by the Filipinos to combat this scourge have given way to simple and inexpensive hygienic measures, and we can safely count on sufficient coöperation from the people to make an effective campaign possible when it next appears.

Never shall I forget the strain of the early days of the first epidemic. Two of my best men, Dr. Meacham and Mr. Mudge, literally worked themselves to death, remaining on duty when they knew that they were in imminent danger, and in the end laying down their lives willingly for an alien and hostile people. Such things make one proud of being an American.

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[1] Just before I left Manila in October, 1913, cholera reappeared there.

The following table from the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, page 9, with the accompanying explanation, tells eloquently the subsequent history of cholera in the Philippines:

TABLE SHOWING ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM CHOLERA IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS FOR THE PAST 10 YEARS.

	Number of Deaths		*Number of Deaths*
1915 [a]	820	1920 [a]	1,387
1916 [a]	7,986	1921	41
1917 [a]	7,984	1922	72
1918 [a]	6,340	1923	None
1919 [a]	17,537	1924	None

[a] These were years when precautionary and preventive measures were relaxed and public health work was poor.

In 1925 a new outbreak of cholera occurred, "coincidently with outbreaks at many other points in the Far East." This epidemic "was completely suppressed by the end of March (1926); there were 213 deaths. Final eradication was due to thorough vaccination of the population in the affected areas. More than 2,500,000 doses of cholera vaccine were injected during the year." (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, p. 6.)

At times the situation was not devoid of amusing features. I had occasion to visit one of the northern provinces, where the epidemic was especially severe, in an effort to calm the panic-stricken populace. I stayed with the governor, a very intelligent Filipino. For obvious reasons I investigated his domestic arrangements, finding that he was boiling drinking water, thoroughly cooking all food, and taking all usual and necessary precautions to prevent infection.

On returning to his house the first evening, after a short absence, I found the grounds decorated with lighted Japanese lanterns. Supposing that the proverbial Filipino hospitality had risen above even such untoward circumstances as those which then existed, I asked the governor what the entertainment was to be. In evident perplexity he replied that he had not planned to have any entertainment, and said he had heard that the lanterns would keep away cholera germs!

I have referred to the fact that the civil government inherited a fairly well developed epidemic of bubonic plague. In 1901 this disease caused four hundred twenty-seven deaths, in 1902 it caused ten only, but the demands made on the sanitary force by the cholera epidemic which began in that year rendered it impossible to give to plague the attention which it otherwise would have had, with the result that in 1903 we had one hundred seventy-four deaths. In 1904 there were seventy-eight; in 1905, forty-three; in 1906, seven; in 1907, none; and from 1907 until 1912, none. In the latter year the disease was reintroduced.

Rats become infected with it, and fleas transmit it from them to human beings. It was probably brought in by infected rodents hidden inside packages of vegetables, as it appeared in a district where crates of vegetables are opened in large numbers, and did not appear in the vicinity of the piers, although shore rats are abundant there, and if diseased rodents had landed from shipping, would promptly have become infected,—a thing which did not occur.

At about the same time plague also appeared at Iloilo, where it was eradicated with a total of nine deaths. At Manila there have been up to the present time[1] fifty-nine deaths, and scattering cases continue to occur at considerable intervals. Had plague not been promptly and effectively combated, it would unquestionably have spread rapidly, causing untold misery and heavy property losses.

As I have previously stated, at the time of the American occupation smallpox was by many people regarded as an almost inevitable ailment of childhood. It proved necessary to secure the passage of legislation forbidding the inoculation of human beings with it to prevent misguided Filipinos from deliberately communicating it to their children, not because they did not dearly love them, but because they regarded infection with it as a calamity sure to come sooner or later, and desired to have it over with once for all.

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[1] September 15, 1913.

We have performed more than ten million vaccinations, with the result that the annual deaths from this disease have decreased from forty thousand at the outset to seven hundred for the year just ended. There is now less smallpox in Manila than in Washington. In the six provinces nearest Manila it was killing, on the average, six thousand persons annually. For a year after we finished vaccinating the inhabitants of these provinces it did not cause a death among them; nor has it since caused such a death except among new-born children or newly arrived unvaccinated persons.

These extraordinary results have been achieved without the loss of a life or a limb so far as we know. The vaccine used was prepared by our own Bureau of Science with extraordinary care, and has proved to be remarkably pure and active. We at first endeavoured to have vaccinations performed by local Filipino health officers, but, after spending large sums without obtaining satisfactory results, gave up this plan and substituted therefor a method of procedure by which the work was carried on under the very immediate supervision of the director of health. We then made substantial progress. However, under the law as it at present stands, succeeding annual vaccination, intended to insure the immunization of children soon after they are born and of unvaccinated persons who may come into a given territory, are intrusted to the local Filipino authorities, with the result that in very many cases they are not attended to. We get elaborate returns showing the number of persons vaccinated. Then comes an outbreak of smallpox, and on investigation we learn that the vaccinations so fully reported were made on paper only! In other words, the continuance of this work, of such vital importance to the Filipino people, is still directly dependent upon continued control by American health officers.[1]

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[1] When the following table, from the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, page 8, is read in conjunction with the above statement by Worcester comment is unnecessary:

TABLE SHOWING TOTAL DEATHS FROM SMALLPOX IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, BY YEARS, IN ACTUAL NUMBERS AND PER 100,000 POPULATION, FOR THE PAST 10 YEARS.

Year	Total deaths	Deaths per 100,000 population	Remarks
1915	276	3.30	
1916	610	7.18	
1917	436	4.77	
1918	16,147	173.42	Epidemic with 72,740 deaths in three years. These were years when vaccination was neglected.
1919	49,971	527.19	
1920	6,632	68.91	
1921	728	7.22	
1922	19	.18	
1923	5	.05	Lowest rate for the islands.
1924	6[a]	.05	

[a] Five were foreigners who arrived in Manila already in the incubation period.

One death occurred from smallpox in 1925, seven in 1926, and none in 1927. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 147.)

Another great problem now in a fair way to final solution is the eradication of leprosy. At the outset we were told by the church authorities that there were thirty thousand lepers in the islands. In 1905 we began to isolate and care for all supposed victims of this disease, only to find that many outcasts believed to be suffering from it were really afflicted with curable ailments. We were able to restore a very large number of them to society, to their great joy and that of their friends.

A few hundreds of true lepers were being humanely cared for in Manila and elsewhere. Many others had been driven out of the towns into forests or waste places on the larger islands, where they were perishing miserably from fever and other diseases. Still others had been isolated on sand quays, where they were in danger of dying from thirst during the dry season. Not a few wandered through the towns at will, thus making possible the spread of the disease.

All known lepers are now cared for at Culion, a healthful, sanitary town with good streets, excellent water and sewer systems, many modern concrete buildings and a first-class hospital. They are not confined to the limits of the town, but wander at will, except that they are excluded from the immediate vicinity of the houses of the officers and employees of the colony.

They may have their little farms, and raise pigs, chickens, vegetables, etc., if they wish. They may, and do, float about over the waters of the neighbouring bay in boats or on rafts, and fish to their hearts' content. They are well fed and well cared for, and their physical condition improves to a marked degree promptly after their arrival at the colony. The only hardship which they suffer is that necessarily involved in separation from their relatives and friends, and this is mitigated by occasional visits which the latter may make them. Since we began to isolate lepers, their number has decreased to approximately three thousand, and with a continuance of the present policy the disease should soon disappear from the Philippines.[1]

During the period immediately subsequent to the American occupation, amœbic dysentery wrought sad havoc both among our soldiers and among civil government officers and employees. Four of my own family of five had it, and one had it twice, in spite of the fact that we took all known precautions; and the experience of my family was by no means exceptional. This disease then annually cost the lives of a large number of American men and women, and a considerable additional number went home invalids for life as a result of infection with it. We seemed to hear almost daily of some new case.

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[1] From 1922 to the end of 1926 the total number of lepers cured was 492, and the total number paroled as negative was 584. It has been demonstrated at Culion that it is now possible to cure leprosy if treatment can be begun during the early stages of the disease. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, p. 89.) During 1927 the number of lepers confined at Culion was 5,181; in San Lazaro Hospital, 495; in the Cebú leper detention camp, 270; in other detention camps, 448; a total of 6,394. During 1927, 266 negative lepers were under observation, 314 were paroled, and 21 discharged. (*Ibid.*, 1927, p. 131.) One of the greatest services that General Leonard Wood rendered during his governor-generalship was his leadership in the fight against leprosy.

Careful scientific investigation carried on at the bureau of science taught us the best methods of combating this type of dysentery, and the proper disposal of human feces, the regulation of methods used in fertilizing vegetables, improvement in supplies of drinking water, and other simple, hygienic measures have reduced the deaths from it among Americans to an almost negligible minimum. Such cases as occur are almost without exception detected early, and readily yield to treatment.

The belief that Filipinos do not suffer from this disease has proved to be without foundation. It kills thousands of them every year. Those who are willing to adopt the simple precautions which experience has shown to be necessary may enjoy the large degree of immunity from it which Americans now have.

The chief cause of amœbic dysentery in the Philippines has undoubtedly been infected drinking water. From time immemorial the people have been obtaining their water for drinking purposes from flowing streams, open springs or shallow surface wells. The wells were especially dangerous, as it was the common custom to wash clothing around them so that water containing disease germs frequently seeped into wells used by whole villages. The results of such conditions during a cholera epidemic can readily be imagined. The drinking supplies of many provincial towns have now been radically improved by the sinking of 853 successful artesian wells. In many places there has been a resulting reduction of more than fifty per cent in the annual death rate. Large sums are spent yearly by the government in drilling additional wells,—a policy which is warmly approved by the common people. The recent appropriations for this purpose have been $255,000 for the fiscal year 1912, $60,000 for 1913 and $200,000 for 1914.[1]

When we came to the islands, malaria was killing as many persons as was smallpox.[2] The mortality caused by it is now being greatly

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[1] From 1904 to 1926, inclusive, 1,832 successful artesian wells were drilled by the Bureau of Public Works. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, p. 236.) The extent to which this work is still being carried on is made apparent by the fact that from 1923 to 1927, inclusive, 485 successful deep wells were drilled, at a cost of $538,215.50. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 204.)

[2] That malaria is still a scourge in the Philippines is shown by the report of an average of 25,910 deaths per annum from this disease from 1921 to 1926, inclusive. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 148.) Even though the statistics upon which this estimate is based are far from reliable, for the reason that 90 per cent or more of the death certificates were signed by local officials who were non-medical men, the conclusion which has been drawn from them is supported by a leading medical authority in the Islands, who stated in 1926 that, "The extent of our knowledge is that common observation leads to the clear deduction that malaria is the most destructive disease in the Philippine Islands."

Following a survey of health conditions begun in 1921 by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation upon the request of the Philippine Government, an advisory committee on malarial control was organized and an active campaign carried on for the eradication of the disease. In this work the Foundation has actively participated, and during 1927 five control units were in the field. The work consisted reduced by giving away annually millions of doses of quinine, and by draining or spraying with petroleum places where mosquitoes breed, as well as by teaching the people the importance of sleeping under mosquito nets and the necessity of keeping patients suffering from active attacks of malaria where mosquitoes cannot get at them. Only quinine of established quality is allowed in the market.

The results obtained in combating malaria are often very striking. Calapan, the capital of Mindoro, was in Spanish days known as "the white man's grave" on account of the prevalence of "pernicious fever" there. To-day it is an exceptionally healthy provincial town. At Iwahig, in Palawan, the Spaniards attempted to conduct a penal colony. They were compelled to abandon it on account of pernicious malaria, which caused continued serious mortality when the American government attempted to establish a similar institution there. Application of the usual sanitary measures has made it a healthful place.

Old jails throughout the islands have been rendered sanitary, or replaced by new ones. The loathsome skin diseases from which prisoners formerly suffered have in consequence disappeared. The practical results obtained in Bilibid, the insular penitentiary, are worthy of special note. The annual death rate at this institution was 78.25 per thousand for the calendar year 1904. It increased quite steadily until September, 1905, when it reached its maximum, deaths occurring during that month at the rate of 241.15 per thousand, per year. The death rate for the full year was 118 to the thousand. At this time the Director of Health was given charge of the sanitation of this prison. By remedying overcrowding, improving drainage, installing sewers and regulating diet along scientific lines, the rate was reduced in six months to 70 per 1000, and there it stuck.

A systematic examination of the stools of prisoners was then made. Eighty-four per cent were found to be afflicted with at least one intestinal parasite. Fifty per cent had two or more, and twenty per cent had three or more. Fifty-two per cent of the total had hookworm. Active treatment for the elimination of these parasites was begun in one barrack, and after the work was completed it was noted that there was much less disease there than in the remainder. All of the thirty-five hundred prisoners were ultimately examined, and intestinal parasites eradicated if present. The death rate then dropped to thirteen to the thousand, and has remained at or near this figure up to the present time.

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chiefly of a survey and control of breeding places of the Anopheles mosquito, carrier of the disease. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 132.) The primary work of eradicating malaria by eliminating the germ-carrying mosquito has been supplemented by the extensive use of quinine prophylaxis in malarious districts where mosquito eradication cannot be carried on. Instances have come to the knowledge of the editor in which quinine provided to local officials for distribution to malaria sufferers has been sold at extortionate rates, the officials pocketing the money.

I have already referred to the discovery of the cause of beri-beri, and to the effect of the governor-general's order forbidding the use of polished rice in government institutions or by government organizations. I subsequently made a strong effort to secure legislation imposing a heavy internal revenue tax on polished rice, thus penalizing its use. I failed, but such effort will be renewed by some one, let us hope with ultimate success.[1]

In Spanish days cholera, leprosy, smallpox and other dangerous communicable diseases were constantly reintroduced from without. This is no longer the case. The United States public health and marine hospital service has stretched an effective defensive line around the archipelago and has sent its outposts to Hongkong, Shanghai and Amoy, to prevent, so far as possible, the embarkation for Manila of persons suffering from such ailments. We now have the most effective quarantine system in the tropics, and one of the best in the world. At Mariveles there is a very large and complete disinfecting plant, and vessels may also be satisfactorily disinfected at Cebú and Iloilo.

This quarantine service kept the Philippines free from bubonic plague for seven years, and has repeatedly prevented the entry of pneumonic plague, that most deadly of all known diseases.

A peculiar and shockingly disfiguring disease known as yaws occurs somewhat infrequently in the Philippine lowlands and is very prevalent in a number of places in the highlands. In many ways it resembles syphilis, and indeed at one time was considered to be syphilitic in its origin. Doctor Richard P. Strong, of the Bureau of Science, made the very important discovery that salvarsan is an absolute specific for it. The effect of an injection of this remedy closely approaches a miracle in medicine. In five or six days the condition of the patient begins to improve rapidly. By the end of the second week his horrible sores have healed.

It was with this remedy that we began our health work among some of the wilder head-hunters of northern Luzón. Think of the advantage of being absolutely certain of curing such an ailment in every case, and think of the gratitude of poor wretches, undergoing untold suffering, when they were almost immediately relieved!

Soon after this use for salvarsan was discovered, I caused a liberal supply of it to be sent to the Bontoc Hospital. For some time we were unable to persuade any victims of yaws to undergo treatment, but finally we found one at Barlig who was guilty of a minor criminal offence, arrested him, and took him to Bontoc. Instead of putting him in jail there, we sent him to the hospital for treatment.

At first he complained bitterly that we were putting no medicine on his sores. Then the remedy began to work and he decided it was "strong medicine." By the tenth day he was running around town joyfully exhibiting his rapidly healing body to every one who would look at it. On the fourteenth day he suddenly disappeared, to the deep regret of the medical men, who had hoped that they might keep him as an example of what could be done, and thus persuade others to undergo treatment. A few days later, however, he reappeared with thirteen victims of yaws from his home town, having meanwhile twice covered on foot the great distance which separates Barlig from Bontoc, and assembled and brought in his fellow-sufferers.

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[1] This hope has not yet been realized. The recorded deaths from beri-beri have increased steadily from 16,016 in 1921 to 19,951 in 1927—and for the latter year the figures are not complete. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 148.)

As we have seen, the people of Manila were formerly supplied with impure drinking water from the Mariquina River, and were therefore in constant danger of infection with cholera and other deadly diseases. At a cost of some $1,500,000 we have given the city a modern water system, the intake of which is far up in the hills above the last village. The annual deaths from ordinary water-borne diseases exclusive of cholera have fallen from 3558—the average number at the time the new system was introduced—to 1195. Recently a leak in the dam, which necessitated temporary resumption of the use of the Mariquina River water, was immediately followed by a marked increase in the number of deaths from such diseases, thus conclusively demonstrating the fact that we were right in ascribing the previous reduction in deaths to a better water supply.

This annual saving of lives is an important result, but more important yet is the fact that when Asiatic cholera reappears in the Mariquina valley, as it inevitably will sooner or later, we shall not live in constant fear of a general infection of the Manila water supply, which, judging from the experience of other cities where modern sanitary methods have been introduced, might result in the death of a third of the population. In every country a very considerable part of the population always fails to boil its drinking water, no matter how great the resulting danger may be.

Manila lacked any facilities for the proper disposal of human waste, and the conditions which resulted were unspeakable, especially in the little *barrios*, or groups of houses, placed close together, helter-skelter, on wet, swampy ground and reached by means of runways not worthy even of the name of alleys, as one often had to crouch to pass along them. A modern sewer system costing $2,000,000, supplemented by a pail system, has very effectively solved this problem, while thousands of homes closely crowded on disease-infected, mosquito-breeding ground have been removed to high, dry, sanitary sites. The regions thus vacated have in many instances been drained, filled, provided with city water and good streets, and made fit for human occupancy.

The old moat around the city walls was a veritable incubator of disease. It has been converted into an athletic field where crowds of people take healthful exercise. The *esteros,* or tidal creeks, reeked with filth. More than twenty miles of such creeks have been cleaned out, although much still remains to be done to put them in really satisfactory condition.

There were no regulations covering the construction of buildings, and it was not unusual to find six or eight persons sleeping in a closed and unventilated room 10 x 8 x 8 feet. Manila now has an excellent sanitary code, and such conditions have been made unlawful.

The previous woeful lack of hospital facilities has been effectively remedied. At a cost of approximately a million and quarter pesos we have built and equipped the great Philippine General Hospital, one of the most modern institutions of its kind in the world, and by far the best in the Far East. In it we have very satisfactorily solved the question of getting sufficient light and air in the tropics without getting excessive heat. Its buildings are certainly among the very coolest in the city of Manila, and "the hospital smell" is everywhere conspicuously absent.

It is called a three-hundred-bed institution, but as a matter of fact the ventilation is so admirable that nearly two hundred additional beds can safely be put in as an emergency measure.[1] Two hundred and twenty of its beds are free. In them a very large number of persons are annually given the best of medical and surgical care. At its free clinic some eighty thousand patients find relief in the course of a year.

The increase in private hospital facilities has also been noteworthy. Among the new institutions doing admirable work should be mentioned the University Hospital, an Episcopal institution; the Mary J. Johnston Hospital, a Methodist institution; and St. Paul's Hospital, a Catholic institution. Patients are admitted to all of them without regard to their religious belief, a policy the liberality of which must commend itself to all broad-minded persons.[2] In enumerating the hospitals of Manila, the old Spanish institution, San Juan de Dios, should not be forgotten, for it has been improved and modernized until it offers good facilities for the treatment of the sick and the injured.

All of the above-mentioned institutions are in effect acute-case hospitals designed for the treatment of curable ailments. Cases of dangerous communicable disease are excluded from them, but are adequately provided for at San Lazaro where the insular government has established modern and adequate hospitals for plague, smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, etc., as well as a detention hospital for lepers, pending their departure for Culion.

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[1] Capacity in 1927, 601 beds, with an infectious pavilion of 40 beds under construction. During the year 6,482 applicants were refused admission on account of lack of room. 94,746 patients were treated. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 118.)

[2] In 1926 there were in operation 18 mission hospitals, with a total capacity of 645 beds; private society hospitals with 268 beds; and private industrial hospitals with 136 beds. (Information furnished by the Philippine Health Service.)

An insane hospital capable of comfortably accommodating 300 inmates has also been provided. A few years since the insane were commonly chained to floors, or tied to stakes under houses or in yards, and were not infrequently burned alive during conflagrations. Such conditions no longer exist, but the government is not yet able to provide for nearly all of the insane who need institutional care.

The several institutions above-mentioned have a very important function apart from the relief of human suffering, in that they afford unexcelled opportunities for giving practical instruction in nursing and in the practice of medicine and surgery. A few years ago there was not such a thing as a Filipina trained nurse in the islands. I was firmly convinced that the Filipinas of this country could learn to be good nurses, and made earnest efforts to have included among the first students sent at government expense to the United States several young women of good family who should attend nurses' training schools and then return to assist in our hospital work.

I failed to secure the adoption of this plan, but later the training of nurses was inaugurated in connection with hospital work at the old Civil Hospital, St. Paul's, the University Hospital, the Mary J. Johnston Hospital and the Philippine General Hospital. At the latter institution there is now conducted an admirable school where more than two hundred young men and women are being trained. Three classes have already graduated from it, and Filipina nurses have long since proved themselves to be exceptionally efficient, capable and faithful.[1] It will be some time before we can educate as many as are needed in the government hospitals, and after that has been accomplished a vast field opens before others in the provincial towns, where the need of trained assistants in caring for the sick is very great.

We found exceedingly few competent Filipino physicians or surgeons in the islands.[2] This condition was due not to natural incompetence on the part of the Filipinos but to the previous lack of adequate educational facilities. The government has established a thoroughly modern college of medicine and surgery, well housed, and provided with all necessary laboratory facilities. It furnishes the best of theoretical instruction, while its students have every opportunity for practical work at the bedsides of patients in the government hospitals, all patients in free beds being admitted subject to the condition that they will allow their cases to be studied.

While there is still an evident tendency on the part of graduates of this school to feel that they know enough, and to desire to get to making money without delay, we are nevertheless managing to attract an increasingly large number of the more competent to the intern service of the Philippine General Hospital, where as the result of additional years of practical experience they become exceptionally proficient.

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[1] Now the School of Nursing of the University of the Philippines.

[2] In 1927 the Board of Medical Examiners reported that there were registered in the Islands 1,992 physicians, 1,593 pharmacists, 718 dentists, 237 optometrists, 2,175 nurses. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 119.)

This institution, with its great free clinic, offers very exceptional facilities for practical instruction, and we have already trained some extremely competent Filipino physicians and surgeons.

As funds permit, hospital work is being extended to the provinces. At Cebú a thoroughly up-to-date sixty-bed institution is now open.[1] A smaller one was established years ago at Baguio, where surgical work may be performed with great advantage on account of the rapidity with which convalescence occurs in the cool, pure mountain air, which also expedites the recovery of persons recuperating from wasting diseases.

A little more than a year ago a hospital was opened at Bontoc, the demand for accommodations being so great from the start that we did not even await the arrival of beds. Sick Igorots were only too glad to lie on the floor if their needs could be ministered to. It had previously been the custom of the wild men to kill chickens, pigs or carabaos in case of illness, in order to propitiate evil spirits, the kind and number of animals killed being of course determined by the wealth of the patients. They have now satisfied themselves that quinine for malaria, salvarsan for yaws, and other effective remedies for common ailments are more useful and more readily obtained than was the helpful intervention of the *anítos*, or spirits of the dead, while the methods and results of modern surgery are a source of unending amazement and satisfaction to them.

The first surgeon to anæsthetize a Kalinga became promptly and widely known as "the man who kills people and brings them to life again," and the individual on whom he operated successfully, who chanced to be the most influential chief of the tribe, became his friend for life. Indeed, the results of medical and surgical work for the wild men have been an important factor in bringing about and maintaining friendly relations with them.

Their gratitude is at times very touching. At Atok, in Benguet, there lives an Igorot chief named Palasi. When he was already old a son was born to him. This boy, who was the delight of his declining years, became deathly ill with confluent smallpox, and the Igorots considered him as good as dead. At this time Sanitary Inspector Baron appeared on the scene. He promptly turned every one else out of the house and himself nursed the boy, saving his life. Palasi wished to pay him for his services, but was informed by Mr. Baron that the government paid him, and he could not accept additional compensation. Palasi promptly made the long journey to Baguio to ascertain whether Baron had told him the truth, and was informed by Governor Pack that this was the case. The old man retired to Atok, quite disgusted with the strange ways of Americans.

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[1] Now the Southern Islands Hospital, a branch of the Philippine General Hospital. This institution is well equipped, efficiently operated, and has a medical staff which in quality would be a credit to any hospital. In 1926 the bed capacity was 70.

Six months later he again appeared at Baguio to ask the governor about a *fiesta* which he had just heard it was customary to celebrate on the 25th of December. He had been told that Americans were in the habit of giving presents to each other at this time, and asked if this was the case. Governor Pack said yes. Palasi then inquired if the feast was a *good* feast, and the custom a *good* custom, and was assured that both of these things were true. He next asked if it would be a good feast for Igorots as well as for Americans, and receiving an affirmative reply from the unsuspecting governor, triumphantly declared that he was going to give Baron his best horse. Under the circumstances the governor allowed him to do so.

In connection with the Bontoc Hospital we use two men, one of whom travels from settlement to settlement, relieving minor ailments on the spot and sending to the hospital only those patients who need to go there, while the other stays at home and receives them. From time to time these two doctors "change works." Pages from their daily journals, written in the field, often read like romance.

Were I a young man, and possessed of adequate knowledge of medicine and surgery, I would ask nothing better than to minister to the wants of these people. One might not, and indeed would not, acquire great wealth, but he would be rich in friends. Here lies a great field for practical missionary work.

In connection with the health work there have been many occurrences which were both amusing and sad. At one time there was great excitement over a sacred spring which had appeared in Manila Bay off the district of Tondo. It was duly blessed by Monsignor Gregorio Aglipay, the head of the so-called Aglipayano church. Coincidently with its discovery there was a sharp little outbreak of Asiatic cholera. Investigation revealed the fact that the "spring" had its origin in a broken sewer pipe. We were obliged to prevent the faithful from further partaking of its waters, and thus insuring themselves a speedy trip to the better world.

At one time cases of cholera appeared scattered generally throughout the Mariquina valley and without apparent connection. For some days we were unable to make a guess as to their origin. Then we heard that a "Queen" had arisen at the town of Taytay near the Laguna de Bay. An investigation of the Queen and her activities resulted in rather astonishing revelations. She was a very ordinary looking Tagálog girl who had secured the body of an old bull-cart, stopped the cracks with clay, partially filled it with water and decaying vegetable matter, and at rather frequent intervals had bathed in the fermenting mass thus concocted. In due time she announced herself a healer of all the ills to which flesh is heir, and the sick flocked to her. Cholera was then prevalent in some of the towns near Taytay, and there were persons suffering from it among those seeking relief. Some of them were directed to wash their hands in the extemporized tank, while others bathed their bodies in it. As a result it soon contained a cholera culture of unprecedented richness. This was given to patients applying for treatment, and was bottled and sent to those who were too ill to come in person. Hence numerous scattering cases of cholera which did not bear any relationship to other known cases.

It proved quite an undertaking to put the Queen of Taytay out of business. We first asked the local authorities to have her sent to Manila, but the presidente and the police declined to act. We then applied for a warrant to the Filipino judge of the court of first instance having jurisdiction over Taytay, but that worthy official found it convenient to be suddenly called out of the province. At last we prevailed upon soldiers of the Philippine constabulary to arrest the Queen and bring her to Manila.

We had anticipated that she might prove insane, but she showed herself to be a very keen-witted young woman. We employed her at the San Lazaro Hospital to look after cholera patients. The people of Taytay were not satisfied, and a few days later a large delegation of them came to Manila and demanded the Queen. I was at my wits' end to know what to do, but old Spanish law can usually be relied upon in emergencies, and the attorney-general discovered a provision couched in very general terms, which provided against disobedience to the authorities. It was only necessary for an "authority" to have read to an ordinary person a statement setting forth what that person must not do; then if the order was violated, such person could be made to suffer pains and penalties.

I accordingly prepared a most impressive order prohibiting the Queen of Taytay from further engaging in the practice of medicine, had her followers drawn up in battalion formation, placed myself at the front and centre, caused the Queen to be brought before me, and read her my communication, at the same time charging the good people of Taytay not to tempt her again to try her hand at healing, for the reason that if they did she would surely get into serious trouble. They marched away with the Queen and I have not heard of her since. Hardly a year goes by that some similar miraculous healer does not set up in business, and the supply of dupes seems to be unending.

While it is comparatively easy to combat disease in a place like Manila, what of the provinces, where in many cases there is not one physician to two hundred thousand inhabitants? To meet this difficulty we have an organization of district and municipal health officers. A district may include a single province or several provinces. A district health officer is invariably a physician who has had reasonably thorough practical training in the work of public sanitation, usually at Manila. He is supposed to spend his time in sanitary work rather than in treating sick individuals, but it is, of course, impossible for him always to refuse to treat such persons, and we encourage gratuitous work for the poor when it can be carried on without interfering too seriously with more important duties.

Presidents of municipal boards of health may exercise jurisdiction over a single municipality or over several. They are supposed to maintain good sanitary conditions in their respective towns, under the general supervision of district health officers, and to instruct their people in sanitary methods and their results, as well as to devote a certain amount of their time to the relief of the suffering poor.

On the whole it must be admitted that while this system has accomplished much, it has fallen far short of accomplishing what it should.

Men like Dr. Arlington Pond of Cebú have wrought marvels, and have conclusively demonstrated the fact that it is not the system that is at fault. Of our thirteen district health officers, ten are Filipinos. They are, with few exceptions, letter-perfect. They know what they ought to do, but as a rule lack the initiative and the courage to do it.

Recently after discovering exceptionally bad sanitary conditions in several towns of the province of Misamis, I demanded an explanation of the district health officer, an exceptionally well-educated and intelligent Filipino physician. I found, as I had anticipated, that the sanitary regulations of his towns left little to be desired, but that they were absolutely ignored.

I asked him what sense there was in paying his salary if he failed to remedy such conditions as I had discovered. He replied that if he were really going to compel people to clean up, it would be necessary to begin with the provincial governor, whose premises were in a bad state. When I suggested that in my opinion the provincial governor would be the best possible man to begin with, the doctor evidently thought me crazy!

It is as yet impossible for the average intelligent Filipino to understand that the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, should be treated alike.

It often happens that a province asks for an American health officer, or a Filipino demands the services of an American physician. My invariable procedure in such cases has been to request that the ap-

Typical Scene in a Trade School.

In institutions like this, young Filipinos are being taught the dignity of labor and are learning useful trades.

plication be made in writing. For some mysterious reason the petitioners are seldom willing to go on record.

A short time since we had a strong demand from Iloilo for an American district health officer. I made the usual suggestion and got a written request that there be sent to Iloilo a district officer "after the style of the district health officer of Cebú." If Dr. Pond's[1] nationality may be considered a part of his style, then this was a request for an American, otherwise not!

With rather shocking frequency, Filipinos who must be examined for leprosy or some other dangerous communicable disease strongly insist that the examination be made by an American bacteriologist rather than by one of their own countrymen. In connection with recent election troubles two men were wrongfully denounced as lepers. In several instances perfectly sound people have been thrust among lepers who were being taken on board steamer for transfer to Culion. This grievous wrong was committed by their enemies under cover of darkness, and in the confusion which attends the embarking of a number of people in a heavy sea. The reason why the services of Americans are often specially requested for diagnostic work is not far to seek!

It is a significant fact that our greatest success in establishing satisfactory provincial sanitary conditions has been achieved in certain of the "special government provinces," where the people are under the very direct control of American officials. There is not a regularly organized province in the Philippines in which the towns are as clean as are those of Mindoro, where, until recently, we have never had a resident district health officer. I believe that nowhere in the tropics can there be found native towns which are cleaner or more healthful than are those of Bukidnon, inhabited in some instances by people who have literally been brought down out of the tree-tops within the last two or three years. We have never had a resident health officer in this subprovince. I mention these facts not as an argument against health officers, but as a proof of what can be done without them by intelligent Americans vested with proper authority.

It has given me especial pleasure to see the fundamental change which has come about in public sentiment relative to medical, surgical and sanitary work. At the outset sanitary inspectors and vaccinators carried on their work at serious risk of personal violence. Indeed, several of them were killed. Incredible tales were believed by the populace, with the result that cholera victims sometimes had to be taken to the hospital by force. In later years it has been by no means unusual for them to come in voluntarily and request treatment.

General hospitals were in the old days regarded as places where people so unfortunate as to have no homes to die in might go to end their days. It was almost impossible to get any other class of persons into them. Now we constantly turn away deserving patients from the Philippine General Hospital because of lack of room. The common people are flocking to it in rapidly increasing numbers. We even have "repeaters," and persons who drop in just to get a comfortable bed and a bath while waiting for an examination which will inevitably show that there is nothing wrong with them.

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[1] Dr. Arlington Pond.

Our difficulties were increased at the outset by the fact that many foreign medical men working in the Far East good-naturedly ridiculed our efforts to better conditions, claiming that in tropical colonies it was customary to take only such steps as would safeguard the health of European residents, and that it was really best to let the masses live as they would, since orientals were incapable of sanitary reform, and the attempt to bring it about involved a waste of effort that might be more profitably directed elsewhere. Furthermore these men were, in their several countries, practising what they preached.

It has been very interesting to note the reaction of American methods upon those previously in vogue in neighbouring colonies. At first our efforts to make Asiatics clean up, and to eliminate diseases like leprosy, cholera and plague, were viewed with mild amusement, not unmixed with contempt; but the results which we obtained soon aroused lively interest.

Foreign governments began to send representatives to the annual meetings of the "Philippine Island Medical Association,"[1] in order to learn more of our methods. From these small beginnings sprang "The Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine," the biennial meetings of which bring together the most experienced, skilful and widely known physicians and sanitarians in the East for an interchange of views and experiences which is invaluable, and greatly facilitates concerted action between the various governments concerned in dealing with what may be termed "international health problems." The first meeting of this Association was held at Manila, the second at Hongkong. The third will take place at Saigon.

The results of a rigid enforcement of the "Pure Food and Drugs Act" are worthy of more than passing notice. Such enforcement has been comparatively easy as the officials concerned are not hampered by politics. The Philippines were at one time a dumping-ground for products that could not be sold elsewhere, but it is now possible for Filipinos to obtain wholesome preserved foods and unadulterated drugs, except in very remote places where none of any sort are available.

The cost of our medical and sanitary work has been comparatively

[1] The first organization of American physicians in the Philippines was the Manila Medical Association, from which the Philippine Island Medical Association ultimately developed.

small. The per capita rate of taxation here is lower than in any other civilized country. What we have done has been accomplished without spending vast sums of money or resorting to military measures.

The results obtained are very largely due to the faithfulness and efficiency of Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who was chief quarantine officer of the Philippines when he succeeded Major E. C. Carter as commissioner of public health on April 5, 1905, and was later made director of health when the original board of health was abolished as an administrative entity. He has continued to hold the office of chief quarantine officer, and thus has been in complete executive control of the health situation for eight years. Through good report and ill, mostly ill, he has given unsparingly of his time, his skill and his wisdom, always treating the government money as if it were his own. His tenure of office has been long enough to enable him to inaugurate and carry out policies, and thus get results.[1]

Seldom, if ever, have health officials been more viciously and persistently attacked than have Dr. Heiser and myself. The assaults on us have been the direct result of a firm stand for a new sanitary order of things, established in the interest of the whole body of inhabitants of these islands, civilized and uncivilized. We both welcome the profound change in public sentiment, which has slowly but surely come about as a result of practical accomplishment.

Many very grave health problems still confront the insular administration. Of these the most serious are the eradication of tuberculosis and the reduction of the very high infant mortality rate. It is believed that about one Filipino in five suffers from tuberculosis in some form during his life and the work we have thus far accomplished in many fields must be considered as in a way a clearing of the decks for action against this, the greatest enemy of all. However, the Philippines do not differ essentially from other civilized countries, in all of which tuberculosis is a very serious factor in the death rate.

As regards infant mortality the situation is different. More than fifty per cent of the babes die before completing their first year of life. The causes which lead to this appalling result have been made the subject of careful investigation which still continues. Popular interest has been aroused, but it is undoubtedly true that many years of patient work will be necessary before anything approaching satisfactory results can be brought about.[2]

The physical condition of the average Filipino is undoubtedly bad. Of one hundred seventy-eight university students recently examined sixty-nine were found to be suffering from serious organic troubles.

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[1] Dr. Heiser resigned in December, 1914. He entered the service of the Rockefeller Foundation and is now (1929) the Director for the East of the International Health Board.

[2] See page 330, n. 2, *supra*, note 1, for a discussion of what had been accomplished by 1927.

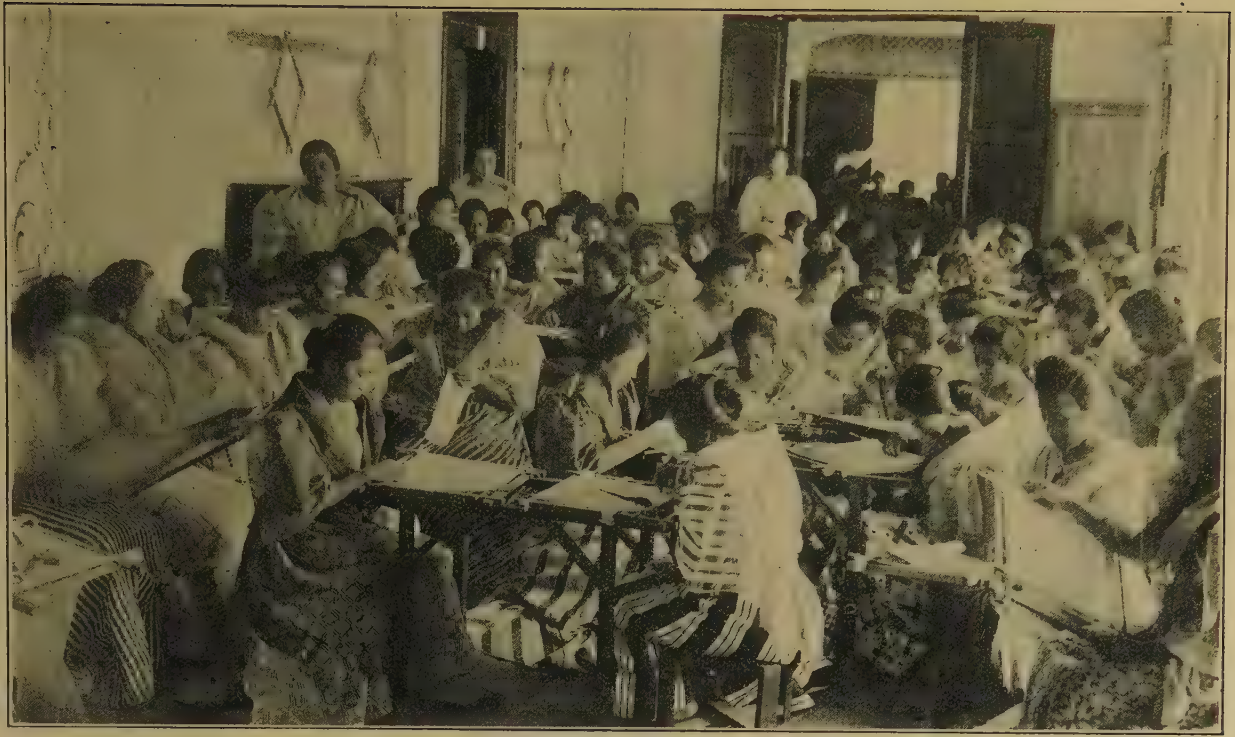
Unquestionably the great mass of the people are underfed. This is largely due to the poor quality of the rice which they consume, and to the fact that rice forms too large a part of their diet. I am firmly convinced that much of the so-called laziness of the Filipinos is the direct result of physical weakness due to improper and insufficient food.

Since the American occupation a large amount of time has been successfully devoted to the working out of a good all-around diet made up of local products the cost of which comes within the means of the poor. The next thing will be to get them to adopt it, and there comes the rub. Incalculable good would result, if we could only persuade the people of these islands to sleep with their windows open. Thousands upon thousands of infant lives would be saved annually, if mothers could be persuaded not to give solid food to their little ones during the early months of their existence.

In the educational campaign which we have thus far conducted with some considerable degree of success, two agencies have proved invaluable, namely the Catholic Church and the public schools. Again and again I have begged Apostolic Delegate Monsignor Agius and Archbishop Harty to bring to bear the influence of the Church in favour of simple sanitary regulations, the general adoption of which was imperatively necessary in combating some epidemic of disease. They have invariably given me invaluable assistance.

Through the public schools we reach more than half a million children, and they take the information which we convey to them home to their parents. Simple rules for the prevention of cholera have been universally taught in the schools. When the use of English has become generalized the difficulty now encountered in reaching the common people will largely disappear. The truth is that they are singularly tractable and docile when their reason can be effectively appealed to. The readiness with which they have submitted to the rigorous measures necessary for the elimination of leprosy is a lasting honour to them.

Would the sanitary campaign so vitally important to the people of the Philippines be effectively continued if American authority were withdrawn at this time? With regret I must answer this question emphatically in the negative. We have succeeded in training a few good physicians and surgeons. We have thus far failed to train really efficient sanitary officers. What is lacking is not so much knowledge as to what should be done as initiative and courage to do it. Until this condition changes radically for the better, Filipinos cannot safely be intrusted with the sanitary regeneration of their country. Under American control the population of the islands is steadily and rapidly increasing. It is my firm conviction that if Filipinos were at this time



An Embroidery Class.

This is a typical scene in the Manila School of Household Industries, where Filipina women are taught useful and profitable employments.

placed in control of the health work, the population would steadily and rapidly decrease.

It is especially to be regretted that the public press of the islands has not yet become sufficiently enlightened to join in the great sanitary campaign which has already relieved an enormous amount of human suffering and has greatly increased the expectancy of life of the people of the Philippines.[1]

The Philippine Assembly has repeatedly passed acts providing for the creation of a sort of sanitary council of numerous members authorized to pass on public health measures proposed by the director of health and instructed to disapprove them if not in accordance with the beliefs and customs of the Filipinos. In protecting the public health in the Philippine Islands emergencies constantly arise which must be instantly and effectively met. It would be as logical to place a commanding general directing a battle under the control of an advisory board as it would thus to tie the hands of the director of health, and it is difficult to see how any competent and self-respecting sanitarian could be willing to continue to hold this position if so hampered.

The Philippine Commission has heretofore invariably tabled the acts designed to accomplish this end, but that body has now been "Filipinized" and its future attitude on this very important question is therefore in doubt. Hardly had the legislative session opened in October, 1913, when the assembly again passed the same old bill. Should it become a law, there will be occasion to watch, with especial interest, the death rate of Manila and that of the archipelago as a whole.

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[1] An example of the attitude of the Filipino press of 1913 toward the exercise of authority by sanitary officers is afforded by an editorial from *El Ideal* quoted in the earlier editions of this work, pp. 446–447.

CHAPTER XVII

Baguio and the Benguet Road

In June, 1892, when sitting in a native house on a hill overlooking Naujan Lake in Mindoro, and anxiously awaiting the boats which were to make it possible for my party to return to the coast, I saw a small flotilla approaching. To my surprise and regret I found that it was not coming for us, but brought a number of Spanish officers who had heard that we had some mysterious procedure for killing the tamarau, an extraordinarily wild and vicious little buffalo peculiar to this island. They had come to get us to tell them how we did it, if possible, and if not to watch us and find out for themselves.

We described to them our method, which was easily understood. It consisted in picking up a likely trail along some water course, following it until the tamarau was overtaken, and then shooting him. This looked suspiciously simple to our Spanish friends before they had tried it, and they shook their heads. After trying it they became convinced that more than a few days of experience would be necessary before satisfactory results could be obtained. They profited little by the best information we could give them, and by the services of the expert tracker whom we loaned to them. Meanwhile I obtained from one of them, Señor Domingo Sanchez, information destined to become of great importance in the development of the Philippines.

Señor Sanchez, who was an employee of the Spanish forestry bureau, told me that in the highlands of Northern Luzón at an elevation of about five thousand feet, there was a region of pines and oaks blessed with a perpetually temperate climate and even with occasional frosts. I confess that I did not believe all of his statements. I was then experienced in climbing Philippine mountains, and at five thousand feet had invariably found a hopeless tangle of the rankest tropical vegetation, with humidity so high that trees were draped with ferns, orchids, and thick moss, and dripping with moisture. However, I knew that the mere presence of pine and oak trees would mean the occurrence of special bird species feeding upon their seeds, and so determined to investigate.

A severe attack of typhoid fever necessitated my leaving the islands before I could carry out this plan, but upon my return with the first Philippine Commission in 1899 I remembered Señor Sanchez's story. In view of the probability that American occupation would continue for a long period, the existence or non-existence near Manila of an extensive highland region with a temperate climate became a question of great practical importance. I therefore caused search to be made in the Spanish archives to see what, if any, reliable information was available, and to my great satisfaction unearthed a detailed report made by a committee of three distinguished and competent Spanish officers who had spent some weeks at Baguio in the *comandancia* of Benguet, during which period they had made six temperature observations daily, had tramped over the neighbouring country very thoroughly, had located a number of springs of potable water and determined their approximate flow, and in short had gathered a large series of very valuable data which more than bore out the statements of Señor Sanchez. I found, furthermore, that Spanish engineers had made a survey for a carriage road into this country, and had prepared a profile of it with estimates of the amount and cost of the necessary excavation and other work.

While in Washington during the winter of 1899-1900, I brought this matter to the attention of Secretary Root. Just as the second Philippine Commission was filing out of his office, after receiving its instructions, he called out to us directing that we look into that Benguet matter, and if the facts proved to be as stated open up the country.

Mindful of these instructions the commission delegated General Luke E. Wright and myself to visit Benguet and familiarize ourselves with conditions by investigation on the ground. General MacArthur was dubious when we expressed a desire to carry out the instructions of the secretary of war. He told us that the country was very dangerous, doubtless confusing it with Bangued, the capital of Abra, near which there was at that time a strong and active Insurgent force.

We insisted on going, so he said that he would send a troop of cavalry with us, and he kept his word. During the last week of July we finally sailed from Manila on a naval vessel for San Fernando in the province of Union. From this place we expected to go by road as far as Naguilian, in the same province, and thence on horseback to Trinidad and Baguio, in Benguet.

In order to expedite investigations as much as possible we took with us Mr. Horace L. Higgins, president of the Manila and Dagupan Railway Company, who was an engineer of experience, to report on the practicability of constructing a railway to Baguio. We also took Major L. M. Maus, of the army medical corps, and Dr. Frank S. Bourns, who then held the volunteer rank of major in the same corps, to report on the possibilities of the place as a health resort. Two young naval officers went along just for the trip.

Major Maus accompanied us only because requested to do so.

Taking the latitude and altitude as a basis for his calculations, he had already determined with a lead pencil and piece of paper just what the climate of Baguio must be, and had demonstrated to his own complete satisfaction that the statements of the members of the Spanish committee above referred to were necessarily false.

His first rude shock came when we were met at San Fernando by a young aide to Colonel[1] Duval, who was in command of the local garrison at that place. This lieutenant told us that some negro soldiers were stationed at Trinidad and were being kept supplied by an army pack train. I asked him how they were getting on. He said very well, except that they could not keep warm. They had called for all the spare blankets available, but still complained of the cold!

The trail proved to be in execrable condition. No repair work had been done on it since 1896, and its constant use during the then-existing rainy season by a pack train had completed its destruction. Much of the way it was a mere V in the earth, with deep mud at the bottom.

We left Naguilian early in the morning and stopped for lunch at a little place properly called Sablán, but unofficially known as "The Bells." Aguinaldo had thought at one time of establishing his headquarters in Benguet and had planned to have a gun foundry at Sablán. His troops accordingly stole most of the church bells in the neighbouring lowland towns, meaning to use them for gun metal, and compelled the unfortunate Benguet Igorots to carry them up the steep trail. Boiler pipes, which had been used in lieu of carrying poles, had in several instances been badly bent out of shape. There was even an old vertical boiler which had been lugged up entire for some unknown reason.

The labour involved must have been enormous, and we were assured that when the Igorot bearers, prostrated with fatigue, had refused to continue their titanic task without rest, they had been driven to it at the muzzles of Insurgent rifles, and that some of them had been shot as a lesson to the others. At all events, the boiler and the bells were there, and there the boiler and the larger bells have remained ever since!

It was still steaming hot at Sablán, and the whole countryside was buried in the densest tropical vegetation. Major Maus was triumphant. Things were working out just as he had predicted. However, as we were already halfway up, we thought that we might as well continue the journey. I had expected to find pines and oaks, but had anticipated that they would grow amidst a dense tangle of damp tropical vegetation.

We were all literally dumfounded when within a space of a hundred

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[1] Now a major-general.

Philippine Embroidery.

This work was done by a pupil in one of the Manila city schools.

yards we suddenly left the tropics behind us and came out into a wonderful region of pine parks. Trees stood on the rounded knolls at comparatively wide intervals, and there were scores of places where, in order to have a beautiful house lot, one needed only to construct driveways and go to work with a lawn-mower. At the same moment, a delightful cold breeze swept down from the heights above us.

Just at sunset we experienced a second surprise, coming out on the knife-sharp crest of a ridge, and seeing spread before us the Trinidad Valley, which is shaped like a huge bash-basin. Its floor was vividly green with growing rice, Igorot houses were dotted here and there over its surface, and the whole peaceful, beautiful scene was illuminated by the rays of the setting sun. The air had been washed clean by the heavy rain which had poured down on us throughout the afternoon, and the sight was one never to be forgotten.

Just at dusk we reached the little settlement of Trinidad, which had been the capital of the Spanish *comandancia* of Benguet, finding that its inhabitants were in part Ilocanos and in part Igorots. Here we were hospitably entertained by the officers of the military post. It was so cold that one's breath showed. Major Maus improved the opportunity to indulge in a severe chill. Finding him buried under blankets, we asked his views as to the Benguet climate. They were radical! It is only fair to the Major to say that the report which he ultimately made set forth the facts fully and fairly. It did not suit General MacArthur. Years afterward, when discussing the climate of Benguet with Surgeon-General Sternberg, I referred to this report and found to my amazement that he had never seen it. He caused an investigation to be made, and it was at last resurrected from a dusty pigeonhole.

On our arrival at Trinidad we received a letter from Mr. Otto Scheerer, the one white resident of Benguet, inviting us to make our headquarters at his house when we visited Baguio. Bright and early the next morning Mr. Scheerer himself appeared on the scene and guided us to his home, where he entertained us most hospitably during our entire stay. The trip from Trinidad, a distance of four miles, was made over a wretched pony trail.

We found conditions exactly as described in the Spanish report. The country was gently rolling, its elevation ranging from forty-five to fifty-two hundred feet. The hills were covered with short, thick grass, and with magnificent pine trees, which for the most part grew at considerable distance from each other, while along the streams there were wonderful tree ferns and luxuriant tangles of beautiful tropical vegetation. It took us but a short time to decide that here was an ideal site for a future city, if water could be found in sufficient quantity.

We revisited each of the several springs discovered and described by the Spanish committee, but decided that they would be inadequate to supply a town of any great size. Mr. Scheerer now came to the front and guided us to the very thing that we were looking for, but had hardly dared hope to find; namely, a magnificent spring of crystal-clear water. At that time it was flowing nearly a million gallons per day. It burst forth from a hillside in such a manner as to make its protection from surface drainage easy, and we decided that there was nothing lacking to make Baguio an admirable site for the future summer capital and health resort of the Philippines.

It was obvious that the construction of a highway from San Fernando, in Union, to Baguio would involve considerable expense, and we asked Mr. Scheerer about other possible lines of communication. A study of the Spanish maps had led us to consider two: one up the valley of the Agno River, and the other up that of the Bued River. The latter route had the great advantage of affording direct communication with the end of the railway line at Dagupan.

Mr. Scheerer took us to a point which commanded a view for some distance down the Bued River valley, and conditions looked rather favourable. Mr. Higgins undertook to make a trip down this valley to the plains of Pangasinán, reporting to us on his arrival at Manila, so we returned to that place and awaited advices from him. He was furnished with a guard of soldiers from Trinidad, and attempted to go down the river bed, but encountered unexpected difficulties, and his progress was finally checked by a box cañon from which he escaped with difficulty, spending a night without food or water on a chilly mountain top known as "Thumb Peak." The following morning he managed to cross to a high mountain called Santo Tomás, whence he returned to Baguio. He was, however, of the opinion that the trip down the cañon could be made without special difficulty by a party suitably provided with food and tentage.

Convinced by our report that active measures should be taken to establish communication with this wonderful region, the commission, on September 12, 1900, appropriated $5000 Mexican, "for the purpose of making a survey to ascertain the most advantageous route for a railway into the mountains of Benguet, Island of Luzón, and the probable cost thereof." [1]

Captain Charles W. Meade, then serving as city engineer of Manila, was selected to make the survey. There was every theoretical reason to believe him competent, and we did not question either his integrity or his ability. After being absent from Manila for some time, he reported in favour of the Bued River valley route, saying that it was entirely feasible to build a railway along it.

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[1] Act No. 2, Philippine Commission, September 12, 1900.

He suggested that, as the construction of a wagon road would be necessary in building the railroad, we might as well undertake that first, and so be able to go to Baguio in wheeled vehicles before the railroad was completed. He asked for $75,000 United States currency, with which to build this road, stating that he expected to be able to do it for $65,000, but would like $10,000 as a margin of safety.

On December 21, 1900, the commission passed an act authorizing the construction of a highway from Pozorubio, in Pangasinán, to Baguio, "the same to be built under the general supervision of the military governor and the immediate direction of Captain Charles W. Meade, Thirty-sixth Infantry, United States Volunteers, who has been detailed by the military governor for that purpose, along the general line of survey recently made by Captain Meade for a railway between said towns."[1] The $75,000 asked for were appropriated by this act.

Work began promptly at both ends of the line. In June, 1901, I set out on my first trip through the wild man's territory in northern Luzón. Incidentally, and for my personal satisfaction only, I inspected the work on the road. We had been rather disappointed by Captain Meade's failure to make more rapid progress. At the lower end I found that delay was being caused by a huge cliff necessitating a very heavy rock cut. I was assured by Captain Meade that from this point on the line ran through dirt most of the way, so that the road could be completed very rapidly. This statement proved to be grossly in error. It took years of hard work to open up the road.

Its cost when finally ready for traffic was ₱1,961,847.05.[2] Its length was forty-five kilometers eight hundred ninety-one meters,[3] of which thirty-four kilometers were in non-Christian territory. Some ten kilometers of the remainder have since been incorporated in the first-class road system of the province of Pangasinán, as this part is chiefly used by the people of that province in shipping their agricultural products to Benguet, and in maintaining communication between their towns.

The additional cost of the road to date[4] since it was first opened is $792,434, making its total cost to date $2,754,281.05. This includes not only the actual cost of maintenance, but very extensive improvements, such as the metalling of the road from the so-called zigzag to Baguio, the construction of five steel bridges, and the replacing of all the original bridges on the road and of all the original culverts except those made of concrete or masonry.

On my arrival in Benguet in 1901, I found that good progress had been made on the upper end of the road, which had penetrated for a short distance into the cañon proper without encountering any con-

[1] Act No. 61, Philippine Commission, December 21, 1900.

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 3, p. 25.

[3] About 28.7 miles.

[4] May 1, 1913.

siderable obstacles. On October 15, 1901, the commission stated in its annual report to the secretary of war, "He[1] has been much delayed by the difficulty of procuring the labour necessary for its early completion, and several months will yet elapse before it is finished!" They did! On August 20, 1901, Captain Meade was relieved, and Mr. N. M. Holmes was made engineer of the road.

On February 3, 1902, a little sanitarium was opened in a small native house at Baguio. During the following July I was sent to it as a patient, and while in Benguet again inspected the road which had been continued high up on the cañon wall to a point where, on a very steep mountain side, a peculiar rock formation had been encountered at the very grass roots. This rock disintegrated rapidly under the action of the sun when exposed to it. Comparatively solid in the morning, it would crack to pieces and slide down the mountain side before night. A sixty-foot cut had already been made into the precipitous mountain side, and the result was an unstable road-bed, hardly four feet in width, which threatened to go out at any moment.

My trip to Baguio promptly relieved a severe attack of acute intestinal trouble from which I had been suffering, and when Governor Taft fell ill the following year with a similar ailment, and his physicians recommended his return to the United States, I did my best to persuade him to try Baguio instead. He decided to do so.

Five rough cottages had meanwhile been constructed for the use of the commissioners, the lumber for them being sawed by hand on the ground. Boards had been nailed to frames as rapidly as they fell from the logs, and had shrunk to such an extent that a reasonably expert marksman might almost have thrown a cat by the tail through any one of the houses. At night they looked like the old-fashioned perforated tin lanterns, leaking light in a thousand places. These were the luxurious homes provided for the high officials of the government of which so much has been said!

We paid for them an annual rental amounting to ten per cent of their cost, which had of course been excessively high on account of the necessity of packing everything used in them, except the lumber, up the Naguilian trail. However, we were in no frame of mind to be critical. We had put in three years of killing hard work, labouring seven days in the week, and keeping hours such as to arouse a feeling little short of horror among old British and other foreign residents. We were all completely exhausted, and Mr. Taft was ill. For my part, I would gladly have paid almost any sum for a tent under the pine trees and the privilege of occupying it for a few weeks.

On the trip up Mr. Taft had ridden a magnificent saddle horse which had been given to him by General Chaffee. At the time he left,

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[1] Captain Meade. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 73.)

FILIPINO TRAINED NURSES.

Manila had been burning hot. When he was at last seated on the porch of the little house which was to be his home for weeks, with a cool breeze sighing through the needles of a spreading pine tree close at hand, his satisfaction knew no bounds. Already his magnificent constitution had begun to respond to the stimulation of the wonderful mountain air, and filled with enthusiasm he summoned a stenographer and dictated the following cablegram to the secretary of war:—

"April 15, 1903.

"SECWAR,
"WASHINGTON.

"Stood trip well, rode horseback 25 miles to 5000 feet altitude. Hope amœbic dysentery cured. Great province this, only 150 miles from Manila with air as bracing as Adirondacks or Murray Bay. Only pines and grass lands. Temperature this hottest month in the Philippines in my cottage porch at three in the afternoon 68. Fires are necessary night and morning.

"TAFT."

As quick as the wires could bring it, he received the following reply:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 16, 1903.

"TAFT,
"MANILA.

"Referring to telegram from your office of 15th inst., how is horse?

"ROOT."

When he read it his shouts of laughter, rolling over the hills of Baguio, must have been audible half a mile away!

Mr. Taft's sojourn in the hills put him again in fine condition and made it possible for him to return to Manila and resume the heavy burden of work which there awaited him. The other members of the commission also greatly benefited by their stay in the hills.

While there we heard disquieting rumours as to the practicability of completing the road. There was a difference of opinion between the engineer in charge and one of his immediate subordinates as to the route which should be followed. The consulting engineer of the commission was accordingly requested to make a survey to determine a practicable route for the unfinished portion of the road and estimate the cost of completing it. In due time he advised us that it was practicable to complete it, but that the cost would be at least $1,000,000. Warned by our experience with Meade, we wished additional expert advice, so summoned to Baguio Colonel L. W. V. Kennon, a man of great energy and executive ability, who had had large experience in engineering work in mountainous country, and requested him to go down the Bued River valley and report on the progress of the work, and the practicability of completing the road on the route which had been determined upon.

Being the youngest and most active member of the commission, I was detailed to accompany him. On this trip I became convinced that all of the engineers interested, except the consulting engineer, had grossly understated the difficulties which must be overcome before the road could be completed. Colonel Kennon decided that it was entirely feasible to build the road, but that the comparatively short stretch already completed from Baguio into the upper end of the cañon must be abandoned and a new line adopted. Furthermore, he gave us some very definite and extremely unpleasant information as to the probable cost of completing the work, his statements on this subject confirming those of the consulting engineer.

The commission was thus put face to face with the hard facts but did not flinch. On the contrary, it passed the following resolution on June 1, 1903:—

> "On Motion, RESOLVED, That it be declared the policy of the Commission to make the town of Baguio, in the Province of Benguet, the summer capital of the Archipelago and to construct suitable buildings, to secure suitable transportation, to secure proper water supply, and to make residence in Baguio possible for all of the officers and employees of the Insular Government for four months during the year, that in pursuance of this purpose the Secretary of the Interior, the Consulting Engineer to the Commission, the Chief of the Bureau of Architecture, and Major [1] L. W. V. Kennon, United States Army, whom it is the intention of the Commission to put in actual charge of the improvements in Benguet Province, including the construction of the Benguet Road, the erection of the buildings and the construction of a wagon road from Naguilian, be appointed a Committee to report plans and estimates to the Commission for the proposed improvements in the Province of Benguet and to submit same to the Commission for action and necessary appropriation, and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That steps should be immediately taken looking to the increase of the capacity of the Sanitarium by at least twenty rooms, to the construction of seven more cottages on the grounds of the Sanitarium, to the construction of a Governor's residence on the site overlooking the big spring which is the source of the Bued River immediately south of the Sanitarium proper, to the construction of an Administration building sufficient for the Commission, the Commission's staff and the Executive Bureau, of at least twenty-five rooms, and to the making of a plan for a town site for the municipality of Baguio; but that the details of construction and improvements, with such variations from the indicated plan as may seem wise, shall be left to the committee appointed under the previous resolution."

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[1] He had the volunteer rank of colonel, but was a major in the regular army.

In his annual report dated November 15, 1903, Governor Taft said:—

> "In connection with the subject of health, reference should be made to the province of Benguet and to Baguio, the capital of that province. The secretary of commerce and police will refer to the work now being done in the construction of the Benguet road from Pozorrubio, through Twin Peaks, to Baguio. There have been serious engineering mistakes made in the road, and it is proving to be much more costly than was expected; but when completed its importance in the development of these islands can hardly be overestimated. One of the things essential to progress in the islands is the coming of more Americans and Europeans who shall make this their business home. If there can be brought within twelve hours' travel of Manila a place with a climate not unlike that of the Adirondacks, or of Wyoming in summer, it will add greatly to the possibility of living in Manila for ten months of the year without risk. It will take away the necessity for long vacations spent in America; will reduce the number who go invalided home, and will be a saving to the insular government of many thousands of dollars a year. It will lengthen the period during which the American soldiers who are stationed here may remain without injury to their health and will thus reduce largely the expense of transportation of troops between the islands and the United States. More than this, Filipinos of the wealthier class frequently visit Japan or China for the purpose of recuperating. People of this class are much interested in the establishment of Baguio as a summer capital, and when the road is completed a town will spring up, made up of comfortable residences, of a fine, extensive army post, and sanitariums for the relief of persons suffering from diseases prevalent in the lowlands. It is the hope of the government that the Roman Catholic Church will send American priests as it has sent American bishops to the islands, to assist in the moral elevation of the people. The fear of the effect of the climate has kept many from coming. The Roman Catholic Church authorities have announced their intention of erecting rest houses at Baguio for the purpose of the recuperation of their ministers and agents. The Methodists and Episcopalians have already secured building lots in Baguio for this purpose. It is the settled purpose of the Commission to see this improvement through, no matter what the cost, because eventually the expenditures must redound to the benefit of the government and people of the islands. We have already stated, in the report on the public land act, that it is proposed, under that act, which allows the organizing of town sites, to sell the public land in suitable lots at auction so that every one interested shall have the opportunity to obtain a good lot upon which to build a suitable house."[1]

Mr. Taft would be delighted could he see to-day how completely his anticipations have been fulfilled.

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[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 1, p. 58.

Colonel Kennon was put in charge of construction work, and things began to move. They kept moving until the road was finished. From this time on we knew that the expense involved would be out of all proportion to the original estimate, but we were determined to push the work through, having reached the decision that it was worth while to open up communication with Baguio at any cost within reason, because of its future certain value to the people of the islands as a health resort.

On April 1, 1904, I rode over the road in a vehicle nearly to Camp Four, and came the rest of the way to Baguio on horseback over a new trail which zigzagged up a mountain side near Camp Four and followed the crest of the range from there in. A little later the Commission came by the same route, and spent the hot season in the cool Benguet hills.

On January 29, 1905, Colonel Kennon drove into Baguio in the first wagon to arrive there over the Benguet Road, which was opened for regular service on March 27th of the same year. The cost of the road on November 1, 1905, had, as previously stated, been $1,966,847.05, and the cost of the heavy work in the cañon had been approximately $75,000 per mile, which is not excessive when compared with the cost of similar work in the United States, especially as this sum included maintenance of the portions constructed during previous years.

The fact that a certain amount of congressional relief funds was expended on the construction of this road has been made the subject of very unjust criticism. A large number of poor Filipinos, who were in dire straits, were thus given an opportunity for remunerative employment, and the distribution of a portion of the congressional relief fund in this way was in entire harmony with the fixed policy of the commission to avoid pauperizing the people by giving money or food outright to able-bodied persons, and to afford them relief by furnishing them opportunity to work for a good wage. A further reason why the expenditure of money from this fund on the Benguet Road was appropriate is found in the fact that the region opened up is destined to play a very important part in the cure of tuberculosis, which is the principal cause of death among the people of the lowlands, but is practically unknown among the Igorots of the hills.

During the earlier years after the road was open owners of bull carts in Pangasinán made large sums transporting freight over it. This is not the case at the present time, as the growing volume of freight requiring to be moved led to the blocking of the road with bull carts and necessitated the installation of an automobile truck line so that it might be more expeditiously handled.

In December, 1904, the great landscape architect, Mr. D. H.

Burnham, visited Baguio, and made a plan for its future development. He was enthusiastic over its possibilities, and gave his services free of charge. His plan is being closely adhered to, and although funds are not now available for going far toward carrying it out, we have at least avoided anything which would interfere with it.

The next important event in the history of Baguio was the first sale of residence and building lots, which took place on May 28, 1906, and was conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Public Land Act relative to town sites. Although a howling typhoon was sweeping Benguet at the time, 91 residence lots and 15 business lots were disposed of at this first sale, and at a subsequent one held in Manila a few weeks later all the remaining lots then surveyed were sold. The town site includes two hundred sixteen square miles, and new lots are surveyed as required. All sums derived from the sale of lots are used for the improvement of the town site, and thus Baguio is made to help build itself.

In the spring of 1905 the Baguio Country Club was organized. Because of the extraordinary false statements made concerning it by certain unscrupulous politicians, I give its history somewhat fully. Its purpose was to afford a meeting place for the people of the town and to give them an opportunity for outdoor sports. It purchased a hundred acres of land on which a low assessment had been placed in view of the semipublic purpose which it was to serve.

At the outset the "club house" was a rude, grass-roofed shed made of pine slabs. Its doors and windows were mere openings which could not be closed. It was erected in about a week. Three holes of a golf course and a croquet ground had been prepared. These decidedly primitive club facilities nevertheless served to bring the people of Baguio together and give them an opportunity for a good time out of doors.

In February, 1907, a Country Club Corporation was organized with a capital stock of $5000, of which $3000 have thus far been subscribed. The shares cost $50. No single subscriber owns more than three, with the sole exception of Mr. Forbes, who took ten to help the club get started. Ownership of stock brings no emoluments, but, on the contrary, indirectly involves expense which the present owners have been willing to bear for the public good.

From these small beginnings the Baguio Country Club has grown into an important institution. As funds became available from the sale of stock, the payment of dues and the generous donations of a few members, an excellent nine-hole golf course was completed, and tennis courts and facilities for trap-shooting were installed. In March and April, 1908, a modest club house was built at a cost of some $5000. It has two small locker rooms, a large living room, a tiny office, a little bath, a kitchen, and nine single sleeping rooms. Three very small cottages, costing $375 each, were erected on the club grounds for the use of the members. Five larger cottages have since been constructed.

Any person of good character is eligible to membership. The entrance fee is $25, but officers of the army, navy and marine corps stationed at Baguio are admitted without the payment of this fee, and persons temporarily there may secure the privileges of the club by paying at the rate of $5 per month. The annual dues are $20. The families of members are entitled to the privileges of the club. Among its members are the highest officials of the insular government and teachers, clerks, stenographers and other employees drawing small salaries, as well as numerous permanent residents of Baguio.

It knows no race or creed, and Filipinos take advantage of its privileges quite as freely as do Americans. Representatives of every nationality in the islands may be found on its golf course on a pleasant afternoon. It is the common meeting place of Baguio, and hardly a day passes without the giving of some pleasant luncheon or dinner in its little living room or in the outdoor space covered by an overhanging roof at its eastern end. No more democratic institution ever existed.

Congressman W. A. Jones of Virginia, in his attacks on the Philippine administration, is fond of stating that "there is a club for officials at Baguio." The statement is true, but reminds one of that other statement of a ship's first mate who came on board intoxicated just before the vessel sailed. The following morning, happening to look at the ship's log for the previous day, he saw the entry "The mate drunk to-day." It was his first offence, and he begged the captain to erase this record, but the captain said "It is true, is it not?" and insisted that it must stand.

A little later the captain was taken ill. Upon resumption of duty he found an entry in the log reading: "The captain sober to-day." When he furiously insisted that it be erased, the mate said, "It is true, is it not?" Now, it is true that there is a club for government officers at Baguio, but in making this statement Mr. Jones and his ilk have neglected to say that there is also at Baguio a club for employees; a club for private citizens; a club for Americans; a club for Filipinos; a club for foreign consuls and other foreign residents of the islands; a club for business men; a club for clerks; and that all of these institutions are one and the same, namely, the Baguio Country Club, which is now strictly self-supporting and meets its obligations from the funds derived from the dues of its members. These dues are absurdly low in view of the privileges which it affords.

Although Mr. Forbes does not like to have it known, I cannot refrain from stating that the club has not always been self-supporting, and that he has repeatedly made up deficits from his private funds.

A School Athletic Team.

The public school system of physical education is an important factor in improving the health, and increasing the size and vigor of the Filipino people.

The cost involved in getting the golf course into shape was out of all proportion to the resources of the organization. Sufficient funds were not available to pay for the club house and cottages when they were constructed, and had it not been for the generosity of Mr. Forbes the club would not exist to-day in anything like its present form.

The polo field at Baguio has been referred to as another evidence of extravagant governmental expenditure. It is true enough that it was in the first instance an expensive luxury, as an immense amount of earthwork had to be done in order to make a level piece of ground of sufficient size. The field is administered by the Country Club, and is open to the use of the public for any form of amusement which will not interfere with its use for polo. The detractors of the government have neglected to mention that the cost of its construction and maintenance have been met from the private funds of Mr. Forbes.

Returning now to the story of the growth of Baguio, the next step forward was the construction of an official residence for the governor-general, for which $15,000 were appropriated. Mr. Forbes had not the slightest personal interest in this appropriation. When it was made he had no knowledge of the fact that he was later to become governor-general, and his private Baguio residence was decidedly more comfortable and commodious than this official one. His subsequent occupancy of the latter building involved a real personal sacrifice.

In 1908 a modern hospital and the governor-general's residence were completed. No other government official is furnished a free house. All have to rent government cottages or stay at hotels, unless they choose to build for themselves. The policy of giving the governor-general an official residence in Baguio is in accord with that which gives him one at Manila.

In April, 1908, there was opened a "Teachers' Camp," to which came American school teachers from all over the islands. They were housed in a hundred and fifty tents, which were set up under the shade of the pine trees. Larger tents served as kitchen, dining room, storehouse and recitation rooms, while a structure of bamboo and nipa palm, erected at a total cost of $150, was utilized for general assembly purposes. Four talented lecturers were employed to instruct and entertain the teachers. At one time there were a hundred and ninety persons in the camp.

The credit for initiating this very important move is due chiefly to William F. Pack, at that time governor of the province of Benguet, who strongly advocated bringing the teachers to Baguio, and did everything in his power to make the first assembly the great success which it was. It has now become a fixed institution, and has accomplished untold good. Americans who spend too many years in out-of-the-way municipalities of the Philippines without coming in contact with their kind are apt to lose their sense of perspective, and there is danger that they will grow careless, or even slovenly, in their habits. It is of the utmost benefit for school teachers to get together once a year, learn of each other's failures and successes, and profit by each other's experiences, forget their troubles while engaging in healthful athletic sports, listen to inspiring and instructive discourses, and above all else benefit by open-air life in a temperate region.

The Teachers' Camp is now a beautiful and attractive place. A fine system of walks and drives make every part of it readily accessible. It has an excellent athletic field. The teachers live in tents, but good permanent buildings have been provided in which are located the mess, a social hall, recitation rooms, etc., and several comfortable cottages have been constructed for the use of visiting lecturers and others. An outdoor amphitheatre which seats a thousand persons has been built at small expense by taking advantage of peculiarly favorable natural conditions. Filipino teachers share the pleasures and benefits of the camp with their American associates, and the "assembly" certainly does great good.

During the hot season of 1908 the Bureau of Lands transferred a number of its employees to Baguio, quartering them in tents. This was done in order to ascertain the practical effect of sending American and Filipino employees to this mountain resort. The conclusion was reached that the small additional expense involved was more than justified by the larger quantity and higher quality of the work performed as a result of the greatly improved physical condition of the workers. Every Filipino sent to Baguio gained in weight, with the single exception of a messenger who had to run his legs off! Other bureaus subsequently followed the example of the Bureau of Lands, with similar results. During the 1909 season, the railroad having reached Camp One, five large Stanley steam automobiles were operated by the government in transporting passengers from this place to Baguio, and more than two thousand persons were thus moved over the road.

Meanwhile, the unexpectedly heavy expense involved in completing the road had been made the subject of severe criticism by the public press of Manila. Most of the critics were entirely honest, having no idea of the character of the country opened up, or of the importance of making it readily accessible.

Just at the time when the commission should have crowded its programme through to conclusion, it faltered. The only government construction work performed at the summer capital that year, in addition to what has been mentioned, was the erection of a small office building and of a barrack building for labourers, the enlarging of five government cottages, the addition of out-buildings, and the enlarging of a building which served as a combination sanatorium and hotel.

This policy of inaction was a mistaken one. It made the Benguet Road seem like the city avenue which ran into a street, the street into a lane, the lane into a cow path, the cow path into a squirrel track and the squirrel track up a tree, for while one could get to Baguio, there was very little there after one arrived. The accommodations at the sanatorium were strictly limited, and there was some apparent justification for the charge freely made that the Philippine Commission had voted to spend very large sums of money to open up a health resort from which only its members and its staff derived benefit.

The government had at the outset been obliged to construct its buildings on a piece of private land purchased from Mr. Otto Scheerer, as prior to the passage of the Public Land Act and its approval by the President and Congress, building on public land was impossible. Now, however, a town site had been surveyed, and plans for the future development of Baguio had been made by one of the world's most competent experts. The time had arrived for action. Mr. Forbes, then secretary of commerce and police, argued vigorously for the carrying out of the original plan of the commission by the construction of adequate public buildings. To help the development of the place, he purchased two adjacent building lots and on the tract of land so secured built a handsome and expensive home, where he subsequently entertained not only his personal friends, but guests of the government, as well as various persons who had no other claim on him than the fact that they were officers or employees of the government who were in need of a change of climate and could ill afford to seek it at their own expense. Among his house guests were General Aguinaldo, Speaker Osmeña and many other Filipinos. It was Mr. Forbes's idea, and mine as well, that members of the commission ought to set the example by building at Baguio. I followed his example to the extent of buying a lot and constructing on it a simple and inexpensive house, thus obtaining the first and only home that I have ever owned.

Ultimately Mr. Forbes formulated a plan for the construction of a group of government buildings, a mess hall and a large number of small and inexpensive cottages for rental to government officers and employees so that the executive offices of the government might be transferred to Baguio during the heated term and it might become the true summer capital of the Philippines. This plan was adopted in substance, and it was decided to transfer the bureaus of the government to Baguio for the coming hot season, so far as practicable.

Funds were appropriated for the carrying out of Mr. Forbes's plan, but before the construction work had fairly begun there occurred, on October 17, 1909, a destructive typhoon. Eighteen inches of rain fell in nine hours, and twenty-six inches in twenty-four hours. The Bued River quickly rose fifty feet, carrying away trees and rocks which obstructed its course, and seriously injuring the road for miles. Four of the largest bridges were swept away and the work of constructing government buildings, which was just about to begin, was greatly retarded. It was not thought possible to transfer the bureaus of the government to Baguio for the coming hot season as planned. Indeed, there were not lacking those who insisted that no one would be able to get there. Mr. Haubé, the energetic and capable young engineer in charge, had the road open on the twentieth day of December, and the projected buildings ready for occupancy in February, a noteworthy and highly creditably achievement.

It was then thought that the storm which had done such serious damage to the road was of unprecedented violence, but there was worse to come. On July 14 and 15, 1911, a terrific typhoon swept across northern Luzón, bringing down one of the world's record rainfalls. Between noon of the 14th and noon of the 15th, forty-five and ninety-nine hundredths inches of rain fell at Baguio. A mountain forming a part of the wall of the Bued cañon split from the top and the detached portion toppled over into the river, damming it to a depth of about a hundred and fifty feet at a time when it was carrying an enormous volume of water. When this dam burst, an avalanche of earth and rock, swept onward by a huge wave, rushed down the canon, leaving complete destruction in its wake. Every bridge in its course was carried away, and the road was left in such condition that it would have cost $300,000 to open it for traffic. Then Providence, having apparently done its worst, relented and sent another typhoon which washed away most of the débris left by the first one, uncovering the road-bed and making it possible to reopen communication for $50,000.

The cost of maintaining the Benguet Road has proved excessive. Mountains tower above it on both sides to a height of four to seven thousand feet and the drainage basin which finds its outlet down the narrow gorge through which the road runs is enormous. Even so, under ordinary climatic conditions its maintenance does not offer very exceptional difficulties, as much of it is blasted out of rock; but during extraordinarily heavy storms the danger of destruction by overwhelming floods is great.

While a century may pass before there is another storm like the one which brought down the terrific slide above described, there may be one at any time, and when the railroad has once reached Baguio, it is hardly probable that such extensive repairs as were necessary after the last destructive typhoon will ever again be made, especially as the horse trail built on a carriage road grade from Baguio to

Filipina Girls playing Basket-ball.

Naguilian in the lowlands has been widened little by little, until it is now safe for small automobiles.[1] The maintenance of the bridges alone, on the Benguet Road, is a very formidable item, while there is only one short bridge on the Naguilian Road before the province of Union is reached. As it runs on or near the crests of ridges all the way, there are no extensive watersheds above it, and it is not liable to serious injury during the most violent storms. The total cost of the Benguet portion of this road to date[2] has been only $33,405. This stretch is seventeen and a half miles in length and does not include that portion of the road which lies within the city of Baguio. The total distance from the centre of Baguio to Bauang, the nearest railroad station on the coast, is thirty-four miles.

With the completion of the new government buildings and the transfer of the several bureaus to Baguio for the season of 1910 a real boom began. The old sanatorium building had long been leased to a private individual who used it for hotel purposes, adding to it from time to time. A second hotel had been built. The railroad had been extended to Camp One and a regular automobile service established for the convenience of the public between Camp One and Baguio. The Jesuits had constructed a great rest house and meteorological observatory on a commanding hill. The Dominicans had purchased a neighbouring hill top and prepared to erect thereon a very large reenforced concrete building to serve for college purposes and as a rest house for members of the order who required a change of climate.

Development began early at Camp John Hay, an extensive and beautiful military reservation set aside within the Baguio town site. Some progress had been made in this direction prior to the coming of Major-General Leonard Wood. That highly efficient and far-seeing officer gave a tremendous impetus to the work. He had been something of a sceptic on the subject of Baguio before visiting the place, but, like all other responsible persons who take the trouble to see it, promptly became an enthusiast when he had an opportunity to observe conditions for himself. Many army officers and their families who could not obtain accommodations in the limited number of buildings on the reservation were glad to take tents for the season, and the Camp promptly began to serve useful ends. It has steadily grown and developed ever since, and is now a well-organized army post. Its remarkable progress has been due in large measure to the initiative and ingenuity of Captain M. R. Hilgard, who has been its commander since October, 1905. Great progress has been made in erecting buildings, but they are still far short of the needs of the service. At the present writing[1] there are many tents in use by officers and their families. These serve very well during the dry months, but with the oncoming of the heavy showers, which usher in the rainy season, become damp and uncomfortable and make it necessary for the occupants to return to the lowlands just at the time when Baguio is growing most attractive and the heat of Manila is becoming most oppressive.

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[1] The Naguilian road by 1923 was a wide, metaled highway from end to end. The maintenance of the Benguet road, however, no longer presents the difficulties which it once did, and the traffic over it is heavy, especially during the Baguio "season."

[2] May 1, 1913.

The ground set aside in the military reservation is adequate for a brigade post, and such a post should be established as soon as the railroad reaches Baguio. The different commands in the islands could then be ordered there in succession, and officers and men given the benefits of one of the best climates in the world.[2]

Baguio has continued steadily to develop, and the Benguet Road no longer ends by running up a tree. The government has not only erected a residence for the governor-general, but has established offices for the chief executive, the secretaries of departments, the Philippine Commission, the Executive Bureau, and the Bureaus of Agriculture, Civil Service, Education, Forestry, Health, Public Works and Constabulary. There are also a hospital, a series of tuberculosis cottages for the treatment of patients from the lowlands, cottages and dormitories for government officers and employees, a great mess hall where meals may be had at moderate cost, an automobile station, a garage, storehouses, a pumping plant, and labourers' quarters. At the Teachers' Camp there are a separate mess hall, an assembly hall and a fine athletic field.

The city of Baguio has a city hall, a storehouse, a corral and market buildings. Lot owners who have built summer homes for themselves have brought up friends to show them what Baguio was like. Curiously it has never seemed possible to convey any adequate idea of its attractions and advantages by word of mouth. Again and again I have urged sceptics to come and see for themselves. When after the lapse of years they finally did so, they have invariably asked me why I had not told them about it before, forgetting that I had exhausted my vocabulary without being able to make them understand. Practically without exception, the persons who actually visit Baguio become "boosters."

It is fortunate in a way that the boom did not come quicker, for the hard truth is that up to date the rapidity of the growth of the summer capital has been determined absolutely by the local lumber supply. The original Filipino hand-sawyers were ultimately replaced by small portable mills, and these in turn by large modern mills to which logs are brought by skidding engines or overhead cables, yet it is true to-day, as it has always been true, that no sawmill has ever been able to furnish dry lumber, for the simple reason that the green output is purchased as fast as it can be sawed.

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[1] April 15, 1913.

[2] A brief, but interesting historical sketch, *Camp John Hay, The Mountain Post Beautiful*, by Lieutenant H. J. Edmands, P. S., Inf., traces the development of the post to 1925. The military reservation now comprises 1,718.55 acres.

For a time the lumbermen took advantage of the necessities of the public, but when timber on the government concessions first granted them had been exhausted and they applied for new cutting areas, my turn came. I fixed maximum prices on lumber which they might not exceed without forfeiting their concessions. I also fixed a minimum annual cut which they were compelled to make, and imposed a regulation providing that at least half of the total cut should be offered for sale to the public.

There is no justification for the claim that Baguio is a rich man's city. The town site is very large and can be indefinitely extended. Good lots may be had at extremely moderate prices, and the cost of houses is strictly a matter of individual means and taste. A large section is given up to small dwellings for Filipinos. The man who earns his living with a bull cart has no more difficulty in establishing a home there than does the Filipino millionnaire, and rich and poor are building in constantly increasing numbers.

While experience has taught me that I cannot convey by words alone any adequate conception of what Baguio is like, I must nevertheless here make the attempt.

Twenty-one miles of well surfaced roads wind among its pine-covered hills and afford beautiful glimpses of the luxuriant vegetation along its numerous small streams. There are building sites to suit all tastes, and each house owner is convinced that his particular location is better than that of any one else. One spring supplies exceptionally pure water sufficient for the needs of at least ten thousand people, and an abundant additional supply can be obtained when needed. The scenery is everywhere beautiful, and in many sections truly magnificent.

Gently rolling hills enclose valleys with sides sometimes steep and precipitous and sometimes gently sloping. The country is watered by numerous streams bordered by magnificent tree-ferns, and by trees, shrubs, and plants requiring a large amount of water, while the dry hillsides bear noble pines standing at wide intervals and often arranged as if grouped by a skilled landscape artist. During the rainy season they are covered with ferns and orchids, while exquisite white lilies, larger than Easter lilies, dot the hillsides. The dense *cógon* of the Philippine lowlands is absent. Bamboo grass or *runo* occurs sparingly in the immediate vicinity of streams and springs, but the hills are covered with a short grass seldom more than knee high, so that one may ride or walk over them in almost any direction with comfort. A system of excellent horse trails affords communication with neighbouring provinces where one may see wonderful tropical vegetation, magnificent scenery, strange wild peoples, and the most remarkable terraced mountainsides in the world. These regions may be visited with safety and comfort, as public order is well-nigh perfect and rest houses have been provided at reasonable intervals on all important main trails.

The delightfully cool climate of Baguio makes active outdoor exercise enjoyable, and insures the speedy restoration to health and vigor of persons suffering ill effects from tropical heat, or recuperation from wasting diseases. Open fires are comfortable morning and evening throughout the year, and the pitch pine wood burns beautifully. Except during typhoons the rainy season weather is delightful. When one wakens in the morning the atmosphere and the landscape have been washed clean. The air is clear as crystal, and mountain peaks fifty or seventy-five miles away stand out with cameo-like sharpness. The needles of the pines fairly glisten and their delightful odor is constantly in one's nostrils. The whole country is green as a lawn. Roses, violets, azaleas, "jacks-in-the-pulpit," and several kinds of raspberries and huckleberries, all growing wild, make one feel as if back in America. One may visit the neighbouring Trinidad valley and see cabbages and coffee, bananas and Irish potatoes, flourishing on one piece of land. Strawberry plants imported from America bear continuously from December to May. Fresh vegetables of all sorts tickle palates which have grown weary of the canned goods of the lowlands.

Anywhere from twelve to three o'clock, the clouds begin to roll in and heavy showers fall, usually lasting until nine or ten at night. Then the stars come out. The next day is like its predecessor.

After the first rains, which usually come about the middle of April, there is as a rule a month of beautiful weather with very little precipitation. Then the rains begin to come steadily again, and keep it up until the end of the wet season, falling in the manner already described so that one can get one's outdoor exercise in the morning, while the afternoon showers are conducive to industry.

The table opposite shows the average maximum, minimum and mean temperatures for each month of the year, the figures covering the period January, 1902, to January, 1908.

All of the figures are for temperatures at a height of six feet above the ground. Temperatures nearer the ground are decidedly lower. It has been found that in the Baguio plateau the lowest temperatures correspond to the deepest valleys. In such places white frost is not rare during the months of January, February, and March, while on the tops of hills the temperature is milder, frost being almost unknown. During typhoons conditions do not differ essentially from

Month	Average Maximum	Average Minimum	Mean
	° F.	° F.	° F.
January	75.1	50.2	63.3
February	75.4	45.8	61.6
March	77.5	49.4	64.1
April	78.2	51.9	65.7
May	77.7	54	66.2
June	77	56.8	66.2
July	75.9	55.9	65.4
August	76	54.9	65.1
September	75.2	56	65.2
October	76.4	53.8	65.1
November	76.4	49.8	64.1
December	76.1	50.3	64.1

those experienced elsewhere in the islands, except that the rainfall is exceptionally heavy.

Major-General J. Franklin Bell, who has given special attention to mountain resorts the world over, vigorously asserts that Baguio has no equal on the globe. Certainly the climate is more nearly perfect than any other of which I have personal knowledge, and the delightful coolness and the bracing air afford heavenly relief to jangling nerves and exhausted bodies, worn out by overwork and by a too prolonged sojourn in tropical lowlands.

One of the very important things about the Baguio climate is its marvellous effect upon victims of tuberculosis. Persons suffering from this disease in its earlier stages may confidently look forward to restored health if willing to live out of doors under the pine trees, and there have been a number of extraordinary recoveries among those in advanced stages. A series of little cottages which can be thrown wide open have been operated for some time in connection with the government hospital, in order practically to demonstrate the effect of the climate on tuberculosis victims.

The results are conclusive, and whenever funds are available there should be established a settlement of such cottages on some one of the numerous good sites sufficiently removed from the town to avoid any possible danger of infecting healthy persons. There should also be a large mess hall from which good nourishing food can be served, and plenty of level ground on which tents can be erected during the dry season. Baguio's potential importance as a resort for victims of the great white plague justifies every cent of expenditure necessary to make it readily accessible.

The Sisters of the Assumption have erected a handsome building which serves as a rest house and a girls' school. The sisters known as the "Belgian Canonist Missionaries" are erecting a building which will afford them a place to come for recuperation when wearied by strenuous work in the lowlands, and will make it possible for them to open a school for Igorot girls, which they are planning to do.

Bishop Brent has established an excellent school for American boys, situated on a sunny hilltop. The instruction is very good, the food excellent, and a healthier, heartier-looking lot of youngsters than those who enjoy the privileges of this institution cannot be found anywhere. There is abundant opportunity for them to play basket-ball, tennis and golf. Some of them indulge in polo, playing on Filipino ponies.

Bishop Brent also has a mission school for Igorot girls, and plans to open a boarding school for American girls in the near future.

The Belgian missionary priests, locally known as the "Missionary Priests of the Church of San Patricio," have their headquarters at Baguio, where the chief of their order resides and where they come occasionally for rest and recuperation. Archbishop Harty has a modest home on one of the numerous hilltops.

The building of a school for constabulary officers, to which young men arriving from the United States are sent before entering upon active service, crowns another hill and commands a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

Several business concerns, such as the Compañia General de Tabacos de Filipinas, have erected rest houses for their officers and employees, while the number of attractive private homes increases as rapidly as the supply of building materials will permit. Filipino residents of Manila have recently invested more than a hundred thousand dollars in Baguio homes.

But this is not all. No description would be anything like complete without mention of a unique structure which is certain to become famous the world over. It has been built under the immediate supervision of Major-General Bell, who has given freely of his time and thought to make it the extraordinary success which it is. I refer to the wonderful amphitheatre which stands at the side of the official residence of the major-general commanding the Division of the Philippines. Advantage has been taken of the existence of a natural amphitheatre with remarkable acoustic properties. Man has added what Nature left undone, and the result is an imposing and beautiful auditorium capable of seating four thousand people, throughout which a whisper can be heard. It is utilized for religious services, concerts, lectures, theatrical performances and other public entertainments. No charge is exacted for its use, but if an admission fee is collected, a liberal percentage of the proceeds must go to some worthy charity. It has been terraced in stone by Igorot labourers; the trees originally standing in it have been protected, and tree ferns, shrubs and flower-

University Hall, the University of the Philippines, Manila.

ing plants have been added. The result beggars description, and photographs do it scant justice.

Igorots from Bontoc, and even Ifguaos, now visit Baguio with increasing frequency, attracted by a large market established especially for the benefit of the hill people, where they may sell their manufactured articles or agricultural products, and may purchase at moderate cost the commodities which they need. The Benguet Igorots do not raise rice enough for their own use. Formerly they had to make up the shortage by eating *camotes,* but they have now become so prosperous that they can afford to buy rice, which is carted in over the Benguet Road.

Some of the fruits, many of the flowers and practically all of the vegetables of the temperate zone can be advantageously produced in Benguet. They are being shipped to Manila in steadily increasing quantities.

There are promising gold mines close at hand. Their development would have been impossible had not the construction of the Benguet Road made it feasible to bring in the necessary heavy machinery. One would gather from the criticisms of the enemies of the Philippine government that the Benguet Road was a pleasure boulevard. The government motor trucks transported over it during the last fiscal year 22,390 passengers and 7696.24 metric tons of freight.

Railroad corporations are inclined to be a bit soulless. The Manila Railway Company is extending its line to Baguio by means of a branch leaving the main line at Aringay. The building of this extension is now[1] fifty-five per cent completed, and the company is bound under the terms of its agreement to finish the road by August, 1914. In the event of its failure to do so, it must pay a monthly penalty amply sufficient in amount to cover the cost of maintaining the Benguet Road.[2] Baguio will continue to develop steadily until the railroad is opened and then will go ahead by leaps and bounds. It is sure to prosper because it meets a very real and very imperative need.

In this connection the following extracts from a letter of August 7, 1913, from the director of medical services in India to the department surgeon of the Philippines are of interest:—

"In reply to your letter of June 31st I attach a statement showing the number and location of the hill stations in India with the approximate capacity of each, and their height above sea-level.

"With regard to your inquiry regarding the number of cases treated in these sanitaria we use these hill stations not only for the treatment of convalescents, but also for giving healthy men an opportunity of spending the Indian hot weather under the best climatic conditions procurable. To this end, so far as is practicable, all units are sent to the hills for the first hot weather after their arrival in India, and they are thus able to settle down to their new conditions of life without being immediately exposed to the trying and enervating environment of a plains station in the summer months. We also send as many soldiers as we can of the older residents from hot stations to summer in the hills.

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[1] May 1, 1913.

[2] Work on this railroad was discontinued after 1913. The development of motor transport makes it unlikely that the project will ever be completed.

* * * * * * *

"Practically all soldiers' wives and families are given an opportunity of a change from the more unhealthy stations to the hills during the hot weather.

* * * * * * *

"Our experience shows that the following cases are most benefited by a change to the hills:—

"1. All cases of malarial fever and malarial cachexia.
"2. Patients recovering from acute diseases.
"3. Convalescents after surgical operations.
"4. Cases of anæmia and debility.
"5. Cases of chronic venereal diseases.
"6. Neurasthenics."

Not only are all such cases greatly benefited at Baguio, but patients suffering from dysentery and chronic diarrhœa are also greatly benefited and often cured by a sufficiently long sojourn there. This is the experience of the civil government at its hospital and of the military authorities at the Camp John Hay hospital, according to General Bell.

Continuing the quotations from the letter of the director of medical services in India:—

"We have found that by the judicious use of hill stations for convalescents both the invaliding and death rate of the British troops in India have been enormously reduced and the efficiency of the Army has been increased with a considerable financial saving to the Government.

"It is advisable that all troops and families should be accommodated in huts, especially during the rainy season in the hills, but there is no doubt that they are benefited by the change even if they have to live in tents and are thereby exposed to considerable discomfort."

The importance attached by the British to hill stations is shown by the fact that there are no less than 29 in India, their height above sea-level varying from 2000 to 7963 feet. Of these, eleven have no permanent accommodations and are used for men only.

I add the following extracts from a letter of Major P. M. Ashburn, Medical Corps, U.S.A., president of the army board for the study of tropical diseases:—

> "A man can remain in the tropics indefinitely without being actually sick, if infectious diseases are avoided. This is fast leading to the fallacy that we can advantageously remain many years in these latitudes. The fact that while a man may never be sick, he yet may have his physical and mental vigour greatly impaired by prolonged exposure to heat is thus lost sight of. No man can do his best work, either physical or mental, if he is hot and uncomfortable. The same feeling of lassitude and indisposition to exertion is experienced at home during the hot summer, which after a few years here becomes chronic.
>
> "It is a matter of official recognition that government employees need to get away from the heat of Manila each year, hence the removal to Baguio.
>
> "It is likewise commonly recognized that many women and children become so run down and debilitated as to need to go to Japan, Baguio or the United States.
>
> "It is often true that monotony and discomfort are the cause of nervous and mental breakdown, witness the often-mentioned insanity among farmers' wives and the nervous breakdowns attributable to pain and strain, even though it be, as in many cases of eyestrain, so slight as not to be recognized by the patient."

In short, it is the monotony of a tropical lowland climate which makes an occasional change so imperatively necessary. Shall residents of the Philippines be forced to seek that change, at great expense of time and money, in Japan, the United States or Europe, or shall we make and keep available for them a region which admirably answers the purpose, distant only half a day's travel from Manila?

I give extracts from a memorandum of Col. William H. Arthur, Department Surgeon of the Philippines, which are important in this connection:—

> "3. Experience has shown that long residence in the Philippines has a marked effect on the mental and physical vigour of people not born and raised in the tropics. This is manifested in many ways, and men, women and children who are not actually ill, seem to lose their energy, become listless, irritable, and forgetful, and find the least exertion burdensome. This is much aggravated in the hot season, and very few individuals manage, without permanent mental and physical deterioration, to live through many hot seasons in the plains.
>
> "4. There are in the Philippine Islands two places where relief from these conditions can be found:—(1) Camp John Hay, near Baguio, in the mountain province of Benguet, Island of Luzón; and (2) Camp Keithley, in the Lake Lanao District of the Island of Mindanao. Camp John Hay, in the province of Benguet, is in the mountains at an elevation of approximately 5000 feet and is 175 miles from Manila, most

of which distance is covered by railroad. Within 18 months it is expected that the railroad all the way to Baguio will be completed.

"5. Experience has shown that a large number of cases of disease or injury, or patients convalescing from surgical operations, recover much more rapidly in the cool mountain climate of Baguio than in the depressing heat and humidity of the plains. Before the establishment of this mountain refuge from the heat of the plains, many cases of this class were transferred to the United States that are now brought back to health at Camp John Hay and Camp Keithley. The beneficial effect of the change in climate is particularly noticeable in people who have become run down after one or more hot seasons spent at the lower levels.

"6. The great value of a refuge in the mountains from the effect of prolonged heat is shown in enclosed reports, which indicate the classes of cases especially benefited, but there are a great many others not reported and not actually sick but whose vitality and resistance are more or less diminished and who find great benefit from an occasional sojourn in the mountains of Benguet or the highlands of Mindanao, especially during the hottest part of the year."

I have quoted thus at length from communications of a distinguished British medical officer, of a well-known and able special student of tropical diseases, and of the ranking United States army surgeon in the islands to show the consensus of opinion among experienced experts as to the necessity of hill stations in the tropics. I might give numerous additional similar opinions of equally competent men but will only add two more statements of Major Ashburn, the latter of which seems to me admirably to sum up the situation:—

> So firm is my belief in the efficacy of the place that I have at considerable expense kept my two sons in school there, instead of keeping them at home in Manila at no expense for schooling, and so satisfactory has been the result in normal, vigorous growth and robust health for both boys, that I consider the money so spent about the best investment I have ever made.
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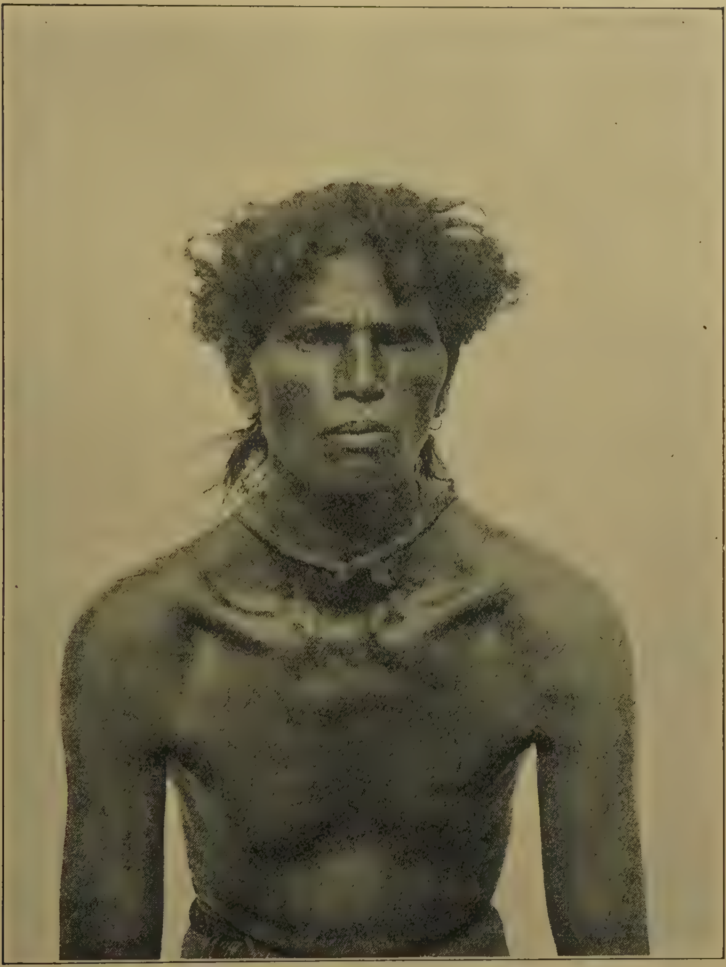
> * * * * * * *
>
> I state all this to show the faith that is in me. To experience Baguio and to see the rapid improvement of visitors there is to be convinced that it is a delightful and beneficial climate. To appreciate the full degree of its delights it is only necessary to compare in one's own experience (not in weather reports) a hot season in Manila and one there. To appreciate its benefits it is necessary to compare in one's own experience (not in statistics) the appearance of health of the people seen at the two times and places. As recent work on beriberi has clearly shown the vast importance in diet of substances formerly not known to have any importance, so, I think, are the factors in climate not to be recorded by wind gauges, thermometers or other meteorological instruments, and factors in health and efficiency not



BAKÍDAN.

This Kalinga chief saved the lives of Colonel Blas Villamor, Mr. Samuel E. Kane, and the author during the first trip ever made through the Kalinga country by outsiders.

recorded in books on physiology, bacteriology, pathology or health statistics."

Let no one think that the summer capital of the Philippines has been built solely for the benefit of Americans. The Filipinos need it almost as much as we do, and many of them profit by the change with extraordinary promptness.

It is really almost incredible that such a place should exist within eight hours' travel of Manila, and every possible victim of tuberculosis in the islands, which means every inhabitant of the lowlands, has a right to demand that it should be made, and kept, readily accessible. Existing accommodations are nothing like adequate for the crowds which desire to take advantage of them during the season. Hotels are filled to overflowing. There are always several different applicants for each government cottage. Many persons who would be glad to spend the hot months in the Benguet mountains find it impossible to do so, because they cannot obtain accommodation, and at present many more are obliged to shorten their stay in order to give others a chance.

In the early days, when we were facing unforeseen difficulties and discouragements, I was for a time the one member of the Philippine Commission who was really enthusiastically in favour of carrying out the original plans for the summer capital. It was then the fashion to charge me with responsibility for the policy of opening up communication with the place and for the mistakes made in the construction of the Benguet Road, although I had never had any control over the road work and had been one of five at first, and later one of nine, to vote for every appropriation found necessary in order to complete it.

It was the enthusiasm of Mr. Forbes which at a critical time finally saved the situation, and now that Baguio has arrived, and the wisdom of the policy so long pursued in the face of manifold discouragements has been demonstrated, my one fear is that he will get all the glory and that I shall be denied credit for the part which I actually did play in bringing about the determination to establish quick communication with one of the most wonderful mountain health resorts to be found in any tropical country, and in giving that determination effect. But I have had a more than abundant reward of another sort. My wife, my son and I myself, when seriously ill, have been restored to vigorous health by brief sojourns at this one of the world's great health resorts.

It has been very much the fashion for Filipino politicians to rail at Baguio, and now that the dangerous experiment of giving them control of both houses of the legislature is being made, they may refuse to appropriate the sums necessary to make possible the annual transfer of the insular government to that place. The result of such a bit of politics would be a marked increase in the present extraordinarily low death rate among government officers and employees, American and Filipino,[1] beginning in about two years, when the cumulative effect of long residence in the lowlands makes itself felt.

Meanwhile, Baguio can stand on its own feet, and if, as the politicians suggest, the government buildings there be sold at auction, purchasers for all dwelling houses should readily be found. Too many Filipinos have learned by happy experience the delights of this wonderful region, to let such an opportunity pass. Baguio has come to stay.[2]

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[1] This rate, for the fiscal year 1913, was 3.33 per thousand for Filipinos and 2.49 per thousand for Americans.

[2] Developments since 1913 have more than justified the faith of Worcester, Taft, and Forbes that Baguio would be worth all that it had cost. As was anticipated, the legislature in 1914 discontinued the appropriation for transferring the bureaus of the government to Baguio during the heated period. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1914, p. 46.) Subsequently, however, residences there were provided for the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and these two leaders frequently availed themselves of the advantages of the mountain health resort. Numerous other Filipinos of prominence became frequenters of the former "summer capital" and some of them purchased building sites and erected beautiful homes. The city continued to grow and as more funds became available the original Burnham plan was gradually carried towards completion. In 1915 the Army erected a well-planned and magnificently located concrete "dormitory" for officers and their families, and has since developed the post further in other ways. Since 1920 the buildings of Government Center have been utilized by the summer session of the University of the Philippines.

The extent to which the use of the city has increased is indicated by the report of the Benguet Automobile Line, which, despite the increased use of private cars, in 1927 handled 76,632 full-fare and 388 half-fare passengers; 16,007 full-fare and 1,845 half-fare third class passengers; 2,489,685 kilos of express and freight; and 81,888 kilos of deadhead express and freight.

Recognition of the soundness of the principles upon which Baguio has been developed, and of the value of such a mountain retreat in a tropical country, has come from many foreign officials. The most recent approval of this character was expressed in 1927 when the Government of the Federated Malay States sent their expert in town planning, Charles G. Reade, Esq., to study Baguio with the purpose of applying to their proposed hill station the principles which have been responsible for Baguio's success. (Charles G. Reade, Government Town Planner, F. M. S., *Town Planning in the Philippines,* Kuala Lumpur, 1928.) Mr. Reade's survey is of especial value because it is the work of a disinterested, foreign expert. Among other things he reported that the population within the municipal limits of Baguio fluctuated from 6,000 to 11,000, and reached 15,000 during the height of the season. The current municipal assessments were as follows: Government lands, 133 lots, unimproved value, $1,750,000; improved value, $1,150,000; private land, 673 lots, unimproved value, $600,000; improved value, $1,000,000; property of religious, charitable, and educational institutions, unimproved value, $80,000, improved value, $225,000. There were 34 miles of metaled and asphalted roads. The net profits from municipal utilities were as follows:

	1920	1926
Telephone system	$ 581.15	$ 3,556.91
Ice plant	29.90	4,359.62
Hydro-electric power	10,440.97	30,204.82
Water supply	5,102.68	3,447.13

The teachers' camp has 34 permanent buildings, including instruction halls, residential dormitories, a senior mess accommodating 240 teachers at a charge of $45 per month, a junior mess accommodating 342 teachers at $17.50 per month, and the general assembly and club quarters.

Mr. Reade regarded it as vitally important that private enterprise has been encouraged by the "broad and far-seeing programme of road construction, carried out in advance of development at public expense, in accordance with the Burnham plan." In his conclusion he also stated of Baguio that, "Its successful development may briefly be ascribed to many factors, not the least of which appear to be:

"(i) The comprehensive layout and town plan prepared by Burnham and protected by law.

"(ii) Initial control by a small, but powerful Philippine Commission and Executive Engineers compelled to follow and adhere to the original plan under the policy laid down and insisted upon by Governor-General Forbes and Governor-General Leonard Wood.

"(iii) Subsequent local administration and control by a resident executive,—a technical mayor and engineer with legal powers, not wholly subordinate to the dictates of a so-called democratic council, or absent central authorities.

"(iv) The policy of alienating lands by public auction to the highest bidders, subject to strict conditions of sale requiring the execution of specific improvements and buildings to be erected before titles are issued.

"(v) Continuous and courageous policy supported by financial provision and the firmness of the United States authorities in the face of uninformed criticism and misconception."

As Mr. Reade perceived, Baguio has been fortunate not only in the unwavering support which it has received from the American officials in the central government, but in its system of local government. From the establishment of civil government after the revolution until 1909 Baguio was organized under the township law. In August, 1909, it was incorporated as a city under a special charter (Act No. 1963), the terms of which were amended by Chapter 61 of the Administrative Code of 1917.

Under this charter the mayor (who is also the city engineer), the vice-mayor, and one member of the city council are appointed by the Governor-General, with the consent of the Philippine Senate. The two other members of the council are elected under the provisions of the election law. There are, in addition, the usual city officials, and an Igorot Advisory Council, the chief function of which is to advise the council upon matters affecting the non-Christian inhabitants of the city and the surrounding territory.

Perhaps of even greater importance to Baguio than the excellence of its form of government has been the character of the men who have actually directed its development. Among these officials the names of three will always be associated with the city and with Camp John Hay. Captain M. R. Hilgard, the post commander in the early days, and Major Abram Garfinkel, who has occupied that position since the World War, put into the great work of construction and maintenance which has been performed not only the ability of capable Army administrators, but the enthusiasm of devotees. Since 1920 the Burnham plan for the development of Baguio and the routine administration of the affairs of the city have been carried forward under the personal direction of Mr. E. J. Halsema, mayor and city engineer. The results of Mayor Halsema's energy, professional competence, and devotion to his work are permanently embodied in the roads, parks, and public buildings of the city.

It is probable that no development which has occurred in the Philippines during the past thirty years rests upon a sounder foundation than Baguio. For all time to come the people of the Philippines will profit from the vision and the courage of those statesmen who conceived the idea of creating a great health resort in this incomparable location and drove the project through in the face of physical obstacles and human opposition which would have seemed insuperable to lesser men.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE COÖRDINATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORK

WHEN Americans landed at Manila, they found no government institutions for the training of physicians and surgeons and no hospital in any sense modern or indeed worthy of the name. There did exist the equipment of what had been called a municipal laboratory, outfitted for a limited amount of chemical work only.

When the Philippine Commission arrived on the scene, it fell to my lot to draft the necessary legislation for placing scientific work on a firm foundation, and, later, as secretary of the interior, to exercise ultimate executive control over practically all such work carried on under the insular government.

The complete initial lack of adequate hospital facilities and of means for making chemical and bacteriological investigations had been promptly remedied by the establishment of army hospitals and an army laboratory. Although these could not be placed fully at the service of the public, they nevertheless bridged the gap for the time being, and in formulating laws and making plans for the future I was inclined to say, "Blessed be nothing," as we were not hampered by useless employees or archaic equipment, but were left free to make a clean start.

I had thoroughly learned one lesson at the University of Michigan while a member of its zoölogical staff. We had a zoölogical laboratory in which were conducted the zoölogical half of a course in general biology and numerous other courses in animal morphology, mammalian anatomy, comparative anatomy and embryology. There was also a botanical laboratory in which all of the botanical work of the institution was carried on. This did not involve any overlapping, but there was overlapping of the work of the zoölogical laboratory and that of the medical department, which had an anatomical laboratory, a histological laboratory, a pathological laboratory and a so-called hygienic laboratory. The professor of anatomy thought that his students would understand human anatomy better if they knew something of comparative anatomy, and instead of sending them to us wished to start his own courses. The histologist dabbled in embryology and was soon duplicating our course in the embryology of the chick. He was constantly at war with the pathologist over the question of where histology left off and pathology began, and both of them were inclined to differ with the man in charge of the hygienic laboratory over similar questions of jurisdiction. Furthermore, we had a chemical laboratory split up into various more or less independent subdivisions, and a psychological laboratory. In these several institutions for scientific research there was much duplication of instruction and of books, apparatus and laboratory equipment. Great economies might have been effected by the establishment of a central purchasing agency, which could have obtained wholesale rates on supplies ordered in large quantity. Nothing of the sort existed. One laboratory chief would order from the corner drug store, while another bought in Germany.

There was danger that a similar condition of things might arise in the Philippines. The Bureau of Health would want its chemical and its biological laboratories; the Bureau of Agriculture would need to do chemical work covering a wide range of subjects, and botanical and entomological work as well. The Bureau of Forestry would of course require a large amount of botanical work, and would also need to have chemical work done on gums, resins and other forest products, to say nothing of investigating insects injurious to trees and more especially to timber after cutting. The latter class of destroyers do enormous damage in the Philippines. Much chemical work would be required by the Bureau of Customs, which as a matter of fact later insisted upon the necessity of a "microscopical laboratory" to provide facilities for the examination of fibres, etc. Obviously there would be a large amount of work for the general government in connection with investigation of the mineral resources of the country, and the testing of coals, cements and road materials.

Smallpox was decimating the population. There was need of the manufacture of great quantities of virus with which to combat it, and of other common and necessary serums and prophylactics as well.

Here then was a golden opportunity to start right. In imagination I saw a Bureau of Science for scientific research and for routine scientific work, a great General Hospital, and a modern and up-to-date College of Medicine and Surgery, standing side by side and working in full and harmonious relationship. The medical school would give to the youth of the land the best possible facilities for theoretical training in medicine and surgery, while access to the wards of the hospital would make possible for them a large amount of practical bedside work. Its operating amphitheatres would increase the opportunity for clinical instruction, as would a great free out-patient clinic, conducted primarily for the benefit of the poor. Professors in the college would hold positions on the hospital staff, not only in order to give to them and to their students every facility for clinical demonstration work, but to enable them constantly to "keep their hands in." Promising Filipino graduates would be given internships and other positions on the house staff of the hospital. Patients would be admitted to its free beds subject to the condition that they allow their cases to be studied by the faculty and students of the college. The necessary biological and chemical examinations for the hospital would be made in the laboratories of the Bureau of Science, which would at the same time afford every facility for the carrying on of scientific investigation by advanced students, by members of the faculty of the college and by members of the hospital staff. Members of the staff of the biological laboratory would have the use of the great volume of pathological material from the hospital, and with free access to its rooms and wards, would have an almost unparalleled opportunity for the study of tropical diseases, while some of the officers and employees of the Bureau of Science and of the Bureau of Health might be made members of the faculty of the college and their services utilized as instructors.

As we had neither laboratories, hospital nor college at the time, the realization of this somewhat comprehensive scheme seemed rather remote. It was commonly referred to as "Worcester's dream," and one of my friends in the army medical corps probably quite correctly voiced public sentiment when he said, "Poor Worcester has bats in his belfry." However, he laughs best who laughs last! After the lapse of a good many years my dream came true. The three great institutions which I hoped might sometime be established are to-day in existence, and are doing the work which I hoped that they might perform. Now let us consider how they came to be.

In the early days I drafted an act providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Government Laboratories which should perform all of the biological and chemical work of the government under the direction of one chief, and on July 1, 1901, the commission passed it.[1] I was more than fortunate in securing as the director of this bureau Dr. Paul C. Freer, then professor of general chemistry at the University of Michigan. Dr. Freer obtained leave of absence for a year, in order to help us get started. This leave was twice extended for additional periods of one year each, and in the end he decided to sever his connection with the university and throw in his lot with the Philippine government. He remained in charge of the Bureau of Government Laboratories and of its successor, the Bureau of Science, until his death on April 17, 1912.

Himself a chemist and investigator of note, he had a wide and catholic knowledge of science in general, and no better man could have been found for this important piece of constructive work. For

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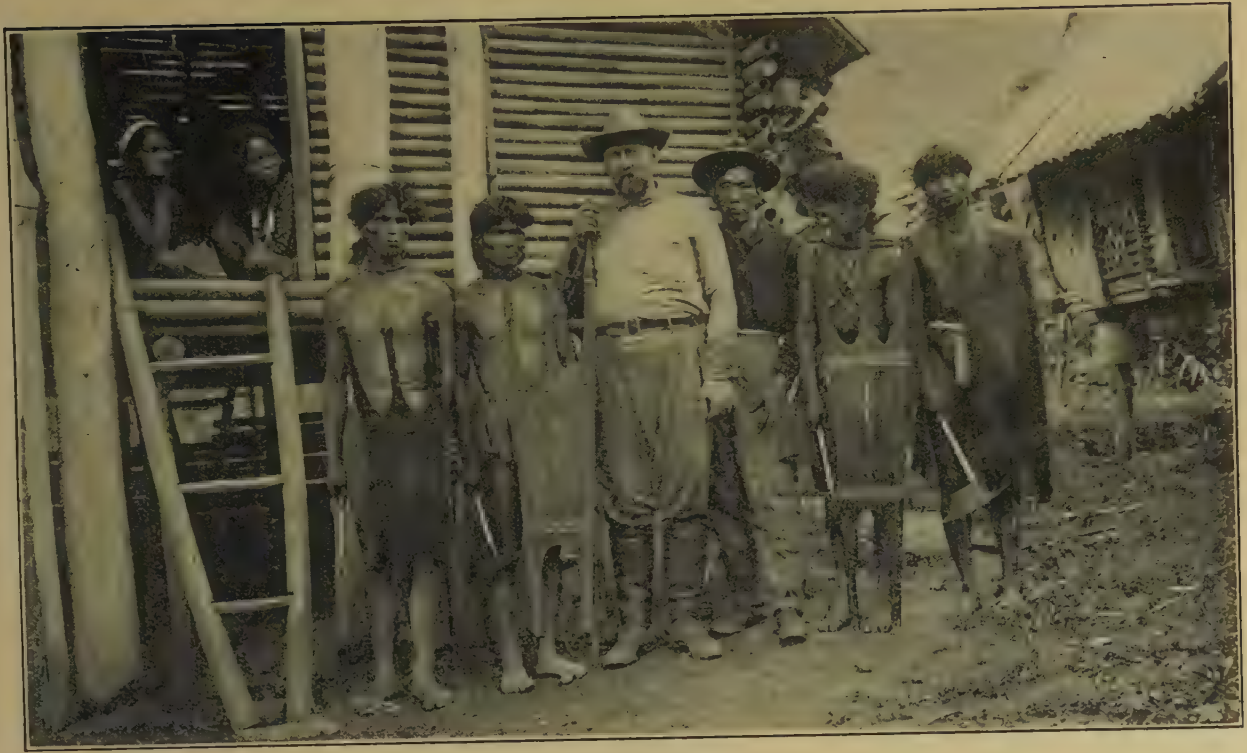
[1] Act No. 156, Philippine Commission, July 1, 1901.



IN HOSTILE COUNTRY.

Colonel Villamor and the author at Bakídan's place in the Kalinga country. The four chiefs were not as yet ready to lay down their shields or head-axes.

nearly a year the two of us laboured over plans for the laboratory building and lists of the necessary books, instruments, apparatus, glassware, chemicals and other supplies. At the end of this time we submitted to the commission what I do not hesitate to say was the most complete estimate for a large project which ever came before it. Much forethought was necessary in order to time the orders for books, instruments and apparatus so that it would be possible to house them properly when they arrived, and the estimated expense was distributed over a period of two and one-half years.

Meanwhile work had begun in cramped temporary quarters in a hot little "shack," for it deserved no better name, back of the Civil Hospital. Here under almost impossible conditions there were performed a large volume of routine biological and chemical work, and a considerable amount of research, the results of which proved to be of far-reaching importance.

With the employment of the first chemists and bacteriologists there arose a class of questions which I determined to settle once for all. There is a regrettable tendency among some scientific men to try to build barbed-wire fences around particular fields of research in which they happen to be interested, and to shoo every one else away. At the outset I gave all employees clearly to understand that such an unscientific and ungenerous spirit would not be tolerated in the Bureau of Government Laboratories. The field which opened before us was enormous. There was work enough and more than enough for all, and we should at the outset adopt a spirit of friendliness and helpfulness toward every scientific man who desired to lend a hand.

This rule of conduct has been steadfastly adhered to. Numerous well-known scientists have visited the Philippines and to each we have extended all possible assistance, furnishing laboratory quarters, instruments, apparatus and reagents, and, whenever practicable, material as well. Indeed, many of our scientific guests have been made employees of the bureau without pay, so that there might be no questioning of their right to use government equipment.

Two important results have followed this policy. One is that we have established the friendliest and most helpful relations with numerous research institutions. The other is that we have been able to assist in the performance of much valuable work which has borne important results, and which would perhaps have remained undone had it not been possible for us to aid those who undertook it.

In due course of time came our fine new building, with good facilities for performing all kinds of laboratory work. When it was equipped and occupied, we were able to say that the opportunities offered at Manila for investigating tropical diseases were probably unequalled elsewhere, and there was a deal of such investigation urgently needing to be made. Our equipment for chemical research was also very complete and the vast undeveloped natural resources of the islands presented a practically virgin field for such investigation.

At the outset absurd rumours spread as to the cost of buildings and equipment, and there was much popular outcry against the supposed wastefulness of the government. A simple statement of the facts served to kill these foolish tales, and people soon began to see that the creation of the Bureau of Government Laboratories was merely the application of common-sense to existing conditions and had resulted in greatly increased economy and efficiency. Indeed, at the suggestion of a committee appointed to make a study of the government service and suggest measures for its betterment, the principle which I had adopted was carried still further. Not only was all zoölogical and botanical work transferred to this bureau, but the Bureau of Ethnology and the Bureau of Mines were abolished as separate entities and were made divisions of it, and its title was changed to "The Bureau of Science." Little by little the scope of the work has steadily widened.

The scientific books and periodicals of the government were scattered among half a dozen different bureaus and were not being well cared for. I arranged to have them all temporarily transferred to the library of the Bureau of Science and catalogued there. Those said to be really needed for frequent reference were then returned to the several bureaus but were kept under observation by the Bureau of Science librarian, who took particular pains to look after the binding of serial publications as rapidly as the volumes were completed.

The list of books requested by the several bureau chiefs for reference was suspiciously long. I gave orders that each set of bureau bookshelves be provided with cards and a box into which to drop them, and each time a book was used a card was made out for it and placed in the box. After six months I quietly gathered up the cards and had them checked against the lists of books for which the several bureau chiefs had asked, and was then able to order a large proportion of them back to the library for the reason that they had not been used at all.

The result of this policy is that we have to-day a central scientific library in which are catalogued all the scientific books of the government. Books needed by the several bureaus for frequent reference are placed where they can be used conveniently, and the card catalogue indicates where they are, so that they can readily be found. In this way it has been possible to avoid much needless and expensive duplication. The library now contains 26,652 bound volumes.[1]

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[1] The growth of the library of the Bureau of Science in its collection of books and in usefulness is indicated by the following statement, made in 1927: "The library has continued to grow in size and usefulness and has maintained its highest standard of

We were extremely fortunate in the men whose services we secured in the early days, and the volume of research work turned out was unexpectedly large. The question of how best to arrange for the prompt publication of our results became urgent, and in the end we answered it by publishing the *Philippine Journal of Science,* now in its eighth year and with an assured and enviable position among the scientific journals of the world.[1]

In the early days before we knew what we now know about the preservation of health in tropical countries there was a good deal of sickness among government officers and employees. While the army was more than liberal in helping us meet the conditions which arose, it was of course very necessary that we should establish our own hospital as soon as possible.

On October 12, 1901, the so-called "Civil Hospital" was opened in a large private dwelling, obtained, as we then fondly imagined, merely as a temporary expedient. Together with two adjoining and even smaller buildings it continued to be our only place for the treatment of ordinary medical and surgical cases until September 1, 1910! I can here only very briefly outline the causes of this long delay.

At the outset the building was large enough to meet immediate needs. At the time when it began to grow inadequate there was a plan on foot for a large private institution, in which the government was to secure accommodations for its patients, and a hospital building was actually erected, but interest in this project waned, the private backing which was believed to have been assured for it failed, and the whole scheme went by the board. Then plans for a great general hospital were called for. A very large amount of time was consumed in their preparation and when they were finished the expense involved in carrying them out was found to be far beyond the means of the government. Ultimately I was charged with the duty of securing other plans involving a more moderate expenditure. Again long delay necessarily ensued. When semi-final plans were submitted, the consulting architect insisted on a series of arches along the sides of the several ward pavilions which were doubtless most satisfying from an artistic

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excellence. During the year 14,521 volumes were added to the library, making a total of 108,808 volumes at the close of the year. The library receives 2,234 scientific periodicals, of which 442 are paid subscriptions, 907 exchanges, and 884 free. The number of publications used and charged out was 55,896, or a daily average of 154 publications. The number of visitors recorded was 12,593." (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 259.)

[1] In a statement published in 1928 Dr. Victor Heiser, Director for the East, International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, declared: " 'The Journal of Science,' published by the bureau, became a recognized source of authority in the principal countries. Unfortunately during the period from 1913 to 1921, the 'Journal' deteriorated greatly, and largely lost its position of eminence." (Forbes, I, 365.) Dr. Heiser also states, referring to the Bureau of Science: "Thus was created one of the first large public health laboratories under the American flag. Since then laboratories doing similar work have been created in nearly every state and city of the United States and extensively emulated abroad." The founding of the Bureau, he declares, "can be laid directly to the credit of the Honorable Dean C. Worcester." (*Ibid.,* I, p. 364.)

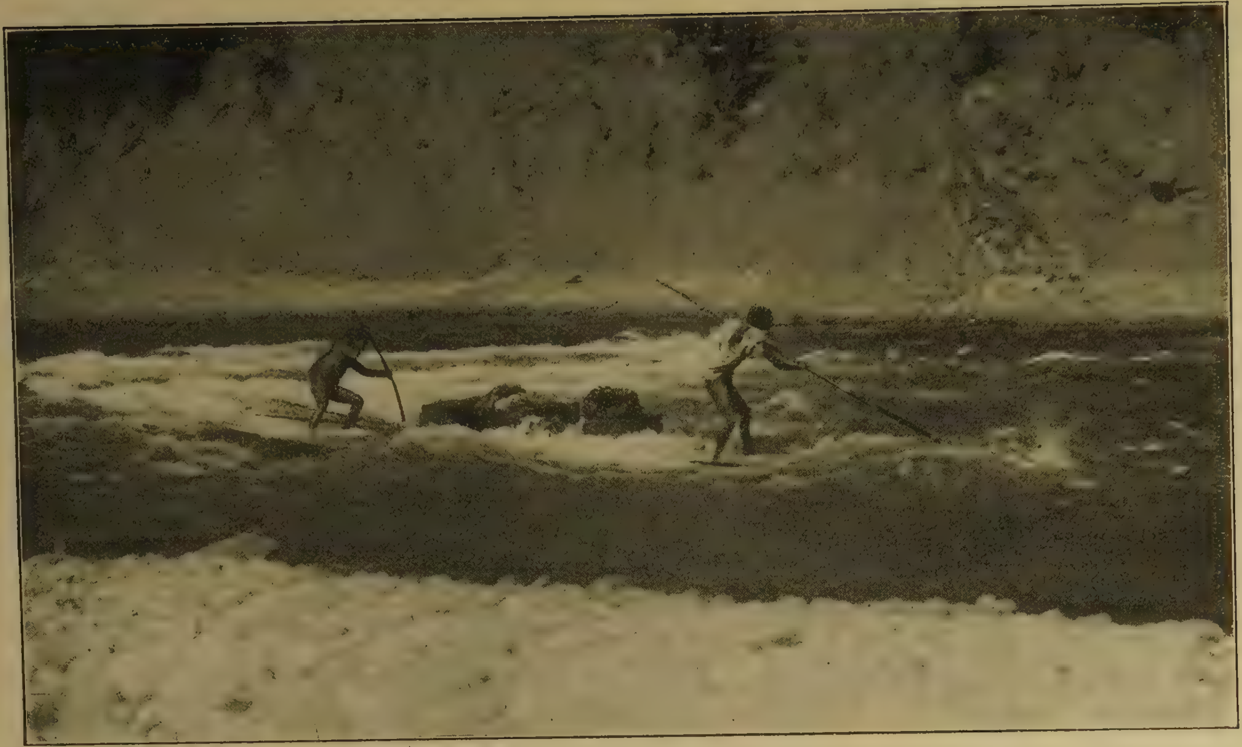
point of view, but would have shut off light and fresh air to an extent which I could not tolerate. A three months' deadlock was finally broken by his acceding to my wishes, but in October, 1906, just as the completed plans were finally ready to submit to the commission, I was compelled by severe illness to return to the United States. There remained three American and three Filipino members of the commission. One of the former was Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, then secretary of public instruction. Prior to the time when he became a candidate for a secretaryship he had been bitter in his criticism of the Filipinos. Coincidently with the development of this ambition he became almost more pro-Filipino than some of the Filipino politicians themselves. For a time he seemed to control the Filipino vote on the commission and largely as a result of his activities every important matter which I left pending, including that of the establishment of the great general hospital so vitally needed by the people of the islands, was laid on the table. I was informed that Mr. Shuster had announced that we could have $125,000 for the hospital and no more! We needed $400,000.

Beginning on the day after my return the following April these several projects, including that for the Baguio Hospital and that for the Philippine General Hospital, were taken from the table and passed.

Construction work goes slowly in the tropics. One ward pavilion of the Philippine General Hospital was occupied on September 1, 1910. Soon afterward the four others came into use.

On June 10, 1907, a medical college was opened. It was called "The Philippine Medical School." Its creation at this time was made possible by the existence of the Bureaus of Science and Health. Its staff was at the outset recruited very largely from these two bureaus. The director of the Bureau of Science was made its dean and continued to hold this position until his death. To his unselfish efforts and to those of the director of health is due the well-organized modern college which we have to-day. In lieu of better quarters the first classes were held in an old Spanish government building which was altered and added to until it answered the purpose reasonably well.

The preparation of the act which provided for the establishment of this college was intrusted to me. I called for the assistance of a committee of technical experts and asked that they submit a draft for my consideration, which they did. It contained a provision to the effect that the college should be under the administrative control of the secretary of the interior. I struck out the words "secretary of the interior" and inserted in lieu thereof the words "secretary of public instruction" for two reasons. First, the school theoretically belongs under that official, in spite of its necessarily close relationship with



Travel under Difficulties.

One of our bamboo rafts, loaded with baggage, on the Mabáca River.

the Bureau of Science and the Bureau of Health. Second, I wanted the support of the secretary of public instruction for the measure, as it involved considerable expenditure and I was not sure how the bill might fare in the commission. It happened that the incumbent of that position was very much inclined to take a liberal view of bills which extended his jurisdiction. Mr. Taft, when he visited the Philippines in 1909, reached the conclusion that I was guilty of an error of judgment in doing this, and a little later expressed the view that the Medical College ought to be under the control of the secretary of the interior, because of its intimate relationship with the bureaus above mentioned. I might perhaps even then have had this change made, but refrained from attempting to do so, believing that all would go well under the existing arrangement. So long as Dr. Freer lived this was the case. He was a man of absolute honesty and sincerity of purpose, and was far-seeing enough fully to realize that the interests of the government, and of individuals as well, would best be served by carrying out the broad and liberal policy which was then in effect.

The next event of importance was the establishment of the University of the Philippines, which was provided for by an Act passed on June 18, 1908.[1] The Philippine Medical School was in due time incorporated with the university as its College of Medicine and Surgery, passing under the executive control of the university board of regents.[2]

At this time the plan of which I had dreamed so many years before was in full force and effect and was working admirably. Members of the Bureau of Science staff served on the college faculty and held appointments in the Philippine General Hospital as well, one of them being the chief of a division there. Members of the college faculty carried on research work at the Bureau of Science. The great working library installed in the building of the latter bureau served as the medical library. Members of the college faculty also rendered important service in the Philippine General Hospital, where two of them were chiefs of divisions, two held important positions on the house staff and numerous others served as internes. Officers of the Bureau of Health were appointed to the faculty of the college and carried on research work at the Bureau of Science. The staff of the latter bureau made the chemical and biological examinations needed in connection with the work of the hospital as well as those required by the Bureau of Health. The Bureau of Science manufactured the sera and prophylactics required by the Bureau of Health in its work. The two large operating amphitheatres in the Philippine General Hospital were planned with especial reference to the accommodation of students, who could pass along a gallery from one to the other. The work of the free clinic, attended daily by hundreds of Filipinos seeking relief, was largely turned over to the college faculty, and increased opportunities were thus given for medical students to study actual cases.

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[1] Act No. 1870, Philippine Legislature, June 18, 1908.

[2] This incorporation was effected on December 8, 1910. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1911, p. 8; *General Catalogue, University of the Philippines*, 1922–1923, p. 33.

The arrangement was an ideal one. It excited the admiration of numerous visiting European and American experts, who were competent to judge of its merits, and its continued success was dependent only upon the honesty of purpose, loyalty and good faith of the several parties to it.

Then came the untimely death of Dr. Freer. A few months later an attempt was made by certain university officers to secure control of the professional work of the hospital for that institution, leaving the director of health and the secretary of the interior in charge of the nurses, servants, accounts and property, and burdened with the responsibility for the results of work involving life and death, but without voice in the choice of the men who were to perform it. Those who were responsible for this effort evidently had not taken the trouble to read the law, and I had only to call attention to its provisions in order to end for the time this first effort to disturb the existing logical distribution of work between the two institutions.

Before I left Manila in October, 1913, a second attempt was being made to secure control of the professional work of the hospital for the university, but this time the plan was more far-reaching, in that it contemplated the transfer to the university of control of the Bureau of Science as well; and more logical, in that a bill accomplishing these ends had been drafted for consideration by the Filipinized legislature.[1]

The original plan for the coördination of the scientific work of the Philippine government was sound in principle and will, I trust, eventually be carried out, whatever may be done temporarily to upset it during a period of disturbed political conditions. There is much consolation to be derived from contemplating the fact that pendulums swing.

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[1] Control over the Bureau of Science has not as yet (1929) been transferred to the University of the Philippines, although this project has been revived a number of times.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION

No work accomplished since the American occupation is of more fundamental and far-reaching importance than that of the Bureau of Education.[1] In order to appreciate it one must gain some familiarity with the conditions which prevailed in Spanish times. The first evidence of the Spanish governmental attitude toward education in the Philippines is found in a royal edict of March 21, 1634,[2] in which Felipe IV orders all archbishops and bishops to take steps for the education of the Filipinos in the Spanish language and in Christian doctrine.

That this decree was more honoured in the breach than in the observance is evident from another royal decree of June 20, 1686,[3] in which the king reminds civil and religious authorities that the non-observance of the decree of 1634 will be charged against them. Neither of these documents provided for financing the scheme of education ordained, but a decree of December 22, 1792,[4] did make financial provision for the establishment of Spanish schools for natives. The salaries of teachers were to be paid from the royal treasury, and deficits were to be made up from the communal properties and treasuries.

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[1] In 1925 an extensive survey of the educational system of the Philippine Islands was made by a survey commission of American pedagogical experts under the direction of Dr. Paul Monroe, Director of the International Institute and Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. This investigation was provided for by the Philippine Legislature upon the suggestion of the Secretary of Public Instruction and the Director of Education, and $50,000 was appropriated to pay for it. The report of the survey was published in a volume of 677 pages, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, by the Board of Educational Survey Created Under Acts 3162 and 3196 of the Philippine Legislature.* (Manila, 1925; Referred to hereafter as *Monroe Survey Report.*) Many of the recommendations of the Board are being carried out. Other suggestions seem to be beyond the present financial resources of the Philippine government, while some have not met with approval in the Philippines.

After the Monroe Survey Report had been submitted, the Philippine Legislature created a joint committee to study the findings (Concurrent Resolution No. 15, November 9, 1925), and requested the Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction to submit to the legislature his views on the recommendations contained in the report. (Concurrent Resolution No. 5, August 10, 1925.) The joint committee made an extensive study of the entire educational situation, as well as of the report and presented its views in a volume of 395 pages, the *Joint Legislative Committee Report on Education.* (Manila, 1926.) The chairman of the committee on the part of the Senate was the Hon. Camilio Osias, a graduate of Teachers' College, Columbia University, formerly Assistant Director of the Bureau of Education, and the President of the National University. The Hon. Eugene A. Gilmore responded to the request of the legislature in the *Reply of the Secretary of Public Instruction* (Manila, 1925), a pamphlet of 31 pages.

These three documents provide voluminous material for a study of the Philippine school system, and evaluate and criticise the schools from three different viewpoints. They should be supplemented, however, by the annual reports of the Secretary of Public Instruction and the Director of Education, as the scene changes so rapidly in the Philippines that a report upon almost any phase of the government, and especially upon the public schools, is out of date in some respects before it is off the press.

Chapter II of the report of the joint legislative committee, entitled "Educational Aims and Objectives," is printed as Appendix IV of this book because it contains the official statement of the Philippine Legislature concerning the purposes which the Filipino people desire their public schools to accomplish.

[2] Blair and Robertson, Vol. 45, p. 184.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 45, p. 186.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 45, p. 222.

Although this was the first practical attempt to introduce general native education, there are evidences that individual opportunities were offered to, and embraced by, Filipinos. It is probable, too, that in certain localities the most generous of the Spaniards opened private schools.

The College of San José was founded in 1601, the University of Santo Tomás in 1619. Neither made provision for educating natives. They were established for the children of Spaniards only, although both later admitted Filipinos. But in the rules for the short-lived college of San Felipe (1641–1645),[1] Corcuera lays down the following: "The college servants shall be of influential Pampango families, and they shall be taught to read and write in the Spanish language, and shall be given clerkships if they show aptitude therefor." We learn that when the charity school of San Juan de Letran passed under the control of the Dominicans in 1640, native boys were admitted, on payment of fees, to share the advantages offered charitably to Spanish orphans.[2]

Primary education for Filipinos secured no real foothold until 1863.[3] In that year, by royal decree, a school system originally planned for Cuba was extended to the Philippines. It made provision for the beginnings of primary instruction in all municipalities of the islands. A summary [4] called forth by a circular of March 1, 1866, gives information with regard to the progress actually made. This summary fixes the number of towns at nine hundred, the number of children attending school at one hundred thirty-five thousand boys and twelve thousand two hundred sixty girls, and the number of schools at sixteen hundred seventy-four, but it gives the number of buildings actually in use for schools as only six hundred forty-one. Instruction in Spanish was not always, or even generally, given.

In 1853 provision was also made for the establishment of a normal school at Manila. In 1893,[5] forty years later, the actual appropriation for the Normal School was $5525. Fourteen years after the American occupation, the appropriation for the Normal School was $56,476.42, in addition to $224,500 spent for new buildings and furniture.[6]

In 1892 there were two thousand one hundred seventy-three schools. The attendance of these schools was small and irregular. In 1896, at the outbreak of the insurrection, the Spanish had in operation a public school system which could call upon the Normal School for teachers and also upon such graduates of private schools as cared to undertake the work. Naturally the latter were few. Between 1863 and 1893, the Normal School had enrolled two thousand and one students.[1]

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[1] Blair and Robertson, Vol. 45, p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 45, pp. 213–265.

[3] *Census*, 1903, III, pp. 578–590.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, p. 591.

[5] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 579–580.

[6] *Report of the Director of Education*, 1911-1912.

In addition to the Normal School, the Spanish established a Nautical School in 1820, a School of Commercial Accounting and of the French and English Languages in 1839, and an Academy of Drawing and Painting. Their final system of public instruction was not badly planned, but it was never actually put into full operation.

From the beginning of the insurrection against Spain in 1896 until the beginning of the insurrection against the United States in 1899, most of the public schools were closed. The schoolhouses were used for barracks, prisons, or hospitals. No attempt was made to keep them in repair, and what scanty equipment they had once possessed was for the most part destroyed or stolen.

Between 1899 and 1901, many of these buildings were repaired in towns which were occupied by American soldiers, and the beginnings of a public school system were made by our victorious army. Wherever our flag was raised a public school was soon established, soldiers often serving as teachers, and the moral effect of this upon the Filipinos was very great.[2]

The city of Manila was naturally the first place to receive attention. Three weeks after our army entered it on August 13, 1898, seven schools were opened under the supervision of Father W. D. McKinnon, chaplain of the first California Regiment. In June, 1899, Lieutenant George P. Anderson was detailed as city superintendent of schools for Manila, and during the following school year he had an average of forty-five hundred pupils enrolled in the primary schools. Captain Albert Todd was detailed to act as superintendent of schools for the islands, but on May 5, 1900, in anticipation of the transfer of the islands from military to civil government, he gave way to Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, who had been chosen by the Philippine Commission as superintendent of public instruction. This title was changed later to that of director of education.

On January 21, 1901, the commission passed Act 74, the basis of the present school law. It provided for the appointment of one thousand American teachers to begin the work of establishing a school system carried on in English. Appointments were made as rapidly as possible. By the end of the year, seven hundred sixty-five American teachers were at work.

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[1] In 1927 there were 1,269 students enrolled in the Philippine Normal School, 3,923 in the eight provincial normal schools, and 2,022 in the nine secondary normal courses. (*Ibid.*, 1927, p. 30.) In addition, there were approximately 800 students enrolled in the College of Education of the University of the Philippines, making a total of approximately 8,000 students receiving professional training in education.

[2] For a description of Philippine education prior to 1899 see, *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, part 1, pp. 17–42; part 2, pp. 456–476. The subsequent history of the school system may be traced in the annual reports of the Philippine Commission and (after 1915) of the Governor-General, and of the Director of Education. Extremely interesting accounts of the Spanish schools in the Islands and the organization of the new educational system are to be found in the reports of the Secretary of Public Instruction, General James F. Smith, and the General Superintendent of Education, Dr. David P. Barrows, in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 669–705.

When provision was made for the appointment of this large number of Americans, it was with the idea that they should act as teachers of English in schools over which there should be Filipino principals, but there was, at that time, no body of Filipino teachers properly prepared to carry on school work, and by force of circumstances, this plan was soon altered.

Ten school divisions were established, covering the archipelago. Each was presided over by a division superintendent of schools. The teachers were theoretically subject to his control, but the divisions were so large that it was impossible for him to exercise control very effectively. It is perhaps well than many of the teachers were left free to employ their own ingenuity in meeting local conditions. The school system finally established represents a composite of the recommendations of hundreds of teachers scattered throughout the archipelago, and these recommendations were based on hard-earned experience.

One of the first duties of teachers was to begin the training of Filipino assistants. This took form in the organization of so-called *aspirante* classes, into which the best of the Filipino youth who were old enough to teach, and who had already received some education, were gathered. These *aspirante* classes were often held side by side with classes in the primary schools first established by American teachers, and by the beginning of the year 1902 some of the brightest pupils were able to assist in primary school work. These classes made possible the establishment of organized primary schools under the control of American teachers with Filipino teachers in the lower grades. Their graduates formed the nuclei of the first secondary schools, which were established in 1903.

The difficulties which teachers had to overcome at the outset were numerous. In some of the older and richer towns there were stone or brick schoolhouses more or less fit for occupation. In such cases a small number of old wooden benches and a few square feet of blackboard were usually available. Sometimes there were books provided by the army: Baldwin's readers in English or in rudely translated vernacular; Frye's geographies translated into Spanish; and possibly Spanish editions of the history of the United States. This stock was greatly improved during the latter half of 1902, and teachers were furnished books and supplies as rapidly as transportation facilities permitted.

DANGEROUS NAVIGATION.

This photograph shows one of our rafts passing a point on the Abulug River which we named the "Needle's Eye." The current was very swift, and the water forty feet deep. Many persons have been drowned, or killed by being thrown against the rocks, while trying to make this passage.

In 1901 the number of school divisions was increased to eighteen, and in 1902 to thirty-six, making the school divisions identical with the thirty-six then existing political subdivisions of the islands. The organization of the public school system gradually crystallized and assumed something of the form which it has to-day. Barrio[1] schools were opened, and the work of American teachers who were detailed to supervise them was thus greatly increased.

The school system took permanent shape in 1903 and 1904. As it now stands it is controlled by the director of education, who is responsible for its conduct. Serving with him, and subject to his control, are an assistant director and a second assistant director. The directors have immediate charge of the general office, which has the following divisions: records, accounting, buildings, property, academic, industrial and publications.[2] Each has a chief who is directly responsible for its work.

The islands are now divided into thirty-four school divisions, corresponding, except in two cases, to provinces.[3] Each has its superintendent of schools. The divisions are subdivided into districts, over each of which there is a supervising teacher who is responsible for the conduct of its work. Certain of the intermediate schools are under supervising teachers, while others are directly under division superintendents. The school system to-day extends to the remotest barrios. It is organized and equipped for effective work, and ready to carry out promptly and effectively the policies determined upon by the central office.

In each province there is a central provincial school offering intermediate and secondary courses. Only twelve of them now give a full four-year course. Others offer three years, two years or one year of secondary work. There is also a manual training department attached to the provincial school, or a trade school. So much for the provincial school system.

At Manila is situated the Philippine Normal School, with an attendance of six hundred sixty-nine, and the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, with an attendance of six hundred forty-one.[4] Also, there are the School of Commerce and the School for the Deaf and Blind, both supported directly from insular funds. The School of Household Industries has recently been established for the training of adult women in embroidery, lace-making and similar arts, so that they may return to their provinces to establish little centres for the production of articles of this nature. This is most important work. The Filipinos are endowed with great patience, and with extraordinary delicacy of touch and manual dexterity. If productive household industries based on these valuable characteristics are generalized, the prosperity of the common people will be very greatly increased.

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[1] Barrios are small outlying villages.

[2] In 1929 there is no second assistant director, and the former publication division is now called the editorial division.

[3] In 1927 there were 47 divisions. Control of the entire system is centralized in the Bureau of Education to an extent unknown in any American state. Although the Monroe Survey Report criticised the rigidity and uniformity of the system, and its devotion to red tape and regulations, it is probable that highly centralized direction will be necessary for a long time to come.

In this connection it might be mentioned that the Director of Education, the official immediately responsible for the initiation of the educational policy and the direction of the school system of the entire Philippines, is paid a salary ($6,000) no larger than that received by the superintendent of schools in the average American city of 35,000 inhabitants.

[4] The enrolment in the Philippine Normal School in September, 1927, was 1,269. The Philippine School of Arts and Trades is splendidly housed and equipped, and is filled to its capacity of about 800 students. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 30.)

Of the school system in general it can be said that Filipino teachers have been gradually employed for the lower grades, and Americans have thus been freed to take charge of the higher instruction. Primary instruction is now in the hands of Filipinos, and intermediate instruction is rapidly being turned over to them. In July, 1913, there were about eighty-five hundred Filipino teachers, with an estimated total enrolment of five hundred thirty thousand pupils.[1] The total enrolment in primary schools was approximately four hundred ninety thousand, in intermediate schools thirty thousand nine hundred, and in secondary schools six thousand.[2] When we compare these figures with the hundred and seventy-seven thousand reported by the Spanish government in 1897, and when we consider the fact that attendance at that time was extremely irregular, it is evident that noteworthy progress has been made. Mere figures, however, come far short of telling the whole story. There has been very great improvement in the quality of the instruction given. In the old days children "studied out loud," and the resulting uproar was audible at quite a distance.

On their arrival in these islands, Americans found that the educated Filipinos as a rule held honest manual labor in contempt, while many of those who had managed to secure professional educations did not practise their professions, but preferred to live a life of ease. There were doctors who made no pretence of treating the sick, and lawyers who had studied simply for the standing which the title would give them. The Bureau of Education has brought about a profound change in public sentiment; a change of basic importance to the country. It was apparent at the outset that any educational system adhering closely to academic studies would simply serve to perpetuate this condition of affairs. Fortunately, those in charge of the situation were untrammelled by tradition, and were free to build up a system that would meet actual existing needs. The objection to manual labor offered much difficulty, but it has been largely overcome. There was, furthermore, a feeling against industrial work on the part of the people in many regions, based on the idea that teachers meant to supplement their salaries by the sale of the industrial products of the schools. This prejudice, which seemed formidable at first, disappeared when the bureau took up in earnest the introduction of industrial education and vocational training.

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[1] In 1927 there were 294 American, and 25,971 Filipino teachers. Of the Americans, only 35 were teaching in the primary and intermediate grades; 242 were teaching in the secondary schools; the remainder were engaged in administrative and supervisory duties. (*Ibid.*, pp. 156–157.) Of the division superintendents on the active list in 1927, 32 were Americans and 15 were Filipinos. There were in the same year 11 Americans and 17 Filipinos on the administrative and supervisory staff of the Bureau of Education. The principals of the Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, the Central Luzon Normal School, the School for the Deaf and the Blind, the Philippine School of Commerce, the American Central School, Manila, and of a number of the agricultural schools were Americans. (*Ibid.*, pp. 101–105.) Of the principals of secondary schools, 46 were Americans and 60 were Filipinos. (*Ibid.*, p. 156.) Approximately 50 appointments of Americans to fill vacancies in the Philippine school system are made annually. Usually five or six of these are of normal school demonstration teachers, the remaining positions requiring the services of teachers of secondary English. The minimum contract period for persons appointed in the United States is two years, the beginning pay ranges from $1,500 to $1,700, and upon the satisfactory completion of his contract term the traveling expenses of the teacher to and from his home in the United States are, in effect, paid. For periods of service of three years or longer liberal vacation, leave, and travel allowances are made. Teachers appointed in the United States are engaged through the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department. (Philippine Civil Service Examinations, No. 47, issued January, 1929, with supplement issued March 26, 1929.)

[2] In 1927 there were 5,993 primary schools, with a total annual enrolment of 837,165; 1,242 intermediate schools with an annual enrollment of 197,980; and 113 secondary schools with an annual enrollment of 52,998. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, pp. 125, 136; *Report of the Director of Education,* 1927, p. 26.) The total annual enrollment in all of the public schools in 1927 was 1,099,306. (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

Just as the academic organization grew out of local conditions, so did industrial education accommodate itself to existing circumstances. In the Spanish *colegios,* girls had been taught to do exquisite embroidery and to make pillow lace. In various parts of the islands, hat weaving was carried on by families or groups of families. The making of *petates,*[1] of rough but durable market baskets and of sugar bags constituted widespread local industries. American teachers were quick to see how these vagrant arts could be organized and commercialized. An intense rivalry sprang up between supervising teachers, and as a result the arts of pillow lace-making, embroidery, Irish crochet, hat weaving, basketry and macramé work have been introduced and standardized throughout the primary and intermediate schools. The excellence of the output is truly astonishing.

Courses in housekeeping and household arts also received early attention. The social and economic conditions in the Philippines are such that the so-called "domestic science" course of American schools is quite inadequate to meet the needs of Filipina girls. Specialized instruction in hygiene, in the care of the sick, in household sanitation and in the feeding and care of infants is included in this course of housekeeping and household arts, which was taken by fifteen thousand two hundred twenty-seven girls during 1912–1913.

School gardening was introduced at an early date. This course now includes the school garden, in which each pupil has his own individual three and a fourth by thirteen foot plot, and home gardens which are not less than four times the size of the school plot. By this arrangement eighty per cent of the garden work is carried on at the homes of the pupils or on vacant lots under the direct supervision of teachers.

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[1] Sleeping mats.

In the beginning much of the school agricultural work was not very practical. Teachers who themselves knew nothing about agriculture were wedded to the small "individual plot" idea, which I regret to say still continues to prevail in some of the schools. On a bit of ground about three feet by six the pupil might plant one tomato plant, one *camote* vine, one grain of rice, two or three eggplants and a flowering plant or two. This gave him helpful open-air exercise, but taught him nothing about agriculture. Weeks after the school year had opened I once visited a number of school gardens in Mindoro and found that several of them consisted of rectangular plots marked off on solid sod with shells picked up on the beach! On my return I told the director of education that three active hens would have done far more toward preparing soil for cultivating than had all the children in these towns.

These conditions have changed rapidly since the adoption, three years ago, of a definite policy of agricultural education consisting of standard school and home gardens and farm schools for Filipinos; and large communal tracts of land cultivated at the Settlement Farm Schools for non-Christians.

Lieutenant-Governor Frederick Lewis of Bukidnon was as deeply disgusted with the former play agriculture as was I. Exercising, I fear, rather arbitrary authority over the local Filipino teachers, but with my connivance, he persuaded them to turn their active, strong schoolboys loose on large tracts of the beautiful prairie land found near almost every school in the sub-province, and raise crops. As a result of this experiment, first carried out at Tankulan, each boy took home a bushel or two of unhulled rice. Parents were enthusiastic, and so were the boys. From this small beginning came the so-called farm-settlement schools, of which there are thirty-eight among the non-Christian tribes.[1] On large, well-fenced, carefully cultivated tracts of ground the schoolboys grow *camotes*, upland rice, corn, bananas, cowpeas, beans, pineapples, egg plants, arrowroot, and in some cases, cacao and coffee. Instead of learning what individual plants will do when grown quite by themselves under abnormal conditions, they learn to produce real crops. They become interested in the introduction of American sweet potatoes in place of the less nutritious *camotes*, in the selection of seed corn, in the generalization of the better varieties

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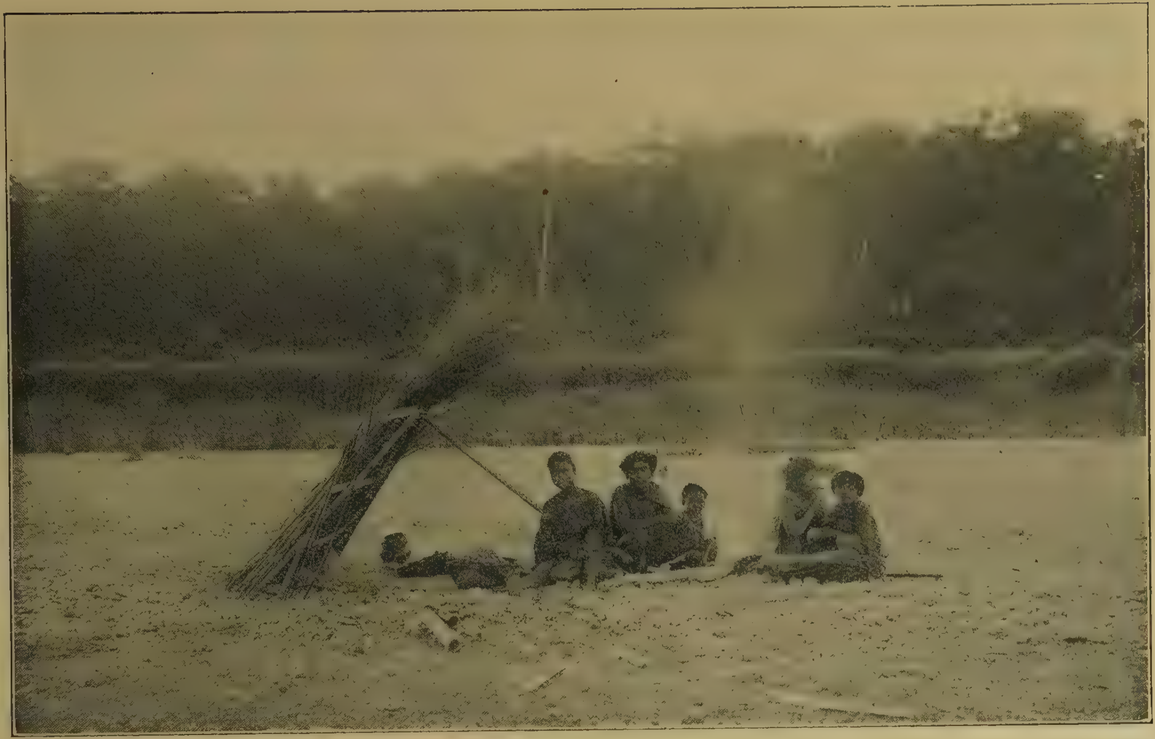
[1] In 1927 there were 274 farm settlement schools, with an enrolment of 19,666. The value of their products was $57,555.16. All told, there were 303 schools of agriculture, with an enrolment in March, 1927, of 26,777. Their products were valued at $220,205.17. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 40.)



A Negrito Family and their "House."

of bananas, and in other practical matters. Incidentally they largely furnish the school food supply.

It is of course true that in many of the Filipino towns sufficiently extensive tracts of land cannot be had near the schools to make such a system possible, but, wherever it can be done, school children should be taught how to raise crops on a commercial scale, instead of spending their time on small individual plots of ground. Even the latter procedure has good results. It teaches them not to be ashamed to work. It also makes possible the introduction of home gardens, and through this means brings the practical production of vegetables into the home life of the people, with the result that unused yards and vacant lots are put under cultivation.

The system of establishing home gardens is one which meets with my unqualified approval. In 1911–1912 there were no less than twenty-two thousand nine hundred fifty-eight of these. It is said to be true that a large percentage of them soon pass into family care, and thus not only help to educate parents, but become a permanent additional source of food supply.[1]

The schools have proved a useful medium through which to bring about the introduction of new and valuable plants. There are many school nurseries in which grow thousands of seedlings, and these are distributed at opportune times.[2]

Woodworking is one of the industrial branches which received first attention. As previously stated, every one of the thirty-eight provinces has either a trade school with first-class equipment, or a manual training department attached to the provincial school. Eighteen schools have already been established as regularly equipped trade schools.[3] The Philippine Normal School and the Philippine School of Commerce offer special advantages to those studying for the profession of teaching, or for a business career.

Previous to 1909, industrial instruction was only partially organized. Experience had shown, by that time, that it was expedient to introduce a degree of specialization into the courses of study at an early stage of the child's development. Special intermediate courses were therefore organized to meet this need. After finishing the four-year primary course, the child may choose between a course in teaching, a course in farming, a trade course, a course in housekeeping and household arts and a general intermediate course. Relatively few children are at present able to take up secondary courses, and it is therefore necessary to provide in the lower grades for instruction which will prepare them for some vocation. So important has become this line of instruction that it has been found necessary to maintain, in the general office, an industrial information department, under a division chief, which employs a botanist, a designer, four native craftsmen and a force of travelling supervisors who inspect trade schools, machinery, school gardens, building sites and the general industrial work done throughout the public school system. This system of industrial instruction receives the fullest support from the Filipino people.

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[1] In 1927 the figures were as follows: schools with school gardens, 5,822; pupils with home gardens, 158,552; estimated area of school and home gardens, 6,848.6 acres; estimated market value of products raised, $324,476.34. (*Ibid.*, p. 189.)

[2] School nurseries have steadily increased in size and importance. In 1927 the number of schools with nurseries was 3,108, and the number of trees in the nurseries at the end of that year was 229,005. (*Ibid.*)

[3] In 1927 the enrollment in the trade schools of secondary standing was 1,742. (*Ibid.*, p. 26.)

The following quotation from the twelfth annual report of the director of education serves to give some idea of the extent to which industrial instruction has been developed in the Philippines:—

> "As is at once evident, with requirements so definitely fixed for industrial work in the schools, the great majority of the pupils who are enrolled must be engaged in some branch of this work. An examination of the figures included among the statistical tables of this report will show that of the total enrolment of 235,740 boys and 138,842 girls during the month of February, 1912 (an average month), 216,290 boys and 125,203 girls—91 per cent of the entire monthly enrolment—were doing some form of industrial work. More specifically, it will be found that 21,420 boys were taking manual training and trade work; 96,167 boys were engaged in school gardening and farming; 15,463 girls were also engaged in garden work; and 68,194 girls were taking up various lines which go under the general caption of minor industries. . . . Further in this connection it will be found that in the subject of lace-making alone 16,439 girls were receiving instruction; in embroidery, 12,339; and in cooking 4768. There were 22,965 boys and 7709 girls making hats in the industrial classes, 40,264 pupils making mats, and 104,424 studying the art of basketry.
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> ". . . 1309 pupils were enrolled in the regular trade school classes; 924 in regular trade courses in other schools; and 7360 in the shops operated in connection with provincial and other intermediate schools. In 401 school shops having an enrolment of 19,949 boys, articles to the value of ₱142,189.74 were fabricated and from this product, sales to the amount of ₱131,418.13 were made during the school year 1911–12. In addition to the above, 10,356 pupils were doing work in 236 primary woodworking shops conducted in connection with municipal primary schools in all parts of the Islands. The figures for trade and manual training are taken from the March report."

This most important result is due in very large measure to the determination of the Honourable Newton W. Gilbert, while secretary of public instruction, to give a practical turn to the activities of the Bureau of Education. I must confess that at first I was profoundly dissatisfied with the work which this bureau was doing, for the reason that, in my opinion, it tended to produce a horde of graduates fitted to be clerks, in which event they would naturally desire to become government employees, or be likely to become *abogadillos,*[1] who would be constantly stirring up trouble in their own towns, in order to make business for themselves.

Much of the industrial work originally provided for was at the outset carried out in a haphazard and half-hearted way. Under Mr. Gilbert's administration it has been hammered into shape, and we now see in prospect, and in actual realization, practical results of vital importance to the country.

Personally, I feel especially indebted to Mr. Gilbert for his attitude relative to school work among the non-Christian tribes. The children of the hill people are naturally hard-working. In some places they were being actually taught idleness in the schools, and in most the education given them was of little practical value. I found Igorot children in Lepanto studying geography. I asked a boy what the world was, and was told that it was a little yellow thing about the size of his hand! This was a fairly accurate description of a map, the significance of which had utterly failed to penetrate his understanding. Filipino teachers who were not considered fit for appointments in the lowlands were being foisted off on to the unfortunate hill people, as they were willing to accept very small salaries in lieu of none at all. Prior to Mr. Gilbert's assumption of office, my frequent complaints had produced no practical result. He was kind enough to say to me at the outset that he would give very serious consideration to my opinions in the matter of educational work among the people of the non-Christian tribes. To-day industrial work has taken its proper place in schools established for them, and considerable numbers of them are being fitted for lives of usefulness, although it is still true that school facilities among them are, as a rule, grossly inadequate. In Ifugao, for instance, with at least a hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, there are but two schools. In Kalinga, with some seventy-six thousand inhabitants, the first school has just been opened. However, this condition will doubtless be remedied in time.[2]

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[1] Literally, "little lawyers." This designation is commonly applied to pettifoggers.

[2] For the whole of the mountain province the enrolment in September, 1927, was 15,682, or 18.46 per cent of the school population. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 132.)

The public school system of the Philippines seems to have met with less success in the education of non-Christian children than in any other phase of its activities. Among both the pagan mountaineers and the Moros the older leaders have instinctively feared and opposed the schools because they have seen in them a deadly peril to their established religions, to ancient tribal customs, and to their own hold upon their several peoples. From 1913 to 1921 in pursuance of the Filipino policy of the benevolent assimilation of the Moro and pagan minorities increasing pressure was put upon the non-Christians to compel them to send their children to school. By 1922 62,812 non-Christians were enrolled. In the Moro provinces, however, resentment at compulsory education both in itself and in some instances, on account of the methods by which it was enforced, produced a situation little short of armed rebellion. In the Mountain Province resistance was less bitter, but even there schoolhouses were repeatedly burned and attendance in some districts maintained only by a free use of force. Since 1922 there has been less

The former tendency of Filipinos to prepare themselves for trades or professions and then not follow them has been largely overcome. Most of the students graduating from the Philippine Normal School take up the profession of teaching, and practically all of the graduates of the Philippine School of Arts and Trades are following the lines of work which they have studied. And now I come to what I deem to be one of the most important accomplishments of the Bureau of Education.

Before the American occupation of the Philippines the Filipinos had not learned to play. There were no athletics worthy of the name. Athletic sports had their beginnings in the games played between soldiers. Gradually Filipinos became interested enough to attend contests of this nature. Later, through the influence of American teachers, they began to take part in them. As soon as athletic sports reached a point where competition between towns and provinces was possible, they aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the people. To-day, the athletic policy of the Bureau of Education is heartily approved by all classes. At first, highly specialized sports were introduced, but the necessity for developing some form of group athletics in which a large percentage of the pupils would take part was soon made manifest. For the past few years this programme has been pushed. Eighty per cent of the pupils now participate in some form of athletics, and the number steadily increases.

The results are justifying the hope of the original promoters of this athletic programme. The physical development of the participants has been wonderful. The spirit of fair play and sportsmanship, hitherto lacking, has sprung into being in every section of the islands. Baseball not only strengthens the muscles of the players, it sharpens their wits. Furthermore it empties the cockpits to such an extent that their beneficiaries have attempted to secure legislation restricting the time during which it may be played. It has done more toward abolishing cockfighting than have the laws of the commission and the efforts

compulsion and more persuasion, with the result that attendance had dropped to 48,298 in 1927. (Figures from *Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 27.)

The fact is, that the non-Christians have not been willing to accept the education which the public school system of the Philippine government has sought to give to them. In some cases the proffered instruction has been of no practical value to the people concerned; the incompatibility of modern, Christian ideas with tribal institutions has been generally recognized; and the general distrust, and often hatred of the non-Christians for the Christian Filipinos has been carried over to the pubilc schools which the latter have established in pagan and Moro territory.

The determination of the Filipinos to persist in their efforts to make their "non-Christian brethren" a part of a unified Philippine people seems not to have been shaken by the apparent unwillingness of the latter to enter the fold. In 1927 the legislature enacted a law providing for the training of special teachers in the special provinces of Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan, Nueva Viscaya, and the Mountain Province, and appropriating $15,000 for this purpose. (Act No. 3377.) The problem of education, however, is in reality only one phase of the whole question of the relationship between the Filipinos and the non-Christian inhabitants of the Archipelago and cannot be dealt with successfully except as a part of a general program of Christian-non-Christian relations which commands the assent of the four elements involved: Americans, Filipinos, Moros, and pagans. Such a program has not yet been devised. See also, *Report of the Director of Education*, 1926, pp. 60–64.

of the Moral Progress League[1] combined. It is indeed a startling sight to see two oposing teams of youthful savages in Bukidnon or Bontoc "playing the game" with obvious full knowledge of its refinements, while their ordinarily silent and reserved parents "root" with unbridled enthusiasm!

Annual meets between athletic teams from various groups of provinces, and a general interscholastic meet held each year at the Philippine Carnival, offer advantages of travel to boys who have seldom if ever left their homes, and promote a general understanding between the various Filipino peoples. In the "Far Eastern Olympiad" held at Manila in 1913, in which China, Japan and the Philippines participated, the victorious teams representing the Philippines were largely composed of schoolboys.

When the American school system was organized, it was found that adequate accommodations for school children were almost entirely lacking. In some of the towns there were long, low stone or brick buildings, small and poorly lighted. They were usually located in the larger centres of population, and had no grounds that could be used for play or garden purposes. In most of the *barrios,* there were no schoolhouses at all.

The American teachers at once set to work to put the old buildings into decent condition. Some private houses were rented, and others were donated, for school purposes. In a number of cases the teachers attempted, as best they could, to construct buildings for the thousands of pupils who wished to avail themselves of school privileges. At that time the whole burden of such construction fell upon the municipalities. The insular government had given them no aid. Many mistakes were made during these early days, and many of the buildings then erected have long since fallen into ruin. The experience gained has demonstrated the folly of spending large sums of money on anything but strong, permanent construction. It will be necessary, for a long time, to depend to some extent upon temporary buildings; and when these can be erected at low cost they are good provisional expedients, but destructive storms and the ravages of wood-eating insects quickly reduce them to ruins.

The demand upon local funds for the maintenance of schools was so pressing, and these funds were so limited, that it was found impossible to erect modern buildings without insular aid. When the necessity for help was brought to the attention of the insular authorities, the commission responded by enacting a bill which appropriated $175,000 from the congressional relief fund for the construction of school buildings. Two years later $150,000 were appropriated and, in August,

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[1] An organization which long vigorously combated the cock-pits, but failed to bring about their abolition.

1907, an additional $175,000 were voted for this purpose. A total of $500,000 was thus made available by the Commission before the Philippine assembly came into existence. This amount was augmented by provincial and municipal funds and voluntary contributions, and the erection of twenty-two buildings for provincial high schools, twenty-six for trade and manual training schools, and fifty-seven for intermediate schools other than provincial was thus made possible.

The first act of the Philippine Assembly was to vote for an appropriation of $500,000, available in four equal annual instalments, to aid municipalities in constructing school buildings. The bill was duly approved by the commission and became a law. Under its terms, municipalities received $2 for every dollar furnished locally, the maximum insular allotment for one project being $2500. This bill was later supplemented by an act which appropriated an additional $500,000 under similar conditions. Three subsequent acts have been passed, each appropriating the sum of $175,000 for the aid of municipalities in constructing school buildings under such conditions as the secretary of public instruction may see fit to prescribe. The funds made available by the three appropriations last mentioned are being used chiefly for the erection of large central school buildings at provincial capitals.

The sums appropriated by the Philippine Legislature since the assembly was established have made possible the construction of five hundred twenty-nine school buildings, of which two hundred seventy-three are finished and three hundred nineteen are being built.[1] There have been additional appropriations for the construction of a Philippine Normal School already completed at a cost of $225,000, a girls' dormitory now building to cost $147,000 and a building for the Philippine School of Arts and Trades to cost approximately $250,000.

The bureau has required that school sites for central schools shall have a minimum of one hectare [2] of land, and the barrio schools a minimum of one-half hectare, for playgrounds and gardens. There have been secured to date three hundred eighty-nine school sites of ten thousand or more square metres, and six hundred forty-three sites of at least five thousand square metres. These represent the results obtained during the past three years.

The Bureau has formulated a very definite construction policy. Its programme may be outlined briefly as follows:—

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[1] A total of 2,851 school buildings, built at a cost of $16,536,840.93 were owned by the insular, provincial, and municipal governments at the end of 1927. 921 were of permanent, concrete construction. (*Ibid.*, app. no. 24.)

[2] A hectare is equivalent to 2.471 acres. In 1927 the insular, provincial, and municipal governments owned 6,942 school sites, of which 4,670 were "standard sites." Of the "standard sites," 2,852 had been acquired by donation. The estimated value of the "standard sites" was $3,660,233.41. (*Ibid.*, table no. XXIII.)

A TYPICAL NEGRITO.

The people of this race of woolly-headed black dwarfs are believed to be among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Philippines.

1. The preparation of a set of standard plans for permanent buildings which provide for a unit system of construction whereby additions may be made without injury to the original structure, and which shall be within the limited means available.
2. The selection of suitable school sites.
3. A decent and creditable standard in temporary buildings.
4. The proper care and maintenance of schoolhouses and grounds.
5. The equipment of every school with the necessary furniture and appliances of simple but substantial character.

From the beginning, other branches of the government have clearly seen that no agency is so effective as the Bureau of Education in the dissemination of knowledge among the people. It has therefore been called upon frequently to spread information, either through classroom instruction or through the system of civico-educational lectures established by an act of the Philippine Legislature. The Bureau of Health has frequently requested it to instruct the people in the means to be used for the prevention of diseases, particularly cholera, smallpox and dysentery, and has always met with a ready response. Great good has doubtless been accomplished in this way, but with regret I must call attention to the fact that in connection with a matter of fundamental importance the Bureau of Education has signally failed to practise what it preached, or at all events what it was requested to preach. The Philippines are constantly menaced by epidemic diseases, such as cholera and bacillary dysentery, while amœbic dysentery occurs in every municipality in the islands and is a very serious factor in the annual death-rate, hook-worm disease is common, and typhoid fever is gradually increasing in frequency. The question of the proper disposition of human feces is therefore one of fundamental importance. It seems incredible, but is nevertheless true, that in connection with a large majority of the modern school buildings which have been erected there are no sanitary facilities of any sort whatsoever. The condition of the ground in the rear of many of these buildings can better be imagined than described. This state of affairs not only sets an evil example to the children, but exposes them to actual danger of infection with the above-mentioned diseases. In many of the special provincial government towns where a great effort has been made to have the people clean up, I have found school grounds and the private premises of school teachers, including, I regret to say, those of American school teachers, to be in a more unsanitary state than were any others in town; and finally, in despair of securing improvement in any other way, I have fallen back on the courts and caused teachers responsible for such conditions to be brought before justices of the peace and fined.

The Teachers' Camp at Baguio was long maintained in a shockingly unsanitary condition; and as a result many persons who went there seeking health and recreation became infected with intestinal diseases, and were incapacitated for work during more or less prolonged periods. In dealing with this situation I finally resorted to radical measures, but got results. Such a state of affairs is wholly incomprehensible to me. School teachers should be the first to set the people practical examples in sane living, which means sanitary living, and should improve the great practical opportunity afforded by the public schools to bring home to their pupils certain homely but much-needed lessons in ordinary decency.

In another important particular the Bureau of Education has, in my opinion, fallen short of performing its manifest duty. Not only does beriberi kill some five thousand Filipinos outright, annually, and cripple ten times as many, but it is believed to be a determining factor in the deaths of large numbers of infants through its untoward influence upon their mothers. As previously stated, the fact that it is due to a diet made up too largely of polished rice has been demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt. Persons who eat unpolished rice do not contract it. *Tiqui-tiqui,* the substance removed from rice in the process of polishing, has proved to be a very effective remedy for it. The use of polished rice should therefore be discouraged, yet at the Philippine Normal School, where the brightest and best youths of the land receive their final education before going out to teach their fellows, polished rice is furnished the students; and the director of health, and I myself, have sought in vain to have the unpolished article substituted for it.

The secretary of public instruction has stated, with obvious truth, that it is only when polished rice forms a very large element in the diet that there is actual danger of its causing beriberi, and so far as I am aware no case of beriberi has occurred at this school; but the practical result of the present practice will be that the graduates, while instructing their pupils in the dangers of the use of polished rice, will themselves continue to use it. There exists at the present time a foolish prejudice against unpolished rice, which, although far more nutritious and actually more palatable than the polished article, does not look so attractive and is commonly considered "poor man's food." So long as the instructors in the public schools continue to teach by precept that its use is dangerous, and by example that it is safe, the undiscriminating and ignorant Filipino public, which does not draw fine distinctions, will be encouraged to continue to eat it, will eat it in excess, and will pay the penalty.

The Bureau of Education has coöperated with the Bureau of Lands in instructing the people as to the right to acquire homesteads and free patents. It has also given the Bureau of Public Works assistance in promoting the campaign for good roads. Its system of civico-educational lectures has met with fair results. Thousands of people have secured information relative to the rights and duties of citizens, the prevention of human and animal diseases, and the growing of corn, coconuts and other useful crops. A corn-raising contest in 1912 was participated in by more than thirty thousand boys, and thousands of people attended the demonstrations which formed a part of the campaign. This is a most important matter. Corn is a far better food than rice.

At first the only books available for use in the schools were those prepared for American children. These were soon found to be unsuited to the needs of Filipino children, and teachers were set to work to prepare more suitable text-books. Book companies in the United States quickly interested themselves, and as a result there is now in general use a comprehensive series of text-books particularly adapted to the needs of Filipinos. In the secondary grades American text-books are quite generally used, although a few special texts dealing with literature, rhetoric, economic conditions and colonial history have been prepared in the islands.

In order to keep the teacher in the field well informed, the Bureau of Education has issued a large number of bulletins and circulars on matters of current interest. These bulletins have covered instruction in domestic science, drawing, manners and right conduct, school buildings and grounds, embroidery and athletics, and have conveyed information as to the general and special courses of study followed in such schools as the School of Arts and Trades, the School of Commerce and the Normal School. They have received much commendation from educators in the United States and the Orient.

When public schools were first opened children crowded into them by thousands. With them came many adults who believed that they could learn English in a period of a few weeks, or in a few months at the most. No doubt they entered the schools in many cases with the idea of thus conciliating the victorious American nation. It was not long until they realized that there was no royal road to learning. Then came a slump in attendance. Largely through the influence of the American teacher and his Filipino assistants, the attendance was again built up. This time the people clearly understood that education is not a matter of a few months or weeks. It is greatly to their credit that they have now settled down to a realization of what public education is, and are giving the public school system most loyal support. The industrial programme has been accepted with enthusiasm, and without doubt there are in the islands to-day thousands of people who believe that it is a Filipino product.

There is an interest in athletic sports that can hardly be equalled in any other country. The crowds of enthusiastic spectators that attend every meet of importance testify to the hold that such sports have taken upon the people, whose attitude toward all forms of education is such that it needs only adequate revenue to develop an effective school system along the broadest lines.

Manhood suffrage does not exist in the Philippines. The qualifications for an elector are as follows: he must be a male citizen at least twenty-three years of age, with a legal residence of six months previous to election in the municipality where his vote is cast, and must belong to at least one of the three following classes:—

1. Those who, previous to August 13, 1898, held the office of municipal captain, *gobernadorcillo, alcalde,* lieutenant, *cabeza de barangay,* or member of any *ayuntamiento.*
2. Those who hold real property to the value of $250 or annually pay $15 or more of established taxes.
3. Those who speak, read and write English or Spanish.[1]

With a population of approximately eight million people, there were, in 1912, two hundred forty-eight thousand qualified voters. Of these a large number had obtained the franchise because they belonged to class 1 or class 2. Death yearly claims its quota from both these classes, but the public schools more than make up the decrease by their yearly contribution. Any boy who finishes the primary course possesses the literary qualifications of an elector, and will become one on attaining legal age.[2]

In 1912 there were graduated from the primary schools 11,200 pupils, of whom approximately 7466 were males; from the intermediate schools 3062 pupils, of whom 2295 were males; and from the secondary schools 221 pupils, of whom 175 were males. In that year alone the schools therefore contributed 9936 to the contingent of persons qualified by literary attainments to vote. Of these 175 are perhaps capable of intelligently holding municipal and provincial offices, and to this number may probably be added half of the 2295 intermediate male graduates, making an increase of 1362 in the possible leaders of the people.

The public schools, however, do not limit their contributions to that part of the electoral body having literary qualifications only. Vo-

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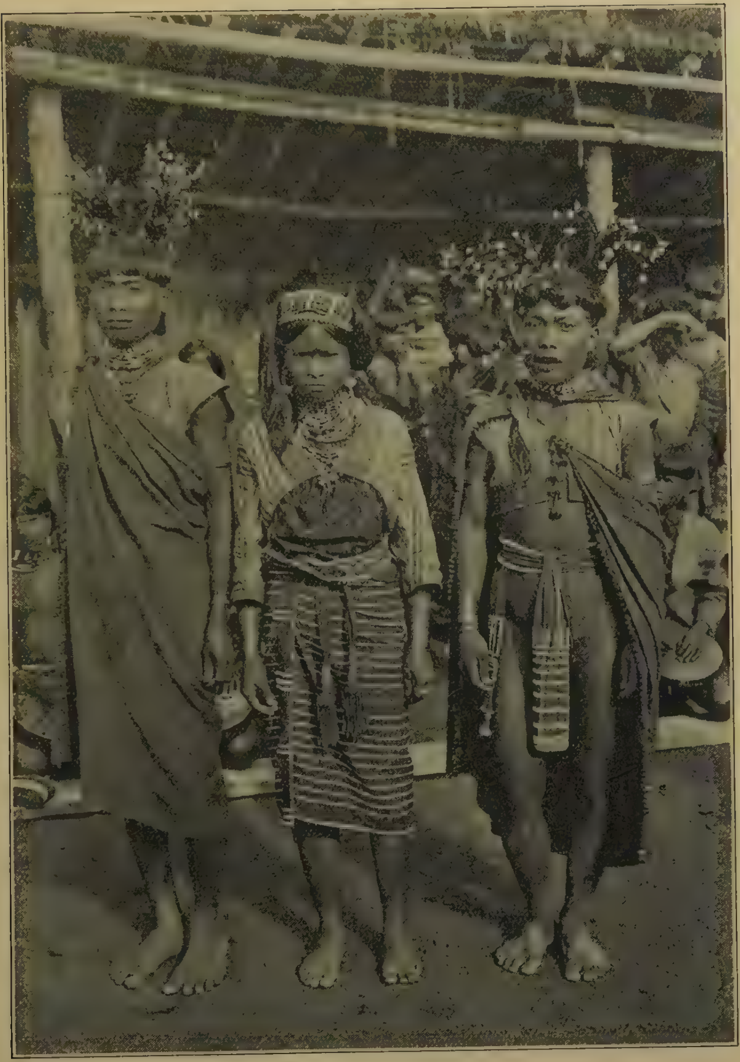
[1] Act No. 82, Philippine Commission, January 31, 1901, section 6, provided these qualifications for municipal elections. The Organic Act, 1902, section 7, provides that the qualifications of electors for members of the Philippine Assembly shall be the same as those of municipal electors. The Organic Act of 1916, section 16, continued the eligibility of legal voters under the existing franchise who had exercised their right to vote, continued the property qualification, added to the literacy qualification the ability to read and write a native dialect, and reduced the age requirement to 21 years.

[2] In the election of 1912, 235,792 persons voted and the government had knowledge of the qualifications of 231,073 of them. Of this number 97,074, or 42 per cent of the voters, possessed the educational qualification. (*Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1913, p. 71.) In 1926 there were 1,017,019 registered voters.



Typical Kalingas.

The people of this tribe, until recently fierce head-hunters, have been brought under effective control largely through the individual efforts of Lieutenant-Governor Walter F. Hale.

cational training, it is true, is limited in the primary grades to cottage industries; but no pupil is graduated from the primary schools with only literary qualifications. In some form or other, he has had a vocational start. His own energy must determine the use he makes of it.

The intermediate schools add vocational training to increased academic training. All their graduates have done three years' work in the general course, leading to a literary course in the high schools, the course in farming, the course in teaching, the business course, the course in housekeeping and household arts or the trade course.

Of the graduates of secondary schools a small part have highly specialized vocational training; but the great majority have followed the literary course and have undoubtedly done this with the idea of entering political life. Rome was not built in a day, and in spite of herculean American efforts, it will be a long time before Filipinos cease to regard a certain kind of literary culture as the proper basis for statesmanship. It has been said of them that they have "the fatal gift of oratory"! The future leaders of the Filipino people, dependent or independent, must be the output of the public schools. The danger is that the number of would-be leaders will be disproportionately great in comparison with that of the useful but relatively inconspicuous rank and file.[1]

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[1] The *Monroe Survey Report*, twelve years later, voiced the same warning, stating: "The present system of secondary schools, almost exclusively of an academic character and not well adapted to Philippine society, is developing a far larger class of the purely academically trained than can be absorbed. If the present system of unlimited and free secondary education of a purely academic character continues, the results will be great social and political discontent as well as economic loss. So large a class academically trained in a population of 11,000,000 almost wholly agricultural in its basic industry and native wealth, cannot possibly find employment in the ordinary professions and the Government offices without at the same time reducing the great mass of the people to a condition of exploitation wholly contradictory to Philippine ambitions and ideals." (*Monroe Survey Report*, p. 35.) The survey reported that although thirty-one of the eighty-five secondary schools were vocational schools of one type or another, more than 70 per cent of the pupils registered were enrolled in the academic course. The Report recommended that, "By charging tuition fees, by applying a rigorous form of selection for admission, and by a shift in emphasis in the central office, the number of boys and girls in attendance should be cut in half, the number of schools should be greatly reduced, and this institution should come to be regarded as a highly-specialized form of secondary school.

"On the other hand, the rural high school, the institution that articulates with the needs of the agricultural community, should become the basic secondary institution of the Archipelago." (*Ibid.*, p. 54.) The Report recommended that no insular aid should be given to academic high schools.

In his expression of views upon the Survey Report, the Hon Eugene A. Gilmore, the Secretary of Public Instruction, agreed that the Department regarded the existing situation as to secondary education as unsound and unsatisfactory. Although the existing academic high schools need not necessarily be curtailed, he declared, there should for the present be no further expansion of this type of institution. On the whole, Mr. Gilmore agreed with the findings of the Report. (*Reply of the Secretary of Public Instruction*, pp. 13–14.)

The Filipino attitude towards proposals to restrict opportunities for securing an academic education is, the editor believes, accurately expressed in the Joint Legislative Committee Report, as follows: "The academic high school has been the predominant type of secondary institutions in this country and will in all likelihood continue to be so. . . . Any attempt, official or otherwise, forcibly to prevent the ambitious youth from securing a high school education will not succeed. Surely the Philippine people will never tolerate it. Efforts artificially to deviate the current from the popular type of secondary education to other types likewise cannot succeed. As long as the popular conception is that secondary education of the general type prepares adequately for higher education and for the higher professions and occupations, just so long will parents and

There are in the Philippine Islands fully twelve hundred thousand children of school age. The present available resources are sufficient to educate less than one-half of that number. The claim has been made that a due proportion of the very limited revenues of the insular government has not been expended for educational purposes. It is not justified by the facts. It is certainly important to keep the Filipinos alive, and if this is not done, they can hardly be educated. The expenditure to date from insular funds for health work, including cost of necessary new buildings, has been approximately $9,630,000; that for educational purposes, also including buildings, approximately $21,376,000.

As a simple matter of fact, the Bureau of Education has been treated not only with liberality but in one regard with very great leniency. Taking advantage of the friendly attitude of the legislative body and of the people toward education, one of its earlier directors incurred expense with utter disregard for appropriations. He repeatedly made deficits of $150,000 to $250,000 and then in effect calmly asked us what we were going to do about it. After stating that I, for one, would never vote to make good another deficit incurred by him while he was allowed to remain in the service, and at a time when I was threatening to hold the director of forestry personally

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their children continue to patronize such institutions. Coercive efforts to compel attendance in specialized vocational courses early in life can at best only temporarily succeed." (*Joint Legislative Committee Report on Education*, pp. 120–121.)

Legislative recognition of the desirability of further promoting agricultural and vocational education is evidenced, however, by the passage in 1927 of an act (no. 3377) appropriating $250,000 for the purpose. This measure provided for the coöperation of the Bureau of Education, provinces, municipalities and the University of the Philippines for the development of education in agriculture, commerce, and the trades and industries. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 127.)

In 1927 there were 113 different secondary schools which offered complete and incomplete courses as follows: complete 4-year courses, 75; 3-year courses, 14; 2-year courses, 14; 1-year course, 10. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 138.) Forty-four of the secondary schools offered only the general course, the remaining schools offering various combinations of general and vocational courses. (*Ibid.*, p. 126.) The following table from the *Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 26, indicates an increasing drawing power in the secondary vocational courses:

COMPARATIVE ENROLMENT AND PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN SECONDARY GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL COURSES.

Courses	March monthly enrolment			Percentage of increase (+) or decrease (—)	
	1922-23	1925-26	1926-27	1925-26 over 1922-23	1926-27 over 1925-26
General	22,250	35,861	39,290	+ 77	+10
Agricultural	1,185	2,074	2,286	+ 93	+10
Trade	772	1,217	1,742	+126	+43
Home Economics	1,249	2,319	2,674	+114	+15
Normal	3,825	6,066	6,422	+ 68	+ 6
Commercial	280	502	553	+ 98	+10
Nautical	53	27	31	— 42	+15
Surveying	60				
Total	29,674	48,066	52,998	+ 79	+10

responsible for a deficit of $5000 resulting in his bureau from unforeseen expenditures by forest officers in remote places, and therefore more or less excusable, I learned that the usual shortage in the Bureau of Education had again occurred and was being covered by the quiet transfer of a sum aproximating $200,000.

The present director of education [1914] believes that the total number of children who would enter the public schools without compulsion, if adequate facilities were provided, is approximately eight hundred thousand.[1] Until revenues materially increase not many more than five hundred thousand of these can be educated, if due regard is had for other imperative necessities of the government and the people. If the people of the United States, or any political body composed of them, really desire to help the Filipinos toward the practical realization of their ideal of an independent, self-sustaining government, let them stop talking about the advisability of now conferring upon the present generation of adults additional rights and privileges, and provide the hard cash necessary to make intelligent, well-trained citizens out of the three hundred thousand children who are now annually left without educational advantages which they earnestly desire, and greatly need.

Under the Spanish régime private education as distinguished from that provided for by the government attained considerable importance. At the time of the American occupation, Santo Tomás, the oldest university under the American flag, had colleges of medicine and surgery, theology, law, engineering and philosophy. There were also numerous private so-called "colleges" for boys and girls and very numerous smaller private institutions. At first the establishment of public schools had no apparent effect on those conducted privately other than to induce them to introduce the study of English, but as years went by, the organization, modern methods and industrial development of the public schools forced the private institutions into activity. The law provides that the secretary of public instruction may give approval and recognition to such private schools as meet certain requirements, and in 1910 a division superintendent of schools was detailed to assist him in carrying out this provision. His report for the period ending September 1, 1912, is a very interesting document. It compares the Philippine private schools with those of South America, very much to the disadvantage of the former. It notes particularly the lack of manual training in boys' schools and the lack of standardization in the manual training of girls' schools; and speaks of the allegiance of the Filipino institution to the classical programme of mediæval institutions of learning. It is a notable fact, however, that English is gaining. Thirty-four private schools are giving their entire primary and intermediate courses in that language; nine are giving primary, intermediate and high school courses in it, and two are so giving all courses, including the college course.

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[1] In 1927 the enrolment in the public schools was 1,099,306. This number, however, constituted only 35.56 per cent of the total school population of the Archipelago. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 21.) In 1926 the total expenditures of the insular, provincial, and municipal governments for school purposes was $12,712,207.16, or 19.56 per cent of the total expenditures for all purposes. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

These private institutions are employing public and normal school graduates as teachers to a constantly increasing extent. They are bringing their courses of study into conformity and competition with those of the public schools; are introducing athletics; using standard patterns and materials in their industrial work, and rapidly improving their buildings and equipment. During the year 1911-1912 improvements to the value of $100,000 were made in four of the Manila private schools: the Jesuits are planning a new college to cost $1,000,000; the Dominicans an expenditure of $500,000 on a new university, and the *Liceo de Manila* looks forward to becoming the most modern and best equipped school in the islands. Twenty-five private schools have already received government recognition and approval.[1]

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[1] In July, 1927, there were 86,695 students enrolled in private schools. (*Report of the Director of Education,* 1927, p. 133.) Serious criticism of the insular government for failure adequately to regulate private schools for the protection of the public was made in the *Monroe Survey Report.* Since 1913 there has existed in the Bureau of Education a Division of Private Schools through which the Bureau grants, withholds, or withdraws government approval of such schools as may apply for it. (Provided for in Act No. 2706, as amended.) Schools so recognized may publicly state the fact, and their pupils may freely pass into the public school system. The Survey Commission reported that adequate supervision of private schools "does not exist." Of the "private adventure schools,"—in contrast to the schools of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches,—the Commission declared: "The great majority of them from primary grade to university are money-making devices for the profit of those who organize and administer them. The people whose children and youth attend them are not getting what they pay for. It is obvious that the system constitutes a great evil. That it should be permitted to exist with almost no supervision is indefensible." (*Monroe Survey Report,* p. 511.)

To remedy this situation, the Commission recommended that legislation be enacted to prohibit the opening of any school by an individual or an organization without the permission of the Secretary of Public Instruction, and that the latter official be given an adequate staff for assuring himself that all private schools meet certain definite standards, which should be made prerequisite to their organization or continued existence. The Commission spoke in commendatory terms of the church schools, both Catholic and Protestant. The Ateneo de Manila and the Silliman Institute at Dumaguete, Oriental Negros were given high praise. The Commission declared that when the new buildings of Santo Tomas University, since completed, were finished, that institution would "unquestionably have the finest buildings, apparatus, and equipment in the entire Archipelago and equal to any university of its size in the United States. If the University becomes staffed with equally modern teachers, its future is assured. The Commission hopes that Santo Tomas will realize its possibilities, not only for its own sake, but in order that a strong private institution may compete with the University of the Philippines in advancing the intellectual and professional welfare of the Islands." (*Monroe Survey Report,* Chapter VI.) See also, the *Reply of the Secretary of Public Instruction,* pp. 27–29; and the *Joint Legislative Committee Report on Education,* which characterized the Survey Commission's investigation of private schools as superficial, and its conclusions and recommendations as unwise and unjust. (*Joint Legislative Committee Report on Legislation,* Chapter XI.) In 1926 the appropriation for the office of the Commissioner of Private Education was increased from $5,840.02 to $23,181.42. A new commissioner of private education was appointed and provided with a greatly increased supervisory staff. The inspections of this force revealed very low standards in all but a "handful" of the approved private schools, but by the end of 1927 a large proportion of the defects discovered had been removed. Government recognition of 30 schools was cancelled during that year. It is the announced aim of the Department of Public Instruction to grant government recognition only to schools meeting the standards maintained in the corresponding public schools, and it is expected that with the enlarged and reorganized force of the commissioner of private education it will be possible to carry out this policy. The subject of private schools is discussed at some length in the *Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction* for 1927. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927: pp. 128–130.)

No account of education would be complete without mention of the University of the Philippines. Higher education is the great conscious goal of Filipino desire; and to meet the growing need for it, an act passed June 18, 1908, established this institution. Subsequent amendments authorized, when practicable, colleges of liberal arts, law, social and political science, medicine and surgery, pharmacy, dentistry, veterinary science, engineering, mines, agriculture and fine arts. At present there are in actual operation the colleges of liberal arts, veterinary science, engineering, medicine and surgery, law, agriculture and the school of fine arts.[1] Instruction in pharmacy is given in the College of Liberal Arts, and instruction in forestry is given in the College of Agriculture. By special acts of the Philippine legislature, several scholarships have been provided, but for the most part the university is open only to those who can afford to live in Manila during their period of attendance.

The opening of some of these colleges has served sharply to call attention to one of the present weaknesses of the Filipino people. It is but a few years since agriculture was well-nigh prostrated as a result of the decimation of cattle and horses throughout the islands by contagious diseases. The need for well-trained veterinarians was, and is, imperative. Filipinos properly qualified to undertake veterinary work would be certain of profitable employment. A good veterinary course was offered in 1909. At the same time the School of Fine Arts was opened. No one took the veterinary course the first year. Admissions to the School of Fine Arts were closed when they reached seven hundred fourteen. At the end of the school year 1912-1913 the students in the Veterinary College numbered twenty-seven as compared with six hundred ninety-four in the School of Fine Arts. The grand total enrolment of this latter institution since its organization is thirty-two hundred twenty-nine, while that of the Veterinary College during the same period is forty-seven.[1] It is necessary to restrict attendance at the School of Fine Arts. Until there is a livelier and more general interest in saving carabaos than in painting them, the country will not attain to a high degree of material prosperity through the efforts of its own people.

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[1] The University of the Philippines, the capstone of the educational system of the Islands, has had a remarkable growth since 1913. By 1928 schools of pharmacy, dentistry, nursing, and forestry, a college of education, a conservatory of music, and a graduate school of tropical medicine and public health had been added to the departments mentioned above. The enrolment had increased to 7,002. This rapid growth brought to the institution many problems similar to those with which American state universities have been faced during the past decade. The most obvious difficulty was that of buildings and equipment. The library, the heart of any institution of higher learning, was pitifully inadequate both as to space and collections. Laboratories were not up to standard and classrooms were congested. Within the past three years, however, provision has been made for the construction of a $217,500 library, and for extensive additions to the existing facilities on the campus in Manila, including laboratories, recitation halls, and a $100,000 annex to the medical school. Important improvements have been made at the college of agriculture at Los Baños. Wise provision for the steady future growth of the university plant has been made by alloting all university fees to construction purposes.

The problem of securing an instructional force of sufficient size to teach the rapidly expanding classes was met by including on the faculty an undue proportion of part-time lecturers and young instructors. This practice can be justified only upon grounds of absolute necessity, and presumably it will be abandoned as rapidly as possible. In 1928 3 of the directors of colleges and schools were Americans, and 10 were Filipinos. Of the members of the faculty of professorial rank, 20 were Americans, and 180 were Filipinos.

From the outset the University of the Philippines has been a very direct copy of the typical American state university, both in organization and spirit. Its presidents have been the Reverend Murray Bartlett, the Hon. Ignacio Villamor, a Filipino lawyer and jurist of distinction, Dr. Guy Potter Benton, and the Hon. Rafael Palma. President Benton, who served from 1921 until his term was ended by an eventually fatal illness in 1923, had been president of Miami University and the University of Vermont, and had directed the educational work among American soldiers in France. An experienced, energetic, and able administrator, he made many contributions to the sound development of the university despite the briefness of his tenure of office.

Although without previous experience in university administration, save that which he had gained as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines, President Palma had behind him a long record of distinguished service as representative and senator in the Philippine Legislature, and as Secretary of the Interior. Furthermore, he possessed the respect and confidence of all elements in the Philippines, and a reputation for both discretion and courage, qualities indispensable in the president of a state university. Under his leadership the problems of the institution are being systematically attacked and many of them put in the way of solution.

I take genuine pleasure and pride is briefly describing the work of the Philippine Training School for Nurses. I have always believed that young Filipina women would make excellent trained nurses, and I earnestly endeavoured to have a certain number of them included among the first government students sent to the United States for education soon after the establishment of civil government. In this effort I rather ignominiously failed. The prejudices of the Filipino people were then radically opposed to such a course, and my colleagues of the commission were not convinced that it would lead to useful practical results.

To the Bureau of Education must be given credit for inaugurating the movement which has resulted in the firm establishment of the profession of nursing in the Philippine Islands as an honourable avocation for women. At an early date it employed an American trained nurse to give instruction, and inaugurated a preparatory course at its Normal School dormitory. The work at the outset could not be made of a very practical nature, but after a number of bright and well-trained young women had become interested in it, arrangements were perfected for giving them actual training at the government institution then known as the Civil Hospital. Here strong racial prejudices of the Filipinos were gradually overcome, and the student nurses soon showed themselves to be unexpectedly practical, faithful and efficient.

Later when the great Philippine General Hospital was established it became possible for the Bureau of Health to open a school under the immediate control of the chief nurse, and to take over all the work of training nurses. Students at this school are supported at government expense while in training. Its opportunities and advantages are

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[1] In 1925 the College of Veterinary Service had an enrolment of only 34 students, 14 of whom were *pensionados* maintained at government expense. The *Monroe Survey Report* declared (pp. 616, 631-632) that the college was dying of inanition and recommended that it be transformed into a department in the College of Agriculture.

Settling a Head-hunting Feud.

This picture shows Lieutenant-Governor Walter F. Hale, of Kalinga, persuading Kalinga head men of Mañgali and Lúbao to settle amicably a head-hunting feud of long standing.

open to young men, as well as to young women, and may be extended to a number not exceeding one hundred six of each sex at a given time.[1] The training of young women began sooner, and thus far has resulted more satisfactorily than has that of young men, although many of the latter are now making good progress.

The work is popular, and as there are more candidates than places only the more promising are admitted. They have shown that they possessed common-sense by avoiding the traps set for them by Filipino politicians and newspaper reporters. Their tact and self-respect have brought them safely through many embarrassing, and a few cruelly trying, situations forced upon them by the unkindness or brutality of those whom they have sought to serve. Their gentleness and kindness have endeared them to their patients, and it is now a common thing for Americans to request the services of Filipina nurses. Their faithfulness and efficiency have won the confidence of patients and physicians alike. Their courage has enabled them to triumph over the prejudices of their own people, and to perform many hard, disagreeable tasks, and meet some very real dangers, without faltering. The gratefulness which they have shown for the opportunity to help their people, no less than for the interest taken in them by Americans, has won them many friends. The training of Filipina nurses has passed far beyond the experimental stage; it is a great success.

Instruction in the Philippine Nurses' Training School is now largely given by members of the university faculty and the graduates of this school must certainly be numbered among the most highly educated women of the Philippines. More of them are sadly needed, not only in government institutions, but in private hospitals, and especially in the provincial towns, where a few of them are already engaging in district nursing with unqualified success. The country might well get on for the present with fewer lawyers, and fewer artists, if the number of nurses could be increased.

Equally praiseworthy is the work of the students and graduates of the College of Medicine and Surgery, which is housed in a commodious and adequate building. Their theoretical instruction is of a very high character, and they have almost unrivalled facilities for practical clinical work in the Philippine General Hospital. Entrance requirements are high and the course of study is severe. A number of the best students do post-graduate work in the hospital, where they are employed as internes and assistants. As a result, the college is turning out graduates admirably qualified for the great work which awaits them among their own people. The other colleges of the university are, for the most part, doing their work efficiently and well, and as a rule their students are showing appreciation of the opportunities afforded them, and are utilizing them to good advantage.

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[1] The enrolment in the School of Nursing, University of the Philippines, in 1923–1924 was 435; in the following year 367. (*Monroe Survey Report,* p. 616.)

Important educational work is being carried on by various bureaus of the government. The Bureau of Lands has an excellent school for surveyors.[1] The Bureau of Printing is in itself a great industrial school, and ninety-five per cent of its work is now done by Filipinos trained within its walls, while many others who have had practical instruction there have found profitable private employment.

An excellent school is conducted in Bilibid Prison with convicts as teachers. A very large proportion of the prisoners receive practical instruction in manual training and are fitted to earn honest livings when their sentences expire. Furthermore, they readily secure employment, as the men discharged from this institution have in many cases earned well-deserved reputations for honesty and industry. All the women confined at Bilibid are taught to make pillow lace. At the Bontoc Prison, the non-Christian tribe convicts of the islands are taught useful industries, and so satisfactory are the results that I have formed the habit of calling the institution my "university."

At the Iwahig agricultural penal colony convicts are taught modern agricultural methods under a system such that they gradually become owners of houses, land and agricultural implements and may in the end have their families with them so that they are well settled for life when their sentences expire, if they take advantage of the opportunities given them.

The educational policy which the United States has adopted in dealing with the Filipinos is without a parallel in history. I am glad to have assisted in its inauguration, and I am proud of its results, which will make themselves felt more and more as the years go by. Even now English is far more widely spoken in the Philippine Islands than Spanish ever was, and this is a boon the magnitude of which cannot be appreciated by those who have not had brought home to them by experience the disadvantages incident to the existence of very numerous dialects among the inhabitants of one country.

When it is remembered that in the present instance each of these dialects is very poor in literature, and that its use is limited to a million or two of human beings at the most, the enormous value of instruction in English will be realized, to some extent at least.[2]

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[1] In 1925 this institution became the School of Surveying of the College of Engineering, University of the Philippines.

[2] An intimate view of the problems involved in educating the Filipino masses is to be found in Camilio Asias, *Barrio Life and Barrio Education,* Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1921.

CHAPTER XX

THE EXPLORATION OF NON-CHRISTIAN TERRITORY

AT the time of their discovery the Philippine Islands were inhabited by a very large number of distinct tribes the civilization of which was directly comparable with that of the Negritos, the Igorots and the Moros as they exist to-day. Do not understand me to imply that the Negritos, the Igorots and the Moros have attained to the same stage of civilization.

The Negritos belong to a distinct race. They are woolly-headed, nearly black, and of almost dwarfish stature. They seem to be incapable of any considerable progress and cannot be civilized. Intellectually they stand close to the bottom of the human series, being about on a par with the South African bushmen and the Australian blacks.

The Igorots are of Malayan origin. They are undoubtedly the descendants of the earlier, if not the earliest, of the Malay invaders of the Philippines, and up to the time of the American occupation had retained their primitive characteristics.

The Moros, or Mohammedan Malays of the southern Philippines, exemplify what may be considered the highest stage of civilization to which Malays have ever attained unaided. They are the descendants of the latest Malay invaders and were, at the time of the discovery of the islands, rapidly prosecuting an effective campaign for their Mohammedanization.[1]

At the outset the Spaniards made extraordinary progress in subduing, with comparatively little bloodshed, many of these different peoples, but the Moros at first successfully resisted them, were not brought under anything approaching control until the day of steam gun-boats and modern firearms, and were still causing serious trouble when Spanish sovereignty ended.

As time elapsed the political and military establishments of Spain in the Philippines seem to have lost much of their virility. At all events the campaign for the control and advancement of even the non-Mohammedan wild peoples was never pushed to a successful termination, and there to-day remains a very extensive territory, amounting to about one-half of the total land area, which is populated by non-Christian peoples so far as it is populated at all. Such peoples make up approximately one-ninth of the entire population.[1]

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[1] Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, a distinguished physician now resident in Manila who performed important political and administrative services in connection with the establishment of American government in Mindanao and Sulu, has made a number of valuable contributions to knowledge concerning the origin, ethnology, and practical problems of the people of the Philippines, especially the Moros. See his *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos*, Manila, 1905; *The Moro Problem*, Manila, 1913; *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*. Manila, 1905; and *History of Sulu*, Manila, 1908.

A popular book concerning a portion of the Moro people is Sixto Y. Orosa, M.D., *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People*, Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1923. For a brief general survey of the Moro problem, see Ralston Hayden, "What Next for the Moro?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (July, 1928).

When civil government was established I was put in general executive control of matters pertaining to the non-Christian tribes. Incidentally, a word about that rather unsatisfactory term "non-Christian." It has been found excessively difficult to find a single word which would satisfactorily designate the peoples, other than the civilized and Christianized peoples commonly known as Filipinos, which inhabit the Philippines. They cannot be called pagan because some of them are Mohammedan, while others seem to have no form of religious worship. They cannot be called wild, for some of them are quite as gentle, and as highly civilized, as are their Christian neighbours. The one characteristic which they have in common is their refusal to accept the Christian faith, and their adherence to their ancient religious beliefs, or their lack of such beliefs as the case may be. I am therefore forced to employ the term "non-Christian" in designating them, although I fully recognize its awkwardness.[2]

While serving with the First Philippine Commission I was charged with the duty of writing up the non-Christian tribes for its report, and tried to exhaust all available sources of information. The result of my investigations was most unsatisfactory to me. I could neither find out how many wild tribes there were, nor could I learn with any degree of accuracy the territory which the known tribes occupied, much less obtain accurate information relative to their physical characteristics, their customs or their beliefs.

The most satisfactory source of information was the work of Blumentritt, an Austrian ethnological writer; but Blumentritt had never set foot in the Philippines, and I suspected at the outset what later proved to be the case, that his statements were very inaccurate. He recognized more than eighty tribes of which thirty-six were said by him to be found in northern Luzón.

As it was obviously impossible to draft adequate legislation for the control and civilization of numerous savage or barbarous peoples without reliable data on which to base it, and as such data were not available, I had to get them for myself, and undertook a series of explorations, carried out during the dry seasons so far as possible, in order to gather my information on the ground.[1]

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[1] *Census*, 1918, II, p. 19.

[2] Former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes uses the term "tribal peoples" to designate the non-Christians, both pagan and Mohammedan. (Forbes, I, pp. 591–592; II, p. 3.) This seems to the editor to be a very satisfactory term. It differentiates the Moros, the pagans and other primitive peoples of the mountains and forests from the Christian Filipinos of the cultivated lowlands, and still carries no implication that the latter are also composed of "tribes." This implication has no foundation in fact and, not unnaturally, is offensive to the Christian Filipinos.

I first visited Benguet in July and August, 1900. On my second northern trip I traversed the province of Benguet from south to north, arrived at Cervantes in Lepanto, and was about to leave for the territory of the Bontoc head-hunters when I received a telegraphic summons to return to Manila for the inauguration of Governor Taft on July 4, 1901.

The following year such time as could be spared from my duties at Manila was necessarily devoted to the search for a suitable island for the site of a proposed leper colony; but in 1903 I was able to make a somewhat extended exploring trip, traversing the country of the Tingians in Abra, passing through the mountains which separate that province from Lepanto, visiting the numerous settlements of the Lepanto Igorots and continuing my journey to Cayan, Bagnin, Sagada and Bontoc; and thence through various settlements of the Bontoc Igorots to Banaue in the territory of the Ifugaos.

The latter portion of the trip was not unattended with excitement. A few weeks before a fairly strong constabulary detachment, armed with carbines, had been driven to the top of a conical hill in the Ifugao country and besieged there until a runner made his way out at night and brought assistance. We felt that there was some uncertainty as to the reception which would be accorded us. The Bontoc Igorots who accompanied us did not feel that there was any uncertainty whatever as to what awaited them, but were more than anxious to go along with us, as they were spoiling for a fight with their ancient enemies.

We had to use them for carriers to transport our baggage, and each carrier insisted on having an armed companion to lug his lance and shield. As a precautionary measure we took with us twenty-five Bontoc Igorot constabulary soldiers armed with carbines, while each of the five American members of the party carried a heavy six-shooter. We also had with us a dog which was supposed to be especially clever at seasonably discovering ambushes and giving warning. We were able to use horses more or less as far as the top of the Polis range, but the trail down its eastern slopes was impracticable for horses and dangerous for pedestrians.

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[1] An extensive scientific survey of the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines was begun in 1901 when the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was established in the Department of the Interior. (Act No. 253, Philippine Commission, October 2, 1901.) Under the direction and leadership of Dr. David P. Barrows, the first chief of the bureau, Dr. Albert E. Jenks, the assistant chief, and Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, field parties from the bureau visited practically every non-Christian tribe in the Archipelago and secured geographical and ethnological information of great scientific and practical importance. Much of this data was eventually published in the form of scholarly monographs.

In 1902 the name of the bureau was changed to "The Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands"; in 1905 the survey became a division of the Bureau of Education; and in 1906 it passed to the Bureau of Science. The Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes established by the Jones Act (Act of Congress, August 29, 1916, Sec. 22) to exercise general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the special (non-Christian) provinces has no connection with the first bureau of that name, which became the ethnological survey. Interesting accounts of the organization and accomplishments of the bureau and the survey will be found in the reports of the Secretary of the Interior from 1901 to 1905.

We shivered for a night on a chilly mountain crest, and the next day continued our journey to Banaue. When still several miles from the town, we were met by an old Ifugao chief with two companions. They marched boldly up to us and inquired whether we were planning to visit Banaue. On receiving an affirmative reply, the chief asked if our visit was friendly or hostile. I assured him that we were friends who had come to get acquainted with the Ifugaos. He said he was glad to hear this, but that after all it did not really matter. If we wished to be friends, they were willing to be friendly; but if we wanted to fight, they would be glad to give us a chance. As he and his companions were facing a column of eighty-seven armed men I rather admired his courage. He next presented me with what I now know to be an Ifugao gift of friendship, to wit, a white rooster and six eggs, after which he took from one of his companions a bottle filled with *bubud*,[1] and having first taken a drink to show me that it was not poisoned, handed it to me. I did my duty, and we were friends.

We then proceeded on our way to Banaue, being obliged to plunge down through the rice terraces to the bottom of a deep cañon and then climb two almost perpendicular earthen walls before reaching the house of the chief. I was completely exhausted when I began this climb, and did not feel comfortable clinging like a tree frog to the face of a clay bank with nothing to support me except rather shallow holes which could be better negotiated by Ifugaos, possessed of prehensile toes, than by men wearing shoes. Seeing my predicament, an Ifugao climbed down from above, pulled my coat-tails up over my head and hung on to them, while another came up behind me, put his hands on my heels and carefully placed my toes in the holes prepared for their reception. Thus aided, I finally reached the top.

The Ifugaos did not invite us to enter their houses, but allowed us to camp under them. I was assigned quarters under the house of the chief. It was tastefully ornamented, at the height of the floor, with a very striking frieze of alternating human skulls and carabao skulls.

One of my reasons for coming to Banaue at this time was that I had heard that the people of seven other towns had recently formed a confederation and attacked it, losing about a hundred and fifty heads before they were driven off. I therefore thought that there might

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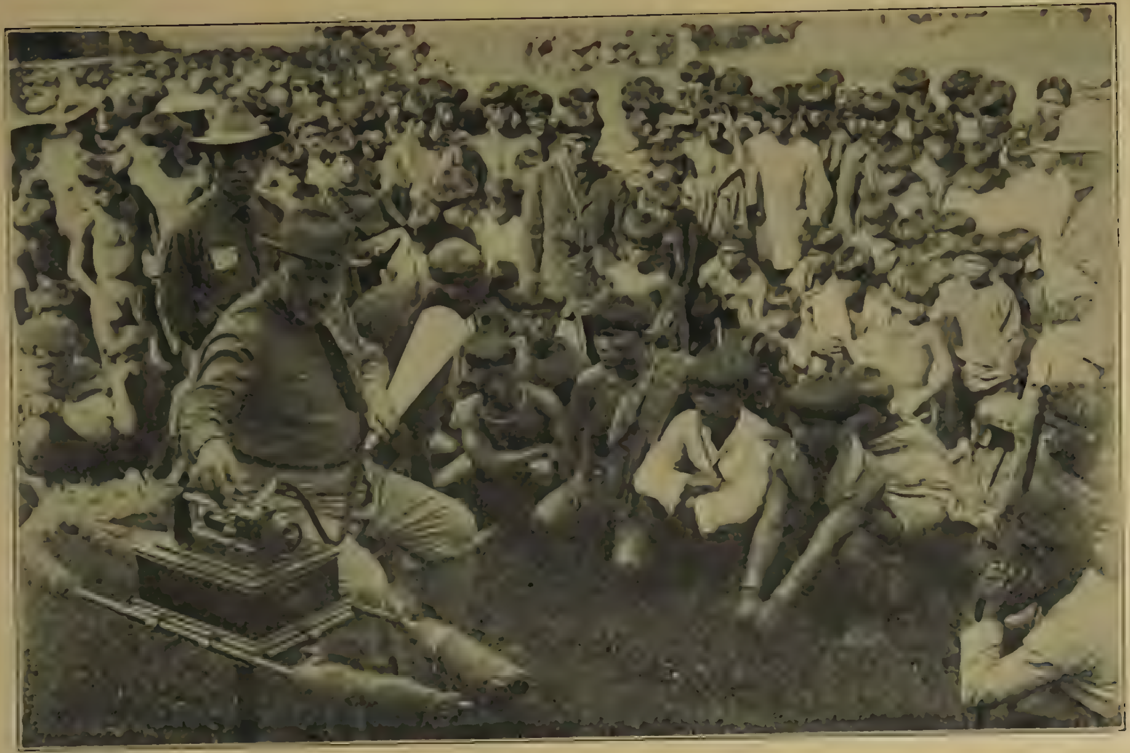
[1] A fermented alcoholic beverage made from rice.



ENTERTAINING THE KALINGAS.

They are listening with great interest to the reproduction of a speech which one of their chiefs has just made into the receiving horn of a dictaphone.

be a favourable opportunity to learn something of head-hunting, and to secure some photographs illustrating customs which I hoped would become rare in the near future, as indeed they did.

Trouble promptly arose between our Bontoc friends and the Ifugaos. The Bontocs wanted to purchase food. Some baskets of *camotes* were brought and thrown down before them and they were told that they were welcome to *camotes*, which were suitable food for Bontoc Igorots and pigs, but that if they wanted rice they would have to come out and get it. As twenty-five of them were armed with carbines and all the rest had lances, shields and head-axes, they were more than anxious to go, but this we could hardly permit! So we put them in a stockade under guard, and subsisted them ourselves, a thing which necessarily rendered our stay brief, as provisions soon ran low.

The Ifugaos of Banaue showed themselves most friendly, but warned us that a large hostile party was waiting to attack us at Kababuyan, a short distance down the trail. My mission to the Ifugao country was to establish kindly relations with the people rather than kill them, so I did my best to get on good terms with the inhabitants of the more friendly settlements.

The day before we left, people came in haste from a neighbouring village to advise us that one of their men had lost his head to the Ifugaos of Cambúlo, and begged us to join them in a punitive expedition, assurring us that there were numerous pigs and chickens at Cambúlo and that our combined forces would have no difficulty in whipping the people of that place, after which we could have a most enjoyable time plundering the town, while they would secure a goodly toll of heads which might be advantageously employed in further ornamenting their Banaue homes. They were greatly disgusted when we declined to join them, and said they would do the job anyhow, as no doubt they did.

First, however, they insisted that we come with them to see that the story they had told us was true. We soon overtook a procession carrying a very much beheaded man who was being borne out for burial on his shield, and were readily granted permission to attend his funeral. It was an interesting and weird affair. After it was over we hastened back to Banaue, in constant fear of breaking our necks by falling down the high, nearly perpendicular, walls of the rice terraces, on the tops of which we had to walk. Most of us discarded our shoes, in order to minimize the danger of a fall. One member of the party, who insisted on wearing his, glissaded down a steep wall and had to be pulled out of the mud and water at the bottom. Fortunately he was not injured.

Having succeeded beyond our expectations in establishing friendly relations with the Ifugaos of Banaue we took our departure, requesting them to tell their neighbours about us and promising to visit them again. I returned to Bontoc and made my way to Baguio in Benguet through the Agno River valley, stopping at numerous settlements of the Benguet Igorots on the way.

It was not possible for me to make further explorations in the territory of the Luzón wild people until 1905. In this year I set out, accompanied by Mr. Samuel E. Kane, an American who spoke Ilocano exceptionally well, and Colonel Blas Villamor, a former Insurgent officer, who was more familiar with the territory which I desired to visit than any one else of whom I could learn. He had established friendly relations with some of its inhabitants during the insurrection.

We visited several of the wilder settlements of the Tingians in Abra, then made a hard climb over Mount Pico de Loro and descended its eastern slopes to the Tingian village of Balbalasan in the Saltan River valley. Its people, while not really head-hunters, were often obliged to defend themselves against their Kalinga neighbours, and were consequently well armed. After a brief rest we continued our journey down the Saltan River, visiting settlements on the high hills in its immediate vicinity.

At Salecsec we had an extended conference with an old chief named Atumpa, a very acute man of wide experience and sound judgment, who exercised great influence in the territory through which we had just passed. Atumpa, satisfied as to our good intentions, consented to accompany us into the Kalinga country. A Kalinga chief named Saking, whom Villamor had known during the insurrection, met us here, and told us of a war trail into his territory which would greatly shorten our proposed journey, and make it possible for us to reach in one day the first of the previously unknown Kalinga settlements of the Mabaca River valley.

Saking, observing that the people in the Saltan valley had cleaned off their old trails, and in some cases had built new ones for our convenience, went ahead of us to his own country in order to try to persuade his people to do some trail work, leaving us to follow him. Our route lay over the top of a high peak called "Dead Man's Mountain" because a good many people who tried to climb it never came down, the true explanation of their failure to appear being no doubt that they perished from exposure during violent storms.

While ascending this mountain I suffered an attack of partial paralysis of the legs, due, as I now have reason to believe, to heart strain, but was able to continue the journey after a brief rest and the use of stimulants. A considerable part of our trip down the steep northern slopes of this mountain was made by utilizing a stream bed in lieu of a trail, and was in consequence very uncomfortable and somewhat dangerous, as the chance for broken bones was good. Fortunately, however, no one was badly hurt.

At the first Kalinga village we found about a hundred and twenty fighting men armed with shields and head-axes, but Saking and his brother Bakidan at once came forward to greet us and we did not suspect mischief. I had brought with me from Manila a great bag of newly coined pennies. They looked like gold, and we distributed them among the warriors, who were greatly delighted and promptly proceeded to place them in the ends of the huge ear plugs which the men of this tribe are so fond of wearing. Every one seemed friendly enough at the outset, but soon a rather disturbing incident occurred.

There were eight chiefs present. I noticed that they suddenly withdrew a short distance and squatted all together in a circle as if by word of command. After a brief but very animated discussion they rose simultaneously, and six of them started down the trail at a run, while Bakidan and Saking came to us and somewhat anxiously suggested that it was time to be moving on.

Our way lay through enormous *runo* grass which closed in over our heads, so that we were marching in a rather low tunnel through the vegetation. Bakidan went ahead of us, Saking brought up the rear, and both were evidently on the alert. Bakidan suggested that we keep our revolvers handy, which we did.

A short march brought us to Saking's place. Here a still larger body of fighting men awaited us, and there were no women in evidence except Saking's wife, who, at the direction of her husband, came forward, and under his instructions sought to shake hands with us. This was a new ceremony to the Kalingas, and she gave us her left hand.

Standing in a conspicuous place in front of Saking's house were two baskets filled with flowers which were wet with blood. We surmised, rightly, as it later proved, that these baskets had contained human heads just before our arrival, and that we had interrupted a head-*cañao*.[1] One did not need to be an expert in the moods of wild men to see that the people of this place were feeling ugly, and after shaking hands with Saking's wife we promptly marched on.

It was fortunate for us that we did so. We later learned that the conference of the eight chiefs which aroused our suspicion had been held to discuss our fate. Six of them were in favor of killing us immediately, arguing that we were the first white men to penetrate their country; that they might have to carry our baggage,

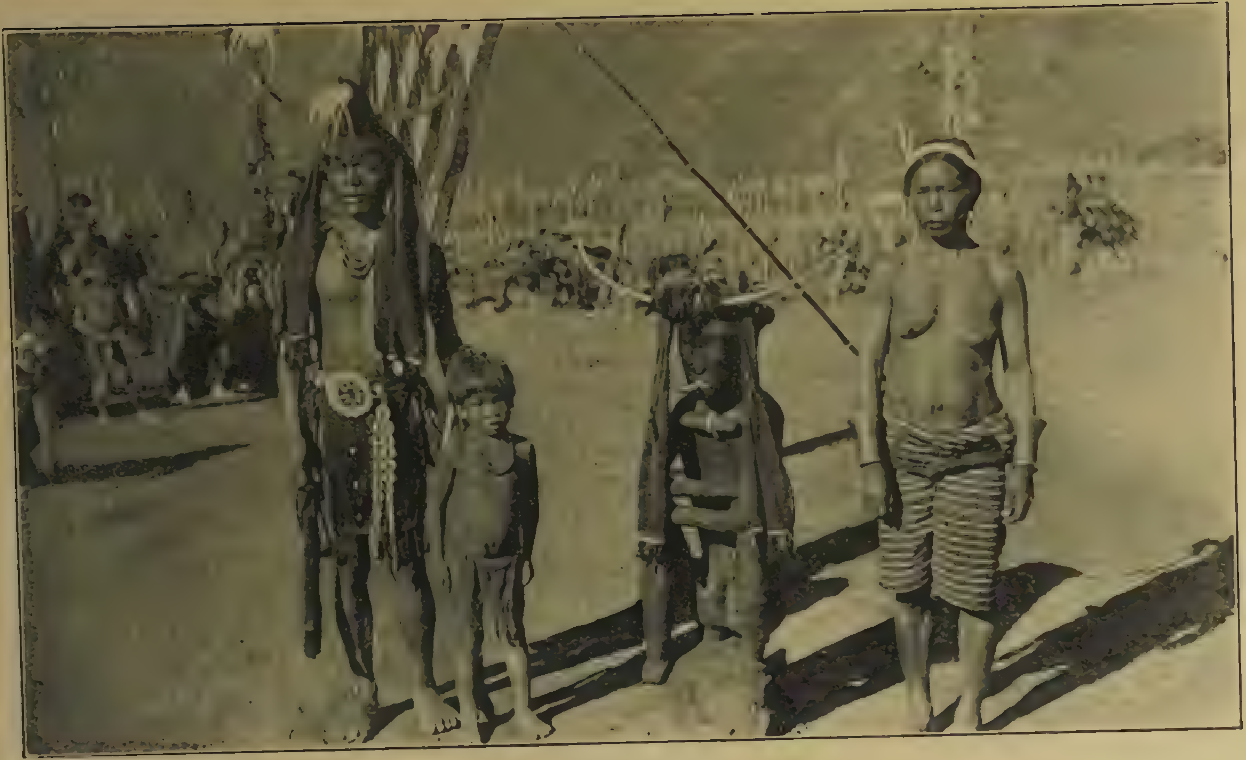
[1] *Cañao* is the word commonly used by the northern Luzón wild men in designating a feast or ceremony. In Apayao it is also used as an adjective to designate a place which may not be approached, being then equivalent to "taboo."

which would be a lot of trouble; and that if they allowed us to pass through others might follow us, whereas if they killed us they would have no further trouble with strangers. Saking was severely criticized for having told us the whereabouts of the war trail over which we had come, and was appointed a committee of one on extermination, with power to act. In fact, he was directed to take his people and kill us, but he declined to obey instructions, and the other chiefs had run down the trail ahead of us in order to gather a sufficient force to wipe our party out. Saking's people were somewhat loath to act under the orders of any one else, and our sojourn among them was so brief that they did not have time definitely to make up their minds to attack us.

We now rapidly completed our journey to Bakidan's place, where we were to spend the night. Here again a crowd of armed fighting men awaited us. It was momentarily augmented by the arrival of recruits from the villages through which we had just passed. Still unsuspicious of mischief, we turned our revolvers over to one of our Ilocano companions, a man named Lucio, who had served as Aguinaldo's mail-carrier during the latter days of the insurrection. We then walked into the middle of the crowd and sat down on pieces of our own luggage.

Bakidan immediately brought me a small wicker basket of very dirty looking bananas. I was nauseated as a result of severe exertion in climbing Dead Man's Mountain, and the bananas did not look appetizing, so I thanked him and put the basket on my lap. Instantly I felt strong tension rising in the crowd. We had brought along chief Atumpa and several friendly Kalingas from the Saltan River valley. They seized their head-axes and stepped in behind us, facing out. Bakidan instantly withdrew into his own house, and from a point where hardly any one except myself could see him made emphatic gestures, indicating that I was to eat. Little suspecting the significance of the act, but desirous of placating his outraged feelings if he felt that his hospitality had not been appreciated, I hastily peeled a banana and took a bite. To my amazement, there was an instant and obvious relaxation of tension in the crowd. The Kalinga warriors loosened their grip on their head-axes and began to walk about and talk. My own old men also assumed an air of indifference.

Much puzzled, I made up my mind to look into this matter further, and later learned that when people from one Kalinga settlement visit those of another if the latter wish to be friendly it is customary for them to offer the visitors salt if they have it, bananas if salt is lacking, and water in the event that neither salt nor bananas are available. If the visitors wish to accept the friendship thus prof-



AN IFUGAO FAMILY.

The man is Guíned, the most influential of the Ifugao chiefs.

fered, they promptly eat or drink, as the case may be; otherwise it is understood that they have come looking for trouble.

Bakidan had ceremonially proffered the friendship of himself and his people, and in my ignorance I had practically declared war on the whole outfit! When I learned these facts I asked Bakidan why they did not kill us at once. He said they were afraid. I expressed my surprise that they should be afraid of three unarmed men, and he explained that it was very bad etiquette in the Kalinga country for a person with a head-axe to go behind another, and that we had amazed every one when we walked into the midst of that gathering of armed men and sat down with our backs to half of them. They instantly concluded that we had, concealed about our persons, some new and strange device with which we could annihilate a crowd, hence they were afraid!

Here, as at Saking's place, we had interrupted a head-*cañao*. The head had been smuggled out of sight just before our arrival. The *cañao* was now renewed and continued all night, although the head was not again put in evidence. It is needless to say that we attended. We witnessed one of the weirdest sights I have ever seen.

The following day was spent in distributing presents to the Kalinga head-men, in taking photographs, and in getting a little much needed rest. As evening drew near Bakidan suggested that it was about time we formally made friends with each other. We were beginning to feel rather far away from home, and wanted all the friends we could get, so promptly acceded to his suggestion and repaired to his house at eight o'clock, the hour he had indicated.

The ceremony proved very simple. His wife fried some boiled rice in fat—dog fat as we afterward learned, but fortunately we did not know this at the moment! We all squatted on the floor, Bakidan facing us, and the dish of fried rice was placed between us. He squeezed a mass of it into a ball and gave it to me. I ate it, and then rendered him a similar service. He ate in turn, and we were friends! The same procedure was followed with each of my companions.

In the midst of the ceremony there came a very unexpected interruption. A Kalinga woman was standing near me holding a torch. She had been silent and had seemed timid. I chanced to stretch out my right hand palm up. To my surprise she uttered an exclamation which was almost a shriek, seized my wrist and began to point excitedly to the lines in my palm. The other Kalingas gathered about, evidently greatly interested. Several of them showed the lines in the palms of their own hands, and an animated conversation ensued. I asked what it all meant, and was informed that I was going to become a man of great influence! I had already modestly introduced myself as the ruler of all non-Christians, so found this reply unsatisfactory, but could get no other.

It was fortunate indeed for us that we made friends with Bakidan. On the following day we continued our journey down the valley. Our baggage was carried by women, children and a few old and more or less decrepit warriors who obviously felt deeply insulted at being required to render such a menial service, and were decidedly resentful toward Bakidan for having ordered them to do it.

Before we started Bakidan warned us that the Kalingas were queer people, and in consequence it would be well for us very quietly to go around certain of their settlements. Others we would visit. Their inhabitants would be sure to invite us to stay and enjoy their hospitality. He would second every such invitation. We were to pay no attention to his words, but were to note whether or not he sat down. If he did, we might accept the invitation. Otherwise we must plead an urgent engagement farther down the valley and move on.

Things came out exactly as he had foretold. In several villages we heard noises decidedly suggestive of head-*cañaos,* and discreetly circled these places. We declined all invitations seconded by Bakidan when he did not seat himself, and rested comfortably for a time in several villages where he did. Toward noon we walked straight into an ambush laid for us in the *runo* grass, discovering it only when Bakidan began to deliver a forceful oration in which he set forth the fact that he had a right to stroll down his own valley with a party of friends without being annoyed by having his fellow tribesmen hide beside the trail and prepare to throw lances.

Bakidan, who was himself a famous warrior, told these men that they might kill us if they saw fit to do so, but must kill him first. Apparently rather ashamed of themselves, they came out on to the trail and slunk off to their town. Bakidan, greatly disgusted, suggested that we follow them and lunch in their village, just to show that we were not afraid of them, and we did this.

After lunch I photographed a number of our late opponents, and we then continued our journey, escorted by a Kalinga chief named Bogauit from Took-Took. This man had previously descended to the Cagayan valley, where he had seen white people, and hearing of our advent in the Kalinga country, and fearing that we might have trouble in getting carriers for our baggage, had come with his fighting men to help us out.

The people of his village received us in a most friendly spirit, and after attending a bit of a *cañao* organized in our honour, and doing our best to entertain the crowd with a few simple experiments in physics, and some sleight-of-hand tricks, we retired, as we supposed, for a peaceful night's rest. No such good fortune awaited us.

We were aroused in the middle of the night by a fearful din only to find our hut surrounded by a great circle of armed men. The people who had attempted to ambush us earlier in the day had repented of their action in letting us pass through unharmed, had gathered a strong force of fighting men, had surrounded our house and were now vociferously demanding to be allowed to take our heads.

Old Bakidan was apparently fighting a duel with their chief in the midst of the circle. The two men were dancing around each other with cat-like steps, occasionally coming to close quarters and clashing shields, then leaping apart, swinging their head-axes and obviously watching for an opportunity to strike home. Had either of them gained any decided advantage of position he would doubtless have used his head-axe, and this would have started a fight which could have had but one ending.

Owing to a mistake made when the ammunition for our trip was purchased, we had just twenty-two revolver cartridges amongst us, and in the darkness they would have been worth about as much as so many firecrackers. The roof of the house was dry as tinder; a blazing brand thrown on it would promptly have forced us into the open. We should have been met by a flight of head-axes and lances, and this book would not have been written!

The majority of the crowd were determined to take our heads. The Took-Took people, greatly outnumbered, were evidently on the fence, and Bakidan was our only advocate. He still insisted that any one who wished to kill us must kill him first. His reputation stood him in good stead, and no one tackled the job. The uproar continued until nearly morning. *Bási,* a strong native liquor, was constantly passed. Indeed, every one but Bakidan had been drunk when we were first awakened. Finally food was handed around, and when the excited warriors stopped yelling in order to eat it the liquor had a chance to work, and most of them went to sleep.

We might probably have then effected our escape for the time being, but it was utterly impossible for us to get out of the country without the assistance of the Kalingas, and we decided to see the thing out right there. In the morning the crowd was uglier than ever. As we crossed the little plaza they suddenly closed in on us with the obvious intention of doing for us, and we thought the end had come. At this critical moment a diversion was created in our favour by the wholly unexpected arrival of a letter brought in by a Kalinga runner. It had followed us all the way from Abra, and contained information about two pieces of baggage which were missing when we started. Its arrival greatly alarmed the hostiles, who interrogated me as to whether soldiers were coming. They had heard of soldiers, but had never seen them. I assured them that the arrival or non-arrival of soldiers would depend on the way they treated us, and to our utter amazement, they presently faded away.

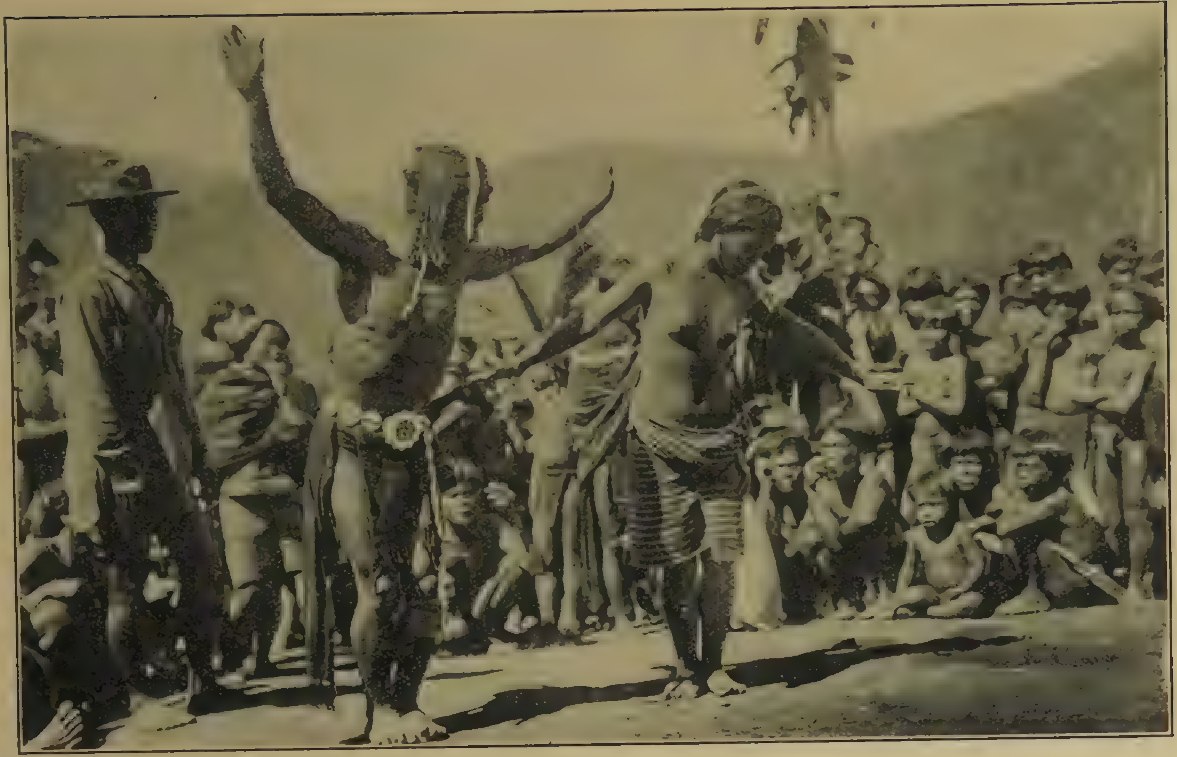
The Took-Took people again showed themselves friendly when their unwelcome visitors had departed, and made us bamboo rafts on which we descended the river. Our voyage was a decidedly adventurous one. Our rafts were repeatedly smashed by the swift current. As we approached each Kalinga village we were met by a reception committee carrying a bunch of bananas, followed at a short interval by a crowd of fighting men fully armed, and were thus given an opportunity to decide whether there should be peace or war. Needless to say, we voted for peace every time. I ate bananas until it was difficult to find room for more!

We spent the night at the *rancheria* of a friendly, white-haired old chief who had been to Tuguegarao, the capital of Cagayan, and knew a few words of Spanish. The next day we reached the settlement of Chief Doget, who had a wonderful house of red *narra,* a wood which closely resembles mahogany. It was furnished with beds, chairs and tables obtained from the Spaniards. Here we were able to rest in peace.

After sleeping the clock twice around, we continued our journey, and at dusk reached the Filipino town of Tuao, glad enough to get back to civilization and feeling that the kindly Providence which watches over fools, drunken men and children had had its eye on us. Without escort, and armed only with six-shooters rendered almost useless by lack of ammunition, we had completed the first trip ever made through the Kalinga country, and had done it without firing a shot and without losing a man.

This trip marked for me the beginning of friendly relations with the Kalingas. They have never since been interrupted, and now, when I ride a fast American horse rapidly over the splendid trails which cross their country from south to north and from west to east, or meet at Lubuagan the fighting men who were once so anxious to take my head but now make a long journey yearly in order to see me, I realize, as perhaps no one else does, how very materially conditions in Kalinga have changed.

It had been our intention, after spending a brief period in recuperation at Tuao, to proceed to Malaueg and continue our journey through the absolutely unknown country of the Apayaos, but we found it impossible to secure guides. The leading men of Malaueg, who came to Tuao to meet us, assured us that there were no trails known to them, which was untrue, and added that they would not under any circumstances consider trying to enter the territory of the fierce Apayao head-hunters.



Ifugao Dancers.

We accordingly proceeded to Tuguegarao, the capital of Cagayan, intending to descend the Cagayan River to Aparri, go overland to Abulúg or Pamplona and there get guides and carriers. At Tuguegarao, however, we found assembled the presidentes of all the Cagayan towns. Those from Abulúg and Pamplona positively assured me that there were no trails thence into the Apayao country, and that guides and carriers would be absolutely unobtainable. I insisted that I would visit their towns and ask them to accompany me, whereupon they actually wrung their hands and wept, complaining that the people of Apayao used bows and poisoned arrows. In disgust I told them that I would abandon the trip for that year, but the following year would go to Laoág in North Ilocos, cross the "Cordillera Central" and come out through the Apayao country, taking with me Ilocano guides and carriers, as the Ilocanos were real men.

I then proceeded up the river to Ilagan and went overland through Nueva Vizcaya, ultimately crossing Ifugao from east to west and thoroughly exploring the territory from which I had been excluded on my previous trip; proceeding thence to Bontoc and Cervantes over a route new to me, and finally returning through Benguet and Pangasinán to the railroad, where I took train for Manila.

The following year I carried out my promise, taking with me Colonel Villamor, who had rendered very valuable and satisfactory assistance on my previous trip. I also had three white companions, Dr. Paul C. Freer, superintendent of government laboratories, Major Samuel Crawford and Lieutenant L. D. Atkins. These officers commanded a detachment of twenty-five Ilocano constabulary soldiers which I reluctantly took along, warned by my experience of the previous year and convinced by the arguments of my Ilocano carriers, who declined to accompany me unless I took an armed escort.

Prior to my departure from Manila I had received an urgent telegram from the governor of North Ilocos informing me that one Abaya, a wild Tingian from Apayao, had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment in Bilibid, the insular penitentiary, and urging me to arrange if possible to have him detained at Laoag until my arrival there, which I did. On reaching Laoag, I was amazed to find a large delegation of fully armed Apayao men waiting for me at the river bank. They followed me to the house where my quarters were to be, and sat down on the stairway, with the obvious intention of seeing that I did not leave without their knowledge.

On asking the meaning of this occurrence, I was told that they were friends of Abaya and wished to talk with me. When given an opportunity to do so, they told me a singular tale, which admirably illustrates the relations prevailing in that region between the wild men and their Filipino neighbours. Abaya was one of a few men in

Apayao who dared to descend to the lowlands. He came down occasionally, bringing tobacco and wax to barter for cloth, steel, salt and other necessaries not obtainable in Apayao. Being unable to speak Ilocano well, he obtained a Filipino agent known as his "commissioner," who transacted his business for him, withholding for himself a liberal percentage of the proceeds.

On the occasion of his last visit to the lowlands, the "commissioner" had told Abaya that he had a Negrito slave who was planning to escape and had directed him to take his head-axe and kill the Negrito, promising him half of a large pig in payment for this service. Abaya, nothing loth, hastened to execute the order, hunting up the Negrito and aiming a terrific blow at him. Fortunately the Negrito saw it coming and jumped so that he received it on his shoulder instead of his neck. It inflicted a horrible wound, but he nevertheless ran away so fast that Abaya was unable to catch him and finish the job. He returned and regretfully reported his lack of success to his "commissioner." To his amazement he was arrested, taken to Laoag and held for trial. Both he and his friends were convinced that the reason for this was his failure to kill the Negrito, and the friends assured me in the most positive terms that Abaya had done his very best and that it was through no fault of his that the Negrito had escaped! They demanded his immediate release.

Meanwhile I had been informed by the governor of the province that Abaya's people had threatened to come and wipe out the village where his "commissioner" lived, and also to kill all of the Negritos in that vicinity in revenge for the arrest and imprisonment of their chief.

It struck me that the "commissioner" was the man who ought to be in jail, but I did not care to allow the Apayao people to think that they could make such threats with impunity, so asked them whether it was true that they were planning to wipe out the village in question. They said yes. I then told them that they must not do it. They expressed a willingness to obey any instructions that I might give to them. I asked whether their promise to let the village alone was dependent upon Abaya's being set at liberty, and they answered no. We then took up the question of killing the Negritos. They were greatly amazed that I should object to this, urging that they had always fought the Negritos, and that the latter were bad people who constantly made trouble with their poisoned arrows; theretofore it had been considered commendable to kill as many as possible. However, they said that they would let the Negritos alone if I insisted upon it, irrespective of whether or not Abaya was released. Having duly impressed them with the fact that the matter of the release of Abaya must stand on its own merits, and could not be made to depend on their subsequent good or bad conduct, and having interviewed the Filipino judge who sentenced Abaya and learned that he had been puzzled to know what to do and was heartliy in favour of having him pardoned, I telegraphed to the acting governor-general requesting that this be done, and continued my journey, leaving word that Abaya should follow me if set at liberty.

He was promptly pardoned. His people insisted that he join them and take to the mountains, but he told his friends that since I had secured his release he would do what I had asked. He overtook me before I had finished my second day's march, and stayed with me until I gave him leave to go his way!

Our climb over the cordillera was by no means a pleasure trip. We were forced to use beds of streams and Tingian warpaths in lieu of trails. At one time our way lay over wet limestone rocks which were slippery as ice. Here our hobnailed shoes were a positive source of danger. The feet of our carriers were badly torn, and we ourselves suffered from occasional falls on the sharp rocks. We secured the help of some additional Tingians whom we met journeying to the coast, paying them liberally enough so that they were willing to abandon their proposed trip and accompany us.

We sent all of our Tingian companions ahead to give notice of our friendly intentions before reaching the first village in Apayao, but its inhabitants nevertheless ran away. Thoroughly exhausted, we decided to spend a night there. In the course of the afternoon our men were able to bring in some of their fellow tribesmen who lived in the vicinity, and we made friends with them.

From this point a half day's march brought us to the head-waters of the Abulúg River at a point where it was navigable for bamboo rafts. We delayed at a little village until we could construct rafts enough to float our large party, and then started downstream, knowing that we should meet plenty of people, for the Tingians of Apayao are fond of placing their villages on river banks.

Our trip was a wild and adventurous one. Fortunately I had purchased some twenty dollars' worth of beads and with these I made at least twenty-five hundred presents! The friendship of the women at the first town which we met was thus secured, and thereafter the "grapevine telegraph" worked ahead of us and we found waiting delegations of women and girls on the river bank at almost every village. So long as they were about, it was reasonably certain that the men would not make any hostile demonstration.

The trip proved a great success in every way. Many of the numerous settlements which we visited were at war with each other. One had just been attacked, and a number of its people had lost their heads, literally. We were constantly warned that the residents of the next town down the river were "bad people" and that "five hundred" of them were waiting in the river bed to attack us, but only once were we in any real danger of being molested, and even then diplomacy prevailed.

We were careful to respect local customs. One town was reported to be *cañao,* which is equivalent to "taboo," because of the death of the wife of the headman, and we religiously kept away from it. Another was *cañao* because of a virulent epidemic of smallpox, and we were more than willing to keep away from that one!

We bumped down rapids and shot over several low falls. Again and again our rafts were torn to pieces and we were precipitated into the rushing stream. At one time a constabulary soldier was under water for some ten minutes, and we thought him dead when he was first fished out, but finally succeeded in resuscitating him. We had been told that the trip would take eight days and had made our plans accordingly. It took fifteen. Food ran short. Shoes and clothing gave out. Some of our soldiers were dressed in clouts before we reached civilization, and crawfishes on which our men could pounce along the edges of the river were out of luck!

I shall long remember the shout of delight which our Filipino companions set up when we finally passed through the last mountain gap and came out into the open country, but as a matter of fact the most disagreeable part of our journey lay before us. Up to that time our progress had been rapid and exciting. Now the current of the river grew sluggish, and we were largely dependent on it, as our rafts were too heavy to paddle and the stream was in many places so deep that we could not pole them.

We found ourselves in the country of very wild Negritos. Our Tingian friends had informed us that these people would certainly sneak up and shoot arrows into our camps at night, but nothing of the sort occurred. On the contrary, through the liberal use of scarlet cotton cloth, we were able to establish very friendly relations with the Negritos encountered, some of whom gave us in exchange deer meat enough for a feast, which was highly appreciated by all concerned.

On arrival at Abulúg we were received with great surprise by the people, who had heard that we had been attacked and killed. There I developed malaria and contracted bronchitis.

We made our way up the Cagayan River to Ilagan and thence proceeded overland to the Kalinga villages in the vicinity of Sili. At the latter place we had an amusing experience. Knowing that we were going to Mayoyao, some Ifugaos from that town had joined our party for protection. A delegation of Sili Kalingas waited on us during the lunch hour and politely asked to be allowed to take the heads of these Ifugaos, saying that they needed some fresh heads, and that it would save a lot of trouble if they could have these, so providentially brought to them by their respective owners. I explained to them that we really needed the Ifugaos, and they courteously waived their claim to them in our favour!

I had been assured that I could ride a horse to Mayoyao in two and a half days. The trip took five days. Much of the way horses were worse than useless. Before we reached our destination my bronchitis had developed into pneumonia and I was very ill. My white companions on the Apayao trip had long since left me, but at Ilagan I had been joined by Señor Claraval, who was later elected governor of Isabela, and by an American school-teacher. Colonel Villamor had stayed with me. Now all my companions turned back and I continued my journey accompanied only by Ifugaos and by a young lieutenant of constabulary named Gallman, who had then just come to the Ifugao country but was later destined to play a most remarkable part in bringing its warlike people under control and starting them on the road toward civilization.

Our route from Mayoyao to Banaue of necessity followed the Ifugao war trails, which invariably run along the crests of mountains so as to command a view in both directions. The country through which we passed was frightfully broken, and I could hardly stand. Wherever it was humanly possible to do so, the Ifugaos carried me in a blanket slung under a pole. They took me up almost perpendicular ascents in this way, but in some cases the ascents were *quite* perpendicular and the descents the same, so that I had to try to climb, constantly falling as the result of weakness and exhaustion, in spite of the efforts of the Ifugaos to keep me on my feet. We reached Dukligan at dusk and there we spent the night.

In the morning I found myself unable to rise, so took a stiff dose of whiskey. As this failed to produce the desired result, I took a second and finally a third. Under the potent influence of the stimulant I managed to get up. The willing Ifugaos carried me clear to the rice terraces near Banaue, making a joke of the hard work involved. There were always a dozen men on the pole, and whenever one set of carriers grew weary there was a scramble, closely approaching a fight, to determine who should be allowed next to take their places.

These jolly people constantly gave a peculiar shout which was ridiculously like an American college cheer. Ill as I was, I almost enjoyed the trip, and conceived a great liking for the splendidly developed men who were seeing me through in such gallant style. Had it not been for their kindness, I should certainly have left my bones somewhere between Mayoyao and Banaue.

They were determined to lug me through the rice terraces, but as it took at least four men to carry me, and the weight of the five of us was sufficient to cause the tops of the high terrace walls to crumble so that I had several narrow escapes from falling down them, I climbed out of my extemporized hammock, took one more big drink of raw whiskey and on the strength of it managed to stagger along to the river, where I was amazed to find a horse awaiting me. Nothing ever looked better to me than did that somewhat decrepit animal! I was absolutely unfit to travel, but having rested at Banaue for half a day, and realizing that it was imperatively necessary that I should get to a doctor at once, I made what was then record time to Banaue, Bontoc, Cervantes and Baguio, and on arrival at the latter place proceeded to go to bed and be comfortably ill.

Tramping over the northern Luzón mountains with my lungs partly solidified left my pumping machinery in such shape that I have never since been able to make a hard trip on foot, but that is no longer necessary. Splendid horse trails now make travel through this region a pleasure.

When we crossed Apayao only one other white man had achieved the feat. This was a good missionary priest who in 1741 traversed the country between Abulúg and one of the North Ilocos towns. Lieutenant Gilmore's[1] Filipino captors took him and his companions across a corner of Apayao, and instead of murdering them in the forest, as they had been ordered to do, turned them loose. They made their way across a portion of the territory traversed by us, and had reached the Abulúg River and were attempting to build rafts when overtaken by a rescue party of American soldiers. All hands then descended the river to the town of Abulúg, and proceeded overland to Aparri. Colonel Hood, who was commanding the United States forces there, declined to let them enter the town until they had been provided with decent clothing, thinking that the sight of American soldiers clad in clouts might be too much of a shock to the inhabitants!

In 1907 I was able to land at various points along the then absolutely unknown Pacific coast of northeastern Luzón, but failed to get into touch with the Negritos, who constitute its sole inhabitants, until near Palanan, the northernmost settlement of Filipinos on the east coast. With this trip my exploration work in northern Luzón ended, although I have ever since made extended annual trips through the non-Christian territory of the island.

During the years covered by this hasty narrative, I also made trips to the territory of the wild men in Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao, as opportunity offered. In Spanish days I had lived among the Moros and had visited the mountains of Negros and Panay and seen something of the wild men living there, so that I finally gained a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines,

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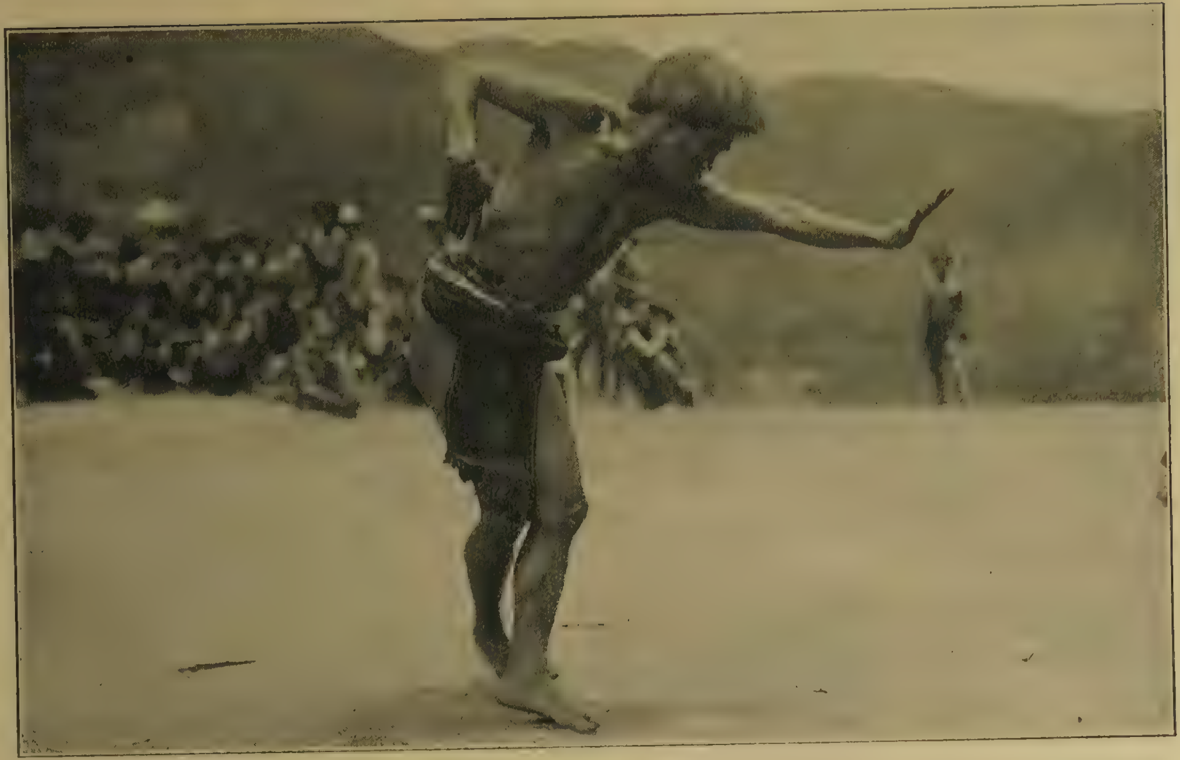
[1] Lieutenant J. C. Gilmore, U.S.N., was captured at Baler in the summer of 1899, and held a prisoner for many months.



An Ifugao Dancer.

having seen representatives of nearly all of them,[1] and lived for longer or shorter periods among all except some of the more unimportant peoples in the interior of Mindanao.

As a result of these personal investigations I was able to reduce to twenty-seven the eighty-two non-Christian tribes said by Blumentritt to inhabit the Philippines; to determine with reasonable accuracy the territory occupied by each, and not only to become familiar with the manners and customs of the people of each important tribe, but to establish relations of personal friendship with many chiefs and headmen which have proved invaluable to me in my subsequent work for the betterment of the non-Christian peoples.[2]

[1] The only tribes of which I have not seen representatives inhabit the region of the gulf of Davao in Mindanao. It is doubtful whether they are really tribally distinct from the Bagobos, Bilanes and other tribes living near the coast.

[2] The scientific work of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and the Ethnological Survey is referred to on page 425, *supra*, note 1. Since 1914 a number of monographs upon the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines have appeared. One of the most interesting of these volumes is cited because it gives a vivid insight into the difficulty and delicacy of the task involved in governing peoples whose psychology and institutions are so different from our own: R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, Berkeley, 1919 (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, No. 1.). An older standard work is Albert E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, Manila, 1905.

CHAPTER XXI

The Government of the Non-Christian Tribes

The Island of Luzón

When I visited Benguet in July and August of 1900, I found conditions there such that the early establishment of civil government seemed practicable and desirable. The people had taken no part in the insurrection and nowhere in the province was there any resistance to American authority. An act providing for the government of the province and its settlements was accordingly passed on November 23, 1900, Benguet being thus the first province to pass from the control of the military.[1] In drafting this act I was fortunate in having the coöperation of Mr. Otto Scheerer, a German citizen who had lived for a number of years among the Benguet Igorots, understood them fully and was most kindly disposed toward them.

The Benquet law, in considerably amplified form, was applied to Nueva Vizcaya when that province was organized on January 28, 1902, and on April 9, 1902,[2] a carefully considered act entitled "An Act providing for the Establishment of Local Civil Governments in the Townships and Settlements of Nueva Vizcaya" was passed by the commission. On May 28, 1902, the province of Lepanto-Bontoc was established. It had three sub-provinces, Amburayan, Lepanto and Bontoc. The two Nueva Vizcaya acts above mentioned were made applicable to it, and to its towns, respectively. On June 23, 1902, an act was passed organizing the province of Palawan (Paragua) and extending to it, and to its towns, the more essential provisions of the two Nueva Vizcaya acts.

On the same day Mindoro was incorporated with the province of Marinduque under the regular Provincial Government Act, which was then being made applicable to all provinces populated chiefly by Filipinos. As might have been anticipated, it did not prove feasible properly to administer the affairs of Mindoro under this act, and on November 10, 1902, a province of Mindoro, including the main island and numerous neighbouring small islands, was established under a law embodying the essential provisions of the Nueva Vizcaya Act. Certain provisions of the Nueva Vizcaya township and settlement act were made applicable to its municipalities, while on December 4, 1902, other provisions of the same act were made applicable to the settlements of the wild Mangyans, who occupy the whole interior of this great island so far as it is occupied at all.

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[1] Act No. 49, Philippine Commission.

[2] Act No. 337, and Act No. 387, Philippine Commission.

The desirability of uniform legislation for the government of the non-Christian tribes, except those of the Moro Province, soon became evident, and after much experience in the practical working of the several acts above mentioned under the conditions presented in the five provinces, Benguet, Nueva Vizcaya, Lepanto-Bontoc, Palawan and Mindoro, I drafted the so-called "Special Provincial Government Act," and "The Township Government Act."[1] The former was made applicable to the five provinces above mentioned, and the latter to all settlements of non-Christian tribes throughout the Philippines except those of the Moro Province.

On August 20, 1907, an act was passed carving the province of Agusan out of territory which had previously belonged to Surigao and Misamis, and organizing it under the Special Provincial Government Act. Finally, on August 18, 1908, the Mountain Province was established in northern Luzón.[2] At the same time that the Ifugao territory was separated from Nueva Vizcaya there was added to the latter province the Ilongot territory previously divided between Isabela, Tayabas, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinán.

Before considering the details of the work accomplished in the several special government provinces and subprovinces, I will state the general principles which have been found useful in bringing the non-Christian peoples under control and in establishing friendly relations with them, and will explain how these principles have been applied in actual practice.

I have always considered the opening up of adequate lines of communication an indispensable prerequisite to the control and development of any country, and this is especially true of the territory of the wild man. No matter how unruly he may be, he is apt to become good when one can call on him at 2.30 A.M., since that is the hour when devils, *anítos* and *asuáng* are abroad, and he therefore wants to stay peaceably in his own house! Again and again we have built a trail to an ugly, fighting, head-hunting settlement whose people have at first thrown spears at our road labourers, but later, when they found that the trail was really going to arrive, have ended by building one out to meet it. Constabulary garrisons which we have expected to be forced to establish have often proved unnecessary when communication was opened up.

We have had scanty funds for public works in these regions. At the outset I had to get along with four or five thousand dollars a year in the territory now included in the Mountain Province and the task which confronted me seemed utterly hopeless. Nevertheless, I made a beginning and did the best I could. Now the Mountain Province has annual receipts of about $85,000, of which some $65,000 are expended for public works and permanent improvements. This is made possible by the fact that the salaries and wages of the provincial officers, and certain contingent expenses as well, are met by direct appropriation of insular funds.

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[1] Act No. 1396 and Act No. 1399, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905.
[2] Act No. 1876, Philippine Commission, August 18, 1908.

Another principle to which I have steadfastly adhered is never to impose taxes on a wild man until he can be made to realize that direct good to him will result from their collection. One of several reasons why the Spaniards never could dominate the hill people of Luzón was that they insisted at the very outset upon exacting "tribute" from them. The hill people regarded the money thus contributed as a present to the man who collected it, and rebelled against making presents to people who did not treat them well and whom they did not like.

The most important tax in the special government provinces is the so-called "public improvement tax." The law imposing it does not become operative on the non-Christians of any given territory without the prior approval of the secretary of the interior. It provides for the collection from every able-bodied adult male between the ages of 18 and 55 of an annual contribution of two pesos.[1] The taxpayer is allowed to render ten days of service upon public works in lieu of cash payment if he prefers, and most non-Christians do prefer to settle the obligation in this way. All money derived from this source is expended on public works, going to pay for supervision, dynamite, powder, caps, fuse, steel, road tools and the like, as it is seldom necessary to hire labourers.

We paid for all labour on the first trails constructed, and it was only when the people themselves learned to comprehend the usefulness to them of improved means of communication that I made the public improvement tax applicable to them.

Except under very special circumstances, I did not allow the construction of a trail with a grade higher than six per cent. There are two reasons for this rule. First, the torrential rain-storms of the tropics rapidly destroy highgrade trails in spite of all efforts to provide adequate drainage; second, if trails are constructed on low grades, every shovelful of earth which is thrown is just so much accomplished toward the eventual opening up of cart roads, carriage roads or automobile roads, the whole subsequent question involved being one of widening and surfacing.

In constructing a trail we first carefully stake what seems the best possible line between the two points to be connected; then

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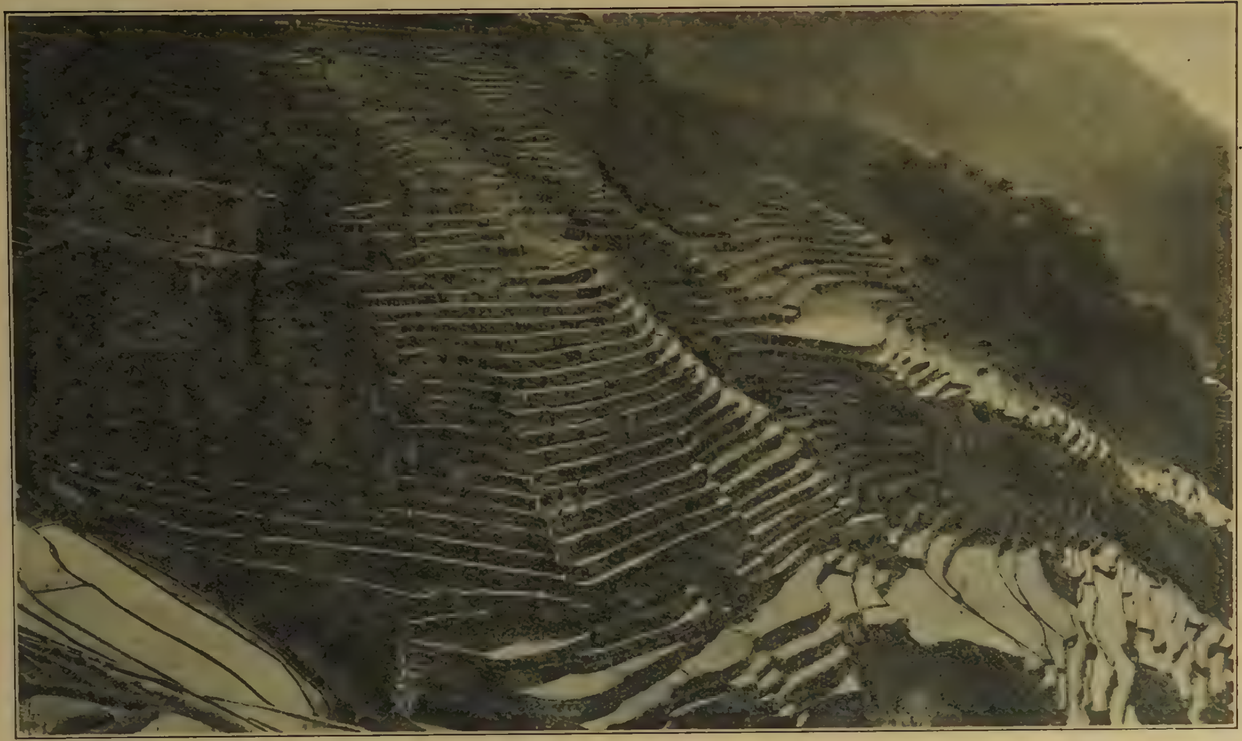
[1] Equivalent to one dollar.



Ifugao Rice Terraces.

The wonderful irrigated rice terraces of the Ifugaos sometimes extend up steep mountain sides for thousands of feet. They afford an extraordinary example of successful primitive hydraulic engineering.

build on this line a path which is cut into the hill[1] four feet, the dirt being thrown outward. No special effort is made to give the bank a proper slope; the Almighty does this in the course of the first rainy season, when the earth sloughs off on to the trail in those places where it stands too steeply. It is then promptly thrown off the road-bed while still loose, and much hard pick and shovel work and many "pop shots" are thus saved. Only the most necessary drainage is provided before the first rainy season, for the reason that experience has shown that what seem dry beds of streams and look as if they would be converted into raging torrents during the rainy season sometimes then hardly carry water enough to wash one's face in; while, on the other hand, destructive torrents come charging down the crests of hogbacks in places where one would least expect them, and cut out the trail completely where they strike it. With the first rain the maintenance gangs get to work, noting where drainage is especially needed and providing it, throwing off loose earth and stones when slides occur, and widening the trail or cutting off sharp corners when not otherwise engaged.

American and Filipino road foremen were at first used for trail construction, but the Igorots, Ifugaos and Kalingas, all of whom are very intelligent people, soon learned to serve as foremen. I had Ifugaos who ran about clad in clouts only, but were nevertheless quite capable of carrying a road or trail across the face of a precipice, doing all of the powder work.

The wild men soon learn to take great pride in their trails, and usually keep them in an excellent state of repair. It is a remarkable fact that on the thousand miles of road and trail which have been constructed since the American occupation in the Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya no one has as yet been murdered. In the wildest regions there has been an understanding from the outset that people travelling over government roads were to be let alone!

The establishment of government, and of a decent state of public order, have gone hand in hand with the opening up of lines of communication. Wherever practicable it is highly desirable to police the wild man's country with wild men, and this has proved far easier than was anticipated. The Bontoc Igorots make good, and the Ifugaos most excellent, constabulary soldiers. They are faithful, efficient, absolutely loyal and implicitly obedient. The Ifugaos are born riflemen, and their carbine practice is little short of marvellous when one considers their very limited experience. Natural fighters as they are, the people of these two tribes make the best of soldiers. They are absolutely fearless, and fight much as do the Ghurkas of India. Benguet Igorots and Kalingas are now being enlisted as constabulary soldiers, and from the very outset the people of many of the non-Christian tribes of the islands have been used as policemen in their own territory.

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[1] Nearly all our trails are on steep mountain sides.

The annual inspection trip which the secretary of the interior is required by law to make to every province organized under the special provincial government act has become very important in the control and advancement of the non-Christian tribes.

It is now customary to hold *fiestas,* or as they are locally designated, *cañaos,* at central points, to which are invited great numbers of the wild people from the neighbouring country. At the outset these gatherings served to bring together men who had hardly seen each other except over the tops of their shields when lances were flying. They were all friendly with me, but they were by no means friendly with each other, and trouble threatened on various occasions. Within the space of thirty seconds I have seen a couple of thousand men draw their war knives and snatch up their lances, and have feared that a record killing was about to occur, but in the end the excited warriors always quieted down.

We took advantage of these great gatherings to bring about the settlement of old difficulties between hostile towns and they have thus proved an important factor in the establishment of peace and order throughout the wild man's territory. Furthermore, they afford excellent opportunity to discuss past events and future plans under the most favourable conditions. I well remember the occasion on which the Ifugao headman of Quiangan requested that the public improvement tax be imposed upon them and their fellow tribesmen. There was at that time but one decent trail in this sub-province. It had been built by paid labour. Some of the headmen who had gone to Bontoc with me had seen excellent trails there and had asked why Ifugao could not have some just as good. I had replied that the Bontoc Igorots were more civilized than the Ifugaos and had come so to appreciate the benefit of trails that they were willing to build them without being paid for their labour. Vehement exception was taken to my contention that the Bontoc Igorots were further advanced than the Ifugaos. The latter insisted that they were much better men than the Igorots, and could and would build better trails. I explained to them in detail the practical working of the public improvement tax, and asked if they would be willing to have this contribution imposed on them. They insisted that they wanted it, and I finally gave it to them, although I doubted their ability to bring their people into line. On the following day there was a precisely similar occurrence at Banaue. I soon found that I had underrated the influence of the headmen. That year twenty thousand Ifugaos worked out their road tax. The following year twenty-four thousand men rendered the prescribed ten days' service; and the number has steadily increased year by year ever since, with the result that the sub-province is crisscrossed with trails, many of which are already wide enough for considerable distances to permit the passage of automobiles if they could be brought there, while the main line of communication with Bontoc on the one hand and the capital of Nueva Vizcaya on the other is open for cart travel from the western to the eastern boundary of the sub-province.

At many of the *cañaos* we have athletic contests, which the wild men, with their splendid physical development, greatly enjoy. It is much better for two hostile towns to settle their differences by a tug-of-war, or a wrestling match, than by fighting over them, and they are now often quite willing to adopt these more pacific means provided the audience is sufficiently large and enthusiastic, for the average wild man has a very human love of playing to the gallery. He takes to the athletic contests of the American like a duck to the water, and soon learns to excel in them. No sonner is a *cañao* over than those who have taken part in it begin to look forward to the next one, and the small expense involved is repaid a thousand fold in the good feeling produced.

In the course of a year the people of each of the non-Christian tribes do many things for us simply because we want them to, and it seems only fair that we should give them at least one opportunity during the same period to have a good time in their own way.

The personal equation is of vital importance in dealing with wild men. They know nothing of laws or policies, but they understand individuals uncommonly well. The men in immediate control of them must be absolutely fearless, must make good every promise or threat, must never punish except in case of deliberate wrong-doing committed in spite of warning duly given, and must, when punishment is thus made necessary, inflict it sternly but not in anger. The wild man thus dealt with is likely to call quits when he has had enough, and if he promises to behave must be treated like a man of his word, which he usually is.

As a result of such just, firm and kindly treatment governors and lieutenant-governors soon find themselves endowed by their people with powers far in excess of those conferred on them by law. They are *ex officio* justices of the peace, but are just as apt to be asked to settle a head-hunting feud between towns, which has caused a dozen bloody murders, as a quarrel growing out of the joint ownership of a pig. They are the law and the prophets, and no appeals are taken from any just decisions which they may make, nor is their authority questioned. On the contrary, their people usually object when sent to the courts, as is of course often necessary.

These officers are always on the watch for opportunities to get the people of hostile towns to swap head-axes, or dance together, and so become friends. When one town has been in the very act of raiding another the timely appearance of an unarmed *Apo*[1] has sufficed to shame the culprits into laying down their arms and going home without them. No one who has not seen for himself can appreciate the courage, tact and patience of the handful of Americans who have not only brought under control the wildest tribes of the Philippines, but have established the most friendly relations with them.

Having now outlined in a general way the principles which have been followed in the work for the non-Christian tribes of the special government provinces, I will set forth some of the more important results which have been obtained. In Benquet, which under the Spanish régime was organized as a *comandancia,*[2] there dwell a kindly, industrious, self-respecting, silent tribe of agriculturists known as the Benguet Igorots. Governmental control was established over them by the Spaniards. They have never indulged in head-hunting nor caused any serious disturbance of public order, but have persistently refused to give up their ancient religious beliefs, and for this reason were not allowed by the Spaniards to obtain education, so that, with rare individual exceptions, they were completely illiterate. When I first visited their country I found the men clad in clouts, supplemented in the case of the more wealthy by cotton blankets. The women usually wore both skirts and upper garments, and bound towels around their heads for turbans.

The Benguet Igorots were formerly compelled to trade for the necessaries of life in the lowlands of the neighbouring province of Union, where they were shamelessly exploited by the Filipinos. They had been obliged by the Spaniards to pay taxes for which they received no adequate return. They had furthermore been roughly treated by the Insurgents during the war, and were extremely fearful and timid. Men ran away at my approach. Women overtaken unexpectedly on the trail leaped down the steep mountainsides, squatting where they first struck the ground and covering their faces with their hands.

It proved a simple matter to establish friendly and helpful relations with these simple and gentle people. Fortunately for them Mr. Otto Scheerer, who had lived among them for years, helped organize their settlements. Some of them were still so wild that they ran away at his approach, sitting up on the high mountainsides and watching him from a distance, but declining to come down. Patience, preserverance and kindness soon overcame their fears, and local governments were established in the several settlements.

Travel through Benguet was then dangerous and difficult because of

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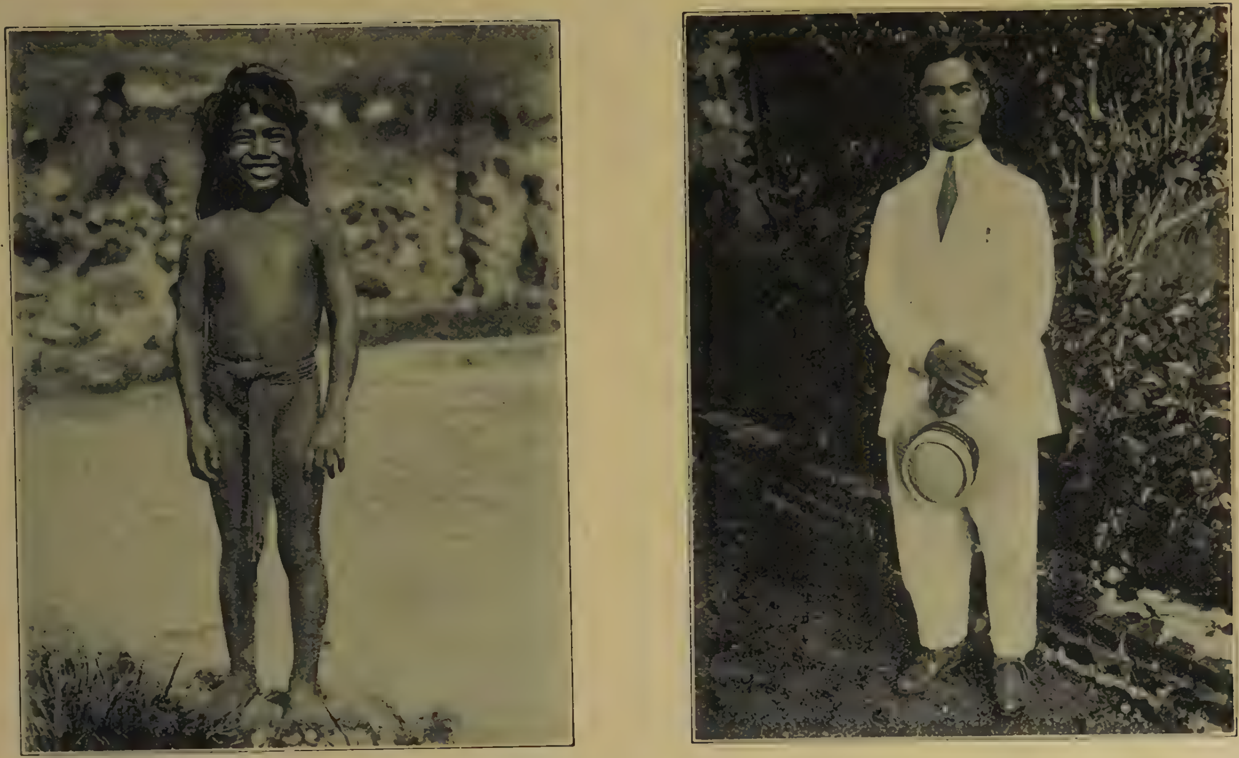
[1] An untranslatable term of respect and affection given by the fighting men of northern Luzón to rulers whom they like.

[2] A designation applied to a political division of less importance than a province, governed by a military officer.



THE METAMORPHOSIS OF A BONTOC IGOROT.

Two photographs of Pít-a-pit, a Bontoc Igorot boy. The second was taken nine years after the first.

the condition of the trails, which were mere footpaths. None of the streams were bridged. Work was promptly begun upon a trail system, and now one can ride a large horse rapidly to every settlement of importance. At first the people had nothing to sell, and no money with which to buy what they needed. From time to time they packed coffee and Irish potatoes down to the lowlands and traded them for salt, cloth and steel, which they needed, and for *vino*, which was poison to them. We have protected them in their property rights and encouraged them to increase their agricultural holdings. As they were too ignorant to understand and exercise their right to obtain free patent to small tracts of land which they had long occupied and cultivated, I sent out a special survey party to help them make out their applications in due form.

The gradual development of Baguio, first as a health resort and later as the summer capital, afforded them an ever increasing market for their products; while trail construction, the opening of the Benguet Road and the erection of buildings at Baguio made it possible for every one desiring it to secure remunerative employment. In the old Spanish days they had been forced to build trails without compensation, and to feed themselves while doing it. When they realized that the new régime had come to stay, their gratitude knew no bounds.

For a time they could not be persuaded to try the white man's medicines, but ultimately the wife of the most important chief in the province, who was dying of dysentery, was persuaded to let Dr. J. B. Thomas, a very competent American government physician, treat her case. She recovered, and the news spread far and wide. After that Igorots came in constantly increasing numbers to the hospital which had meanwhile been established, and to-day their sick and injured are often carried to it from a distance of fifty miles or more.

Schools were soon established in several important settlements. The boys proved apt pupils. At the outset parents would not allow their girls to attend. Gradually the prejudice against sending them to school was overcome, and at three different places girls are now given instruction in English and in practical industrial work.

The children learn English readily and the old folks pick it up from them. Mrs. Alice M. Kelly, who started the first Igorot school, taught her boys respectfully to salute her in the morning, and shortly thereafter American travellers over the Benguet trails were addressed by Igorots with the cheerful greeting, "Good morning, Mrs. Kelly." Their feelings were doubtless identical with those of the traveller in Japan to whom a beginning student of book English said, "Good morning, Sir, or Madam, as the case may be!"

The Benguet Igorots have responded quickly to the opportunities afforded them, and several serious dangers which have threatened their progress have been met and overcome. The Filipino peoples will never become victims of alcoholism. They drink in moderation, but seldom become intoxicated. The non-Christian peoples, on the contrary, never lose an opportunity to get boiling drunk. All of them make fermented alcoholic drinks of their own. Fortunately most of these beverages are comparatively mild and harmless; but if a hill man can get hold of bad *vino* or worse whiskey he will get so drunk that he thinks he has to hang on to the grass in order to lie on the ground.

The Filipinos had long taken advantage of this weakness of the Benguet-Lepanto Igorots to debauch them with *vino* and cheat them while they were intoxicated. I regret to say that since the American occupation some white men who wanted them as labourers have used liquor as a bait. Because of these conditions, and of more or less similar ones throughout the rest of the wild man's territory, I drafted and secured the passage of an act making it a criminal offence to sell or give white man's liquor to a wild man, or for such a man to drink such liquor or have it in his possession. This law has been very successfully enforced. Although Benguet-Lepanto Igorots have sometimes succeeded in purchasing liquor at Baguio or Cervantes, their use of strong alcoholic stimulants has steadily decreased, and throughout much of the wild man's territory strong drink is absolutely unobtainable.

The Benguet Igorots have an abiding love for gambling, and some of them learned new tricks, which did them no good, through contact with Filipinos when working on the Benquet Road. Strict enforcement of the law against gambling has, however, prevented any considerable spread of this evil.

One of the most interesting results thus far obtained is the arousing of a strong commercial instinct among them. It was literally true at the outset that one could not buy from them an egg, a chicken or a basket of *camotes,* much less a pig or a cow. Now special market buildings have been erected for them at Baguio, and they are thronged on Sundays. The Igorots have money and spend it wisely. They also have farm products to sell, know what they are worth, and insist on getting full value for them. Among other things there may be mentioned sleek cattle, the best fat hogs grown in the Philippines, chickens, eggs, cabbages, Irish potatoes, peas, beans, tomatoes, squashes, camotes and strawberries.

There have been some interesting episodes in connection with the work for the Benguet Igorots. At one time it became necessary for the provincial governor, Wm. F. Pack, to undergo a severe and dangerous surgical operation. Word spread through Benguet that the doctors were going to cut him to pieces. Palasi, an old Igorot chief of Atok, gathered his cohorts and came in hot haste to Baguio to stop it. He was assured by Governor Pack himself that the cutting was to be done with his consent, but still entertained some doubts about the matter and asked to be allowed to be present. His request was granted. There was then no operating room in Baguio, so one was extemporized in the governor's house. He walked out to the operating table, and Palasi, who was standing by, once more asked him if he was to be cut up with his own consent, offering to stop the performance even then if the governor so wished!

On March 30, 1913, I sat at a luncheon given at Trinidad, Benguet, in honour of former Lieutenant-Governor E. A. Eckman, who had just been promoted to the governorship of the Mountain Province. At the long tables were seated a representative gathering of decently clad Benguet Igorot head-men, the hosts of the occasion. They understood the use of knives, forks and spoons. At the close of the luncheon they presented Governor Eckman with a beautiful silver cup. The presentation speech was made by an Igorot named Juan Cariño, who had been shot and badly wounded by American soldiers from whom he foolishly endeavoured to escape in 1900!

Fortunately old Juan was not killed. Like every other Igorot in Benguet he is to-day a good friend of the Americans. The people of his tribe are now sober, industrious, cheerful, contented and prosperous. As time passes they keep cleaner, wear more and better clothes and build better houses. In this case, at least, a primitive people has come in close contact with the white man and has profited by it.

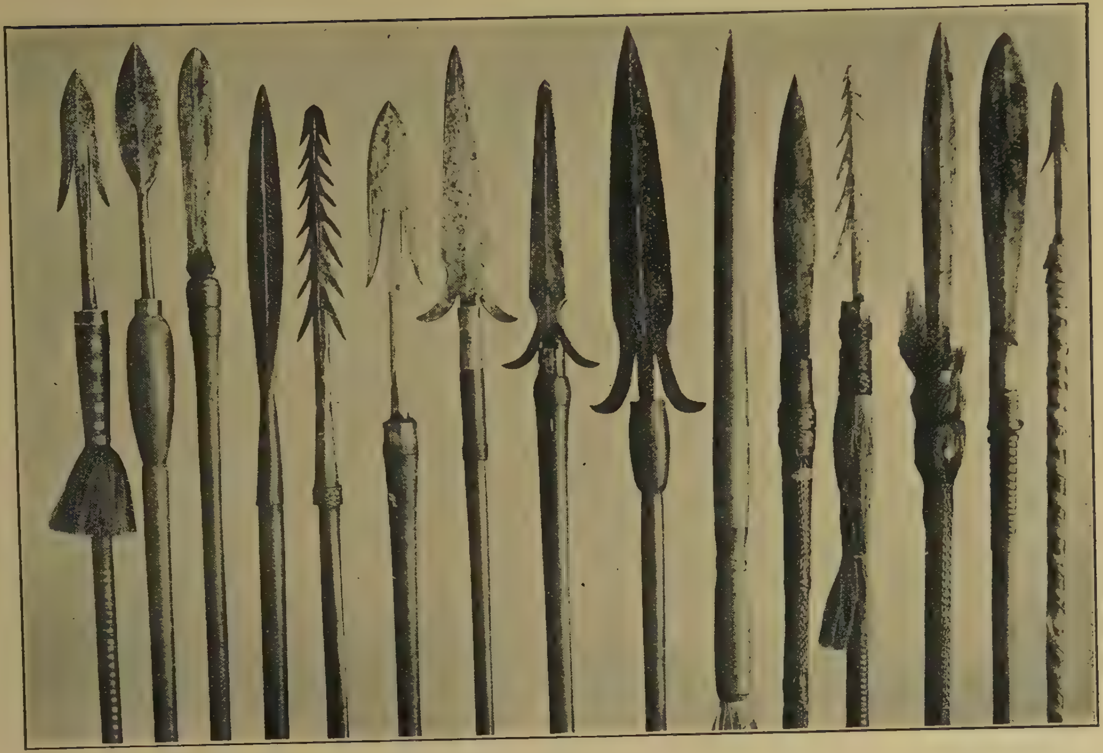
Lepanto, like Benguet, was a *comandancia* in the Spanish days. Its Igorot inhabitants are fellow-tribesmen of their Benguet neighbours, and like them are, and have long been, peaceful agriculturists, raising *camotes,* rice, coffee and cattle. They also mine gold and copper. In the extreme southeastern and the extreme northern parts of Lepanto the people are wilder and less lawabiding than those of Benguet, and some of them are prone to indulge in cattle stealing.

This subprovince has one Ilocano town, Cervantes, which was made the capital of the province of Lepanto-Bontoc. At the outset communication with the coast was maintained over a very bad horse-trail crossing the coast range at Tilad Pass. It zigzagged up one slope of the mountains and down the other on a grade such as to make travel over it very difficult. Furthermore, after reaching the lowlands on the west side of the range, it crossed a river some fourteen times. During the rainy season there were weeks at a time during which this stream could not be forded. In the early days of the American occupation a good wagon road was built from the coast to the point where the trail began, and the trail itself was put in the best possible condition. It was subsequently well maintained, but after the establishment of a Filipino provincial government in South Ilocos the wagon road was allowed to fall into such a state of neglect that travel over it, even for persons on horseback, became impossible during wet weather. Mr. Kane, the supervisor of the Mountain Province, was nearly drowned in mud when trying to ride over it, being thrown from his horse into soft ooze so deep that his hands did not reach bottom, and had it not been for a timely rescue by Filipinos who chanced to be passing, he would certainly have lost his life.

Although forty or fifty thousand pesos' worth of supplies were annually sent into the mountain country by the people of South Ilocos over this trail, that province refused to spend a peso in keeping the connecting road up. The constantly growing trade of the mountain country made it, in my opinion, necessary that it should have a good outlet to the coast, and a route for a road was surveyed from Cervantes directly west over the Malaya range, traversing the subprovince of Amburayan from east to west and coming out at the municipality of Tagudin. In order to prevent the occurrence of a state of affairs such as had rendered the Tilad Pass trail practically useless during much of the rainy season, this Ilocano town was annexed to Lepanto-Bontoc, thus giving the province a route to the coast within the limits of its own territory.

The people of Tagudin were at first inclined to protest against annexation to the country of the non-Christians, but soon discovered that the change was greatly to their advantage. Their town had long been threatened with destruction by the encroachment of the Amburayan River, and they had appealed in vain to South Ilocos for help. The Mountain Province gave them assistance in the construction of a protecting wall which held the river within bounds and adequately safeguarded the town. Their business rapidly increased when Tagudin became the western terminus of an important trade route. They soon began to take an active interest in improving local conditions, and their municipality was gradually changed from a dirty, down-at-the-heel place to a neat, clean, sanitary town in which its people could take justifiable pride. An old feud which had long separated the leading men into two parties so bitterly hostile to each other that the mere fact of advocacy of a given measure by one of them was sufficient to cause determined opposition to it by the other, died out, and Tagudin is to-day quite a model place in comparison with the general run of Filipino towns.

The opening up of transportation lines has placed the people of Lepanto within much easier reach of a market for their rice, coffee and cattle. The successful combating of cattle disease by the Bureau of Agriculture has been a great boon to them, as has the suppression of the liquor traffic. Schools have been established in a number of their settlements. Last, but by no means least, their lives are no



HEAD-HUNTERS' WEAPONS.

longer endangered by the head-hunting Bontoc Igorots. They are now a peaceful, prosperous people, and are progressing steadily in civilization.

In Spanish days there was a *comandancia* known as Amburayan wedged in between the provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur. After the American occupation this territory was at first organized as a part of Ilocos Sur, but it soon became necessary to make of it a separate subprovince and add it to Lepanto-Bontoc, to the end that its people might be adequately protected. In contact on two sides with Christian Filipinos, they were shamefully maltreated and oppressed, and they appealed to me for help.

Filipinos were graciously permitting them to cut firewood and lumber in the public forests, and taking the lion's share of the products in return for their consent! They were debauching the Igorots with *vino.* I remember particularly the case of one unfortunate individual who owned five carabaos, two of which got to fighting. As usually happens with these animals, the one that was whipped ran away, and the victor blindly pursued it. Both charged over a precipice and broke their legs. The owner killed them, dressed them, and divided the meat among his family and friends. He was arrested, given a mock trial for killing carabaos without a license, and fined three carabaos—all he had left—which of course went to his persecutors! Instances of this sort of thing could be indefinitely multiplied.

Amburayan was freed from the *vino* traffic soon after it became a subprovince of Lepanto-Bontoc. This alone was a great boon to its Igorot inhabitants, who little by little were helped to assert their rights as they gained greater confidence in their American lieutenant-governor and learned to go to him freely with their troubles. They had so long been helpless and hopeless that it was some time before they could be convinced that a new day had dawned for them.

And now let us betake ourselves to the country of the real wild man, and consider briefly past and present conditions in the subprovince of Ifugao. The people of the tribe known as Ifugaos are a remarkable lot. Their country is almost entirely made up of exceptionally steep mountain sides with hardly a naturally level piece of ground in it. On almost precipitous slopes they have built wonderful series of irrigated rice terraces held in position by stone retaining walls which have been laid without mortar or cementing material of any kind, and are so skilfully constructed that they withstand even the terrific rains which sometimes occur during typhoons. Accurate rainfall statistics for Ifugao are not obtainable, but, as we have seen, in the neighbouring subprovince of Benguet, there is of record a period of twenty-four hours during which forty-nine and nine tenths inches of rain fell! Under such conditions as this, exceptionally good work is necessary to prevent structures of any sort built on mountain sides from sliding into the valleys below.

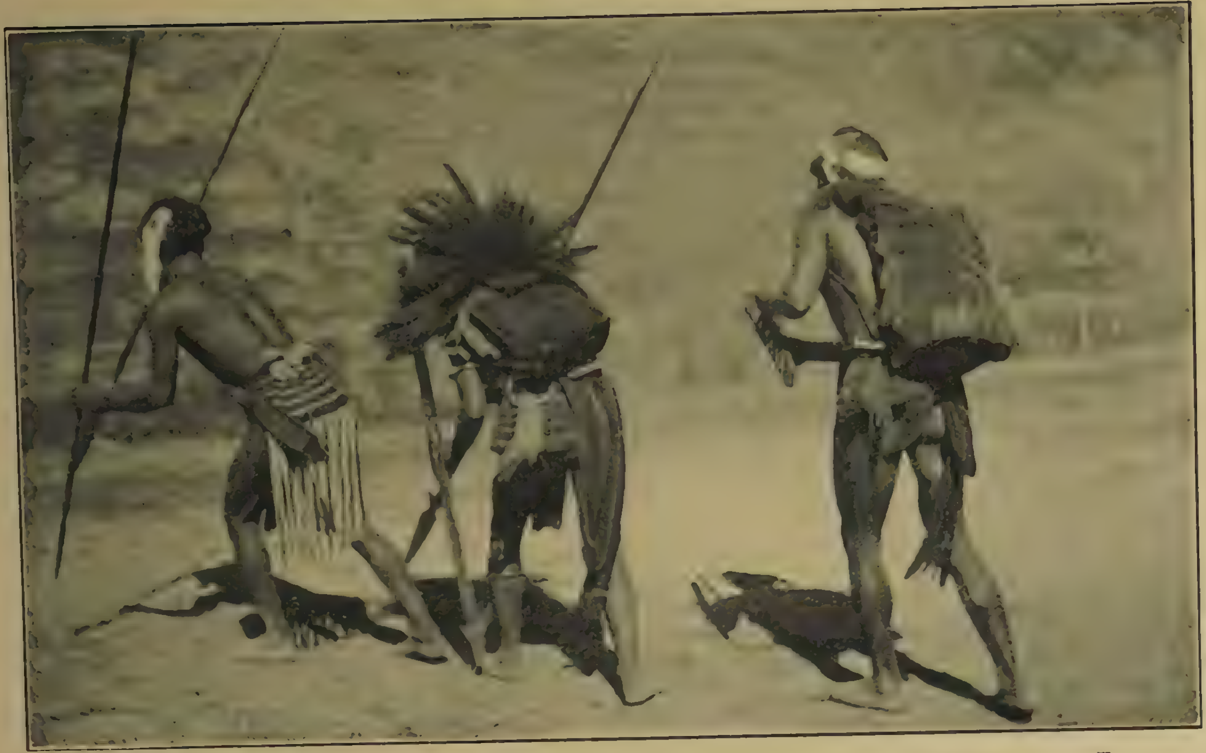
Up to the time of the American occupation the Ifugaos had always been inveterate head-hunters. Unlike the Bontoc Igorots, who depend on large numbers of fighting men for protection, they live in small villages usually placed in inaccessible spots which can be reached only by ascending the almost perpendicular rice-terrace walls.

Not only were the people of this tribe then constantly fighting among themselves, but they from time to time raided the Bontoc country or that of the Kalingas, and they persistently victimized the people of Nueva Vizcaya, making travel so unsafe on the main road between Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela that the Spaniards found it necessary to maintain several garrisons along it, and forbade private persons to pass over it without a military escort. Even so, parties of travellers were cut down from time to time, the savages making their attacks at the noon hour when Spanish soldiers had a way of going to sleep beside the road.

I have already narrated my earliest experiences in this subprovince, which occurred in 1903, and have called attention to the fact that when I returned in 1905 I was able to traverse it from east to west without the slightest danger. This condition of affairs was due to the efforts of Governor Louis G. Knight, supplemented by those of Captain L. E. Case of the Philippine constabulary, who had established his headquarters at Banaue and had exercised a strong influence over his unruly constituents.

Perhaps I ought to change my statement and say that order was established by Captain Case, assisted by Governor Knight. Captain Case was very fortunate in his dealings with the Ifugaos. He was a kindly man, who won their friendship at the outset. He resorted to stern measures only when such measures were so imperatively necessary that the Ifugaos themselves fully recognized the justice of employing them.

On my trip through the Ifugao country in 1906 I was accompanied from Mayoyao to Banaue by Lieutenant Jeff D. Gallman, who had come to the former place to meet me. This young man had been especially selected by Colonel Rivers, of the Philippine constabulary, to be trained for work among the Ifugaos. Never was a selection more fortunate. When Captain Case injured himself by overexertion in climbing a steep, terraced mountainside in the hot sun, and had to return to the United States for recuperation, Gallman took up his work and devoted himself most effectively to the task of bringing the Ifugaos under control, protecting them, and improving their conditions. He was a dead shot with revolver and carbine; was absolutely fearless; was of a kindly,



The Three Leading Men in the Funeral Procession of an Ifugao who has lost his Head to the Enemy.

cheerful disposition, and soon not only won their respect but gained their love.

As the years went by, the Ifugaos came to regard him as but little less than a god. He had extraordinary success in training them for service as constabulary soldiers. On the occasion of the first general rifle competition between all the constabulary organizations in northern Luzón ten Ifugao soldiers were sent to the lowlands to participate. Gallman, who had trained them, was travelling with me at the time, so they were taken down by a comparatively inexperienced officer who, instead of selecting the best ten men from among the ninety possible candidates, took ten from the twenty who happened to be stationed at Mayoyao.

The hot climate of the lowlands troubled them. The Filipino constabulary soldiers made fun of them because they wore no trousers, and bedevilled them in various ways. The best shot among them lost his nerve in consequence. Nevertheless, when the competition was over they ranked Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, respectively, an Ilocano soldier from the lowlands being tied with the last man for tenth place!

Ifugao soldiers are submissive to discipline, obey orders implicitly, and are loyal and brave to a fault. When on duty they attend strictly to business. No prisoner ever yet escaped from one of them. This is more than can be said of the Bontoc Igorots. It is of record that on one occasion when a prisoner guarded by a raw recruit of the latter tribe made a break for liberty, the recruit followed him, firing as he ran. After missing the fleeing man five times, he threw his carbine at him, lance-fashion, and speared him with the bayonet! So long as an Ifugao has a cartridge in his magazine he does not indulge in bayonet practice.

The same general policy was pursued in Ifugao which had been found so effective elsewhere. Lines of communication were opened up; after a short time criminals were for the most part apprehended and turned in by the head-men themselves; whenever possible, hostile towns were left to sulk until they had learned from the experience of their neighbours that there was nothing to be afraid of or to complain about, and voluntarily came into the fold; head-hunting was suppressed with a heavy hand, but only after due warning as to what the fate of transgressors would be. It is now some six years since a head has been taken in this region. Travel not only in Nueva Vizcaya but in Ifugao itself is at present absolutely safe, and general conditions as to law and order are better than those which prevail in many American communities. The people have been assisted in the construction of irrigation ditches, and little by little are being persuaded to come down from their steep and over-populated mountain sides to the neighbouring fertile, level, vacant plains. They are loyal and friendly to a marked degree, and I experience no greater pleasure than that which I derive from travelling through their country. Credit for this happy result is chiefly due to the efforts of Jeff D. Gallman, who speedily rose to be a captain in the constabulary and at an early date was made lieutenant-governor of Ifugao. He has done a monumental work for civilization in the Philippines.

The Kalinga country was at the outset administered as a part of Bontoc. This made that subprovince so large that one lieutenant-governor could not hope satisfactorily to cover it, especially as there were no good lines of communication. Although a constabulary garrison was early stationed at the town of Lubuagan, comparatively little progress was made in bringing the Kalingas under effective control until their territory was made a separate subprovince of the Mountain Province and Lieutenant-Governor Walter F. Hale, of Amburayan, was transferred to it as its lieutenant-governor.

Lieutenant-Governor Hale has now been in the special government service longer than any other man who remains in it, and has an admirable record for quiet efficiency. Like Gallman, he is a man with chilled-steel nerve, and he needed it in the early days in Kalinga where the people, who had been allowed to run wild too long, did not take as kindly to the establishment of governmental control as had the Bontoc Igorots and the Ifugaos. The Kalingas are a fine lot of head-hunting savages, physically magnificently developed, mentally acute, but naturally very wild. Hale soon made friends with many of the local chiefs, and thereafter when he received invitations from outlying *rancherias* to come over and have his head taken would quietly accept to the extent of setting out accompanied by a few soldiers, or none at all, and talking the matter over with the people who had made the threat! In the end they always decided that he was too good a man to kill.

Here, as in Ifugao, we felt our way, avoiding trouble with hostile settlements as long as it was possible to do so. And here, as in Bontoc and Ifugao, head-hunting was abolished and law and order were established practically without killing. In a few instances settlements which absolutely refused to come into the fold, and persisted in raiding and killing in the territory of people who had already become friendly, were given severe lessons, which they invariably took in good part.

One of the pleasant things about dealing with people like the Kalingas and the Ifugaos is their manliness when they fight. They let one know, so plainly that there can be no mistake about it, whether they are friendly or hostile, and even if thoroughly whipped they bear no ill will provided they know that they deserve a whipping, but come calmly walking into camp to tell you that they have had enough and are going to be good. And they keep their promises.

In Kalinga, as elsewhere throughout the Mountain Province outside of Apayao, an admirable trail system has now been opened up and travel is not only safe but comfortable. The people are most friendly and loyal, and while head-hunting has not completely disappeared, cases of it are extremely rare and occur only in the most remote parts of the subprovince.

Apayao has proved a hard nut to crack. As previously stated, I made a trip across this subprovince from west to east in 1906, without encountering any hostility whatsoever. Unfortunately, the officer who commanded my escort saw fit to go blundering back there with a constabulary command a few weeks later. He managed to get into a fight and was whipped and chased out of the country. A so-called punitive expedition was then sent in, which came near meeting a similar fate, but finally withdrew in fairly good order after having inflicted slight damage on the town of Guennéd, the people of which made the original attack.

Apayao was at first organized as a subprovince of Cagayan, and Colonel Blas Villamor, who had accompanied me on my two longest exploration trips through northern Luzón, was appointed its lieutenant-governor. The attitude of the provincial officials of Cagayan toward the difficult task which confronted them in Apayao was most unsatisfactory. Indeed, the governor of that province informed me that in his opinion the best way to settle the Apayao problem was to kill all of the inhabitants. As Colonel Villamor reported that there were some fifty-three thousand of them[1] this procedure would have presented practical, as well as moral, difficulties! I myself was of the opinion that the Apayao people, who proved to be wild Tingians, were altogether too good to kill. Subsequent developments have completely demonstrated the soundness of this conclusion.

Colonel Villamor was a native of Abra, where approximately half the population is made up of Tingians who have attained to a high degree of civilization. He was already quite familiar with the dialect spoken by these people, and speedily learned the language of their wild brethren in Apayao, many of whom understood Ilocano, which was his native tongue.

At the outset he made excellent progress in bringing his people under control. The task was undoubtedly more difficult than that in any other subprovince of the Mountain Province, both because the Spaniards had failed to penetrate into this region, leaving the people untouched by civilization up to the time of the American occupation, and for the further reason that their head-hunting is connected with religious beliefs. They think that when a man dies his prospect for a good time in the future world is bad unless the members of his family take a head within six months, and this idea has a tendency to keep society in a somewhat disturbed condition.

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[1] This statement proved to be untrue. They number about twenty-five thousand.

For reasons which I have never been able fully to fathom, Villamor's progress in establishing governmental control grew steadily slower as time went by, and ultimately came to a standstill. During my absence from the islands it was deemed best to accept his resignation, for reasons not immediately connected with his administration of affairs of his subprovince. Before surrendering his post he caused word to be spread among the Tingians that the kindly policy which had thus far been pursued in dealing with them was to be superseded by one of severity, greatly alarming them, and seriously retarding work which he had quite auspiciously begun. There was absolutely no justification for his statements, as no one thought for a moment of dealing with the Apayao Tingians in a fashion differing at all from that invariably followed in our relations with non-Christians in the special government provinces.

Mr. Norman G. Connor was appointed to succeed Señor Villamor. Mr. Connor had been acting governor of Nueva Vizcaya and had rendered very satisfactory service. He has made material progress in establishing control over the people of Apayao, where the work of trail construction has now begun. At the outset communication was maintained by boats on the Abulúg River and its branches, near which most of the wild Tingian villages are situated, but it is a dangerous stream to navigate, especially when in flood, and lines of land communication must therefore be opened up.

We found the subprovince of Bontoc peopled by a tribe of wild, warlike, head-hunting Igorots over whom the Spaniards had never been able to establish effective control. At the time of the American occupation their numerous settlements were constantly at war with each other, and with the Kalingas and the Ifugaos as well.

The Bontoc Igorots build large towns and depend on the numbers of their hardy fighting men for protection. Each town formerly kept a profit and loss account of heads with every town of its enemies. Physically these people are splendid men, and we soon found that they were usually both brave and fair in their fighting, formally making and breaking peace, and serving due notice on their enemies before attacking.

If a small town felt itself aggrieved by a big one, it would send a messenger to say, "You have more fighting men than we have, but they are no good! Pick fifteen of the best from your thousand and send them to a certain place at a certain time to meet fifteen real fighting men selected from among our five hundred." At the appointed time the thirty warriors would meet in deadly combat, while their fellow-townsmen looked on.

THE SACRED TREE OF THE IFUGAOS.

This great tree at Quiangan is considered sacred by the Ifugaos of that region. They believe that when it dies they too will perish.

The Bontoc Igorots are naturally truthful and honest, and they soon became most friendly, gladly bringing many of their troubles to their lieutenant-governor for settlement. Fortunately, head-accounts between different towns can be adjusted by proper payments made by those who hold the highest scores. We took advantage of this fact to establish peace between the towns, and when once established it was, as a rule, religiously kept. Trail construction was promptly inaugurated and has been steadily pushed. Most of the towns have thus been made readily accessible.

When friendly relations had been established, and we were in a position to back orders with force if necessary, settlement after settlement was warned that head-hunting must cease and was further informed as to what would happen if the mandate was disobeyed. Certain dare-devils promptly broke over, partly, I fancy, to see what would happen, and partly, no doubt, because they found the influence of tribal customs too strong to resist. We made our warnings come true. One settlement required three bitter lessons. For others a single mild one sufficed. The majority of the towns were content to get their experience vicariously. We were amazed at our own success in stopping this horrible practice. At the outset we burned towns if their people engaged in head-hunting.[1] The Igorots recognized the justice of this action because the whole town was invariably cognizant of, and party to, every head-hunting raid made by any of its people. Later, when head-hunting became comparatively rare, we began to deal with the individuals concerned. They were arrested, brought before the courts, and tried like any other criminals. To-day head-hunting in Bontoc is almost unknown. When it does occur the people themselves usually capture and turn over the culprits.

The respect of the Bontoc Igorots for the law is extraordinary. In 1910 a constabulary soldier shot the presidente of Tinglayan without just cause. The people of the place rushed to arms, meaning to kill the soldier. Chief Agpad, assisted by the son of the murdered man, took station before the door of the house in which the assailant had sought refuge, and the two stood off their fellow-townsmen, saying that the government had promised to kill evil-doers and that this man must be turned over to the government to be killed! When I passed through their town a few weeks later, with Governor-General Forbes, they begged to have him killed promptly.

In the early days I myself had a rather stormy clash with some of the Bontoc Igorots. During Aguinaldo's long flight he had passed through half a dozen of their towns, as had the American soldiers who pursued him. The Igorots did not like this, so tore out the trail to

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[1] Not so serious a matter as it may seem, when houses are made of grass and can be speedily rebuilt.

Ifugao, between Bontoc and Samoqui, and built high-walled rice paddies where it had been, with the result that persons making the journey had to use the river bed for several miles. This was all very well if the river was low, but was no joke if it chanced to be in flood.

I ordered that the trail be rebuilt, the Igorots to be paid for their work, and for the resulting damage to their rice fields, and this was done. The lieutenant-governor was a weak man, and the Igorots, after getting their money, tore the trail out again and rebuilt their stone terrace walls across the place where it had been, just to see what he would do about it. He did nothing. I found things in this condition when I arrived, and was obliged to come down the river bed at dusk, with the result that my horse and I took several impromptu baths.

The Samoqui warriors came dancing out to meet me, playing their *gansas*[1] and making a grand hullabaloo. Summoning my sternest expression, I refused to shake hands with them, telling them to go home and to report at Bontoc at nine the following morning. The fighting men of the town of Bontoc met me on the other side of the river, and I served them the same way. The official under whose nose they had destroyed the trail was greatly alarmed, and assured me that if I ordered it rebuilt, as I told him I would do, there would be a fight, and the Igorots would cut the heads off all the Americans in town, including the ladies. He added, "Think how the ladies would look without any heads!" While this was a disquieting reflection, I remained obdurate.

At the appointed hour the Samoqui and Bontoc men appeared, armed with head-axes and lances. I asked them if they would rebuild that trail, and they said no! I told them that if they did not I would cut their main irrigating ditch and put a constabulary guard on it to see that it was not repaired until they changed their minds. This might have meant the loss of their rice crop. They knew me quite as well as they did their lieutenant-governor, and promptly rebuilt the trail for nothing, as I told them they must.

When the Mountain Province was established, the town of Bontoc was made the capital, as Cervantes, which had been the capital of Lepanto Bontoc, was hot, had proved unhealthful, and was not centrally situated. Bontoc has a cool, delightful climate, is near the geographic center of the province, and from it radiates a road and trail system of constantly increasing importance. Things have moved rapidly there since the status of the place was changed.

To-day the town has modern public buildings of brick and stone. The brick have been made, burned and laid by Igorots. Much of the stone has been cut and laid by Igorots. The mortar used has been mixed by Igorots with lime burned by Igorots. Some of the carpenter work has been done by Igorots. There is a modern hospital to which the Igorots flock. There are schools in which Igorot boys and girls learn the English language, and become adept in the practice of useful industries.

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[1] Bronze timbrels.

Perhaps the most unique of the Bontoc institutions is the provincial jail. Years ago I discovered to my horror that a two-year sentence to Bilibid, the insular penitentiary, was a death sentence for a hill-man! Not all who were sent there died, but the average term of life of men from the hills was two years only, while those who served out their sentences and returned to their mountain homes had invariably become adepts in crime as the result of prolonged contact with vicious Filipinos. I promptly drafted an act providing for the establishment at Bontoc of a penitentiary where all prisoners from the highlands should be confined, and the commission passed it. The prison has been made a real educational institution. Most of its inmates have been guilty of crimes of violence, committed in accordance with tribal customs, and are not vicious at heart. The jail building is perfectly sanitary. Its occupants are required to keep their persons clean and their quarters both clean and in perfect order. They live amid healthful surroundings and receive abundant and nourishing food. They are taught useful trades and are compelled to work hard, which they do not in the least mind, as industry is the rule in the mountain country. They usually leave the jail better men than when they entered it, and thereafter, instead of being a menace to law and order, assist in their enforcement and maintenance.

We do odd things with some of these prisoners. Last year we paroled a man from Ifugao who had a score of heads to his credit. Learning that his people believed him to be dead and were greatly troubled, we told him to go home, show himself to them, tell them how he was treated in jail, and come back. He did it!

Proof of the kindliness of the relations which have existed with the Bontoc Igorots is found in the fact that no member of this tribe has ever yet turned his hand against an American. On the contrary, there are not a few Americans who owe their lives to Igorots. Agpad, of Tinglayan, has twice dived into rivers swollen by typhoons and rescued Americans who had sunk for the last time beneath the rushing, muddy waters, while their fellow-countrymen stood by paralyzed with fear.

Last year there occurred an event of profound significance. In the past, American officials have often worked hard for days to get representatives of two hostile towns to dance together, for this would make friends of them. On the occasion in question there had gathered at Bontoc to meet me representatives from every settlement in the subprovince. Each town had brought its *gansas* and its dancers. On the second day of my visit the people of one of the towns started a dance on the plaza. They were promptly joined by representatives from another town which had long been hostile to them. People from yet other towns followed suit, until finally the plaza swarmed with a great crowd of dancers in which every settlement in the subprovince was represented. Even at that late day I should not have dared to attempt to bring about such a thing. It happened of itself, and to the initiated told an eloquent tale of the results of our years of patient work!

The first time I climbed Polis Mountain, on my way from the Bontoc country to the land of the Ifugaos, four Igorots went ahead of me, armed with head-axes and lances, carrying their shields in position. At each turn in the steep, worn-out trail, they drew back their lances ready to throw. I had eighty-six armed men with me, and knew that I might need them. To-day I travel through the length and breadth of the Mountain Province unescorted and unarmed. Furthermore, I usually take my wife with me.

Prior to 1903, if an Ifugao showed himself on the north side of the Polis range he lost his head. Now people of this tribe stroll into the town of Bontoc almost daily. They travel north through the Bontoc Igorot country to Lubuagan, in Kalinga, and west to Cervantes, in Lepanto, or even to Tagudin on the coast, crossing three subprovinces on the latter trip. They also go south to Baguio.

All freight was formerly packed in from the coast on men's backs for a distance of eighty odd miles over steep, narrow, stony trails which were really foot-paths. Now it comes in carts over a good road which has a maximum grade of six per cent.[1] The people of the settlement had to get their water from the river. Now it is piped into town.

There was not a shop in the place, and every one had to go to the coast to make the smallest purchases. There are at present half a dozen good stores, beside the provincial exchange, a store where the government sells the Igorots what they want at reasonable prices, thus preventing shopkeepers from overcharging them. Commodious quarters for visiting Igorots and Ifugaos have been provided, and there is a fine market where they may display and sell their products. This market is a busy place.

The population is rapidly increasing, now that head-hunting has practically ceased. The area of cultivated lands steadily grows larger, for the men are freed from the necessity of being constantly under arms, and we are helping them to get more irrigation water, so that they can extend their rice fields. There are a thousand or so Bontoc Igorots in Benguet to-day, contracting for railroad excavation work. Times have changed.

When Nueva Vizcaya was first organized, its non-Christian inhabitants greatly outnumbered its Filipino population, as there were

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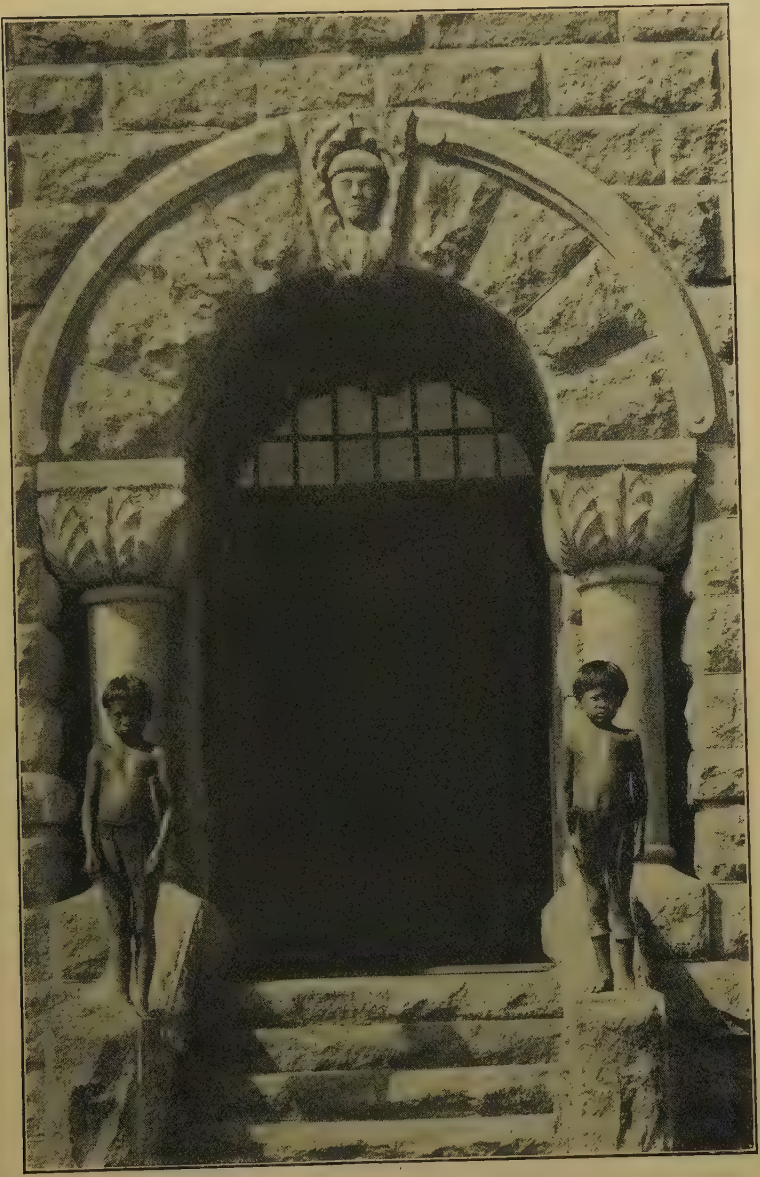
[1] The Tagudin-Bontoc road has been open for automobiles since 1926. Other trails are being gradually widened and surfaced for motor traffic.



ENTRANCE TO THE QUIANGAN SCHOOL-HOUSE.

The Ifugao boys on either side of the stairway helped build this remarkable structure. Most of their companions in the work were older, but all were of school age.

at least one hundred fifteen thousand Ifugaos in addition to several thousand Ilongots and a few Benguet Igorots, locally known as Isinayes, who had strayed over the boundary line. With the transfer of the Ifugao territory to the Mountain Province, the Filipinos were left in the decided majority. Later all of the Ilongot territory which had previously belonged to the provinces of Isabela, Tayabas, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinán was added to Nueva Vizcaya, in order that the members of this wild and primitive tribe might be brought under one provincial administration.

The Ilongots are a strictly forest-inhabiting people. Many of them have a considerable admixture of Negrito blood and live a semi-nomadic life. Their settlements, which are small and more or less transient, are usually situated in remote and inaccessible places surrounded by the densest jungle. It is at present impracticable to open up horse trails through their country, for the number of inhabitants is so small, in comparison with the area occupied, that such trails could not be built with Ilongot labour, nor indeed could they be maintained even if built. One main trail is, however, being constructed, and it is planned to build foot trails from this to the more important of the settlements which it does not reach.

A special assistant to the Provincial Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for work among the Ilongots has been appointed and assigned to duty at Baler, on the Pacific coast of Luzón, from which place he can more conveniently reach the Ilongots east of the coast range. These people were very wild at the outset, and it proved difficult to establish friendly relations with them, but this has now been successfully accomplished, and their fear of the white man is largely a thing of the past.

There is a school for Ilongot children at Campoté. They prove to be bright, capable pupils. At the same place there has been established a government exchange, where the Ilongots can sell such articles of their own manufacture as they wish to market, and can purchase what they need at moderate cost. They still fight more or less with each other, but depredations by them upon Filipinos have ceased.[1]

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[1] As Appendix V, p. 806, *supra*, there appears the *Annual Report of the Governor of the Mountain Province*, 1925. In this document Governor John C. Early, whose administration of the province has conformed to the highest traditions of American service, presents one of the best brief descriptions of the mountain people and their problems ever written.

CHAPTER XXII

The Government of the Non-Christian Tribes

The Islands South of Luzón

Mindoro

The province of Mindoro includes numerous small islands, all peopled by Tagálogs, and the main island of Mindoro, which has a narrow broken fringe of Tagálog settlements along its coast. Its whole interior is populated, so far as it is inhabited at all, by the Mangyans, a primitive semi-nomadic tribe which is of Malayan origin but has considerable Negrito blood. No one knows even approximately how many of them there are, for although the island has been crossed in several different places, much of it is still quite unexplored. In most of the interior regions thus far visited the population is very sparse, but one quite thickly settled district has been found. It is believed that the Mangyans number something like 15,000.

The Filipino settlements were so disorderly, filthy, and unhealthy that the energies of the first governor, Captain R. G. Offley, and those of his successor, Captain Louis G. Van Schaick, were to a large extent expended in efforts for the betterment of the Tagálogs. It is a pleasure to record the fact that these efforts met with a very large degree of success. The condition of most of the Tagálog towns is now good. Mangarin is the chief exception to this statement. Its surroundings are such as to make it impossible successfully to combat malaria, from which every one of its inhabitants suffers. We are still endeavouring to persuade its unfortunate people to move to a healthy site!

Governor Offley did some work for the Mangyans. They have advanced but slightly beyond the Negritos in civilization. Many of them live under shelters not worthy of the name of huts, and in the vicinity of Mt. Halcon even the women are clad only in clouts. Houses are placed singly in the dense forests, or at the most are gathered in very small groups. It proved a most difficult undertaking to persuade any considerable number of Mangyans to gather together and construct decent dwellings. It had been their custom to abandon their forest homes whenever a death occurred, leaving behind all their belongings, and perhaps even changing their names on the theory that their old names were unlucky and new ones might prove advantageous.

With admirable patience Governor Offley organized a little village called Lalauigan on the south coast of Mindoro. Lalauigan has prospered. It is very clean; the houses of its Mangyan residents are quite presentable. The neighbouring fields are planted with corn and rice. It has a school, and the children prove to be apt pupils.

Another Mangyan village, organized near the west coast, was short-lived. The Tagálog Filipinos look with great disfavour on the gathering of the Mangyans into settlements where they can be protected, as this renders it difficult to hold them in a state of peonage. Whenever Governor Offley got a little group together, they did their best to scatter it. In this instance they passed the word that smallpox had broken out in a neighbouring Tagálog village. All Mangyans are deathly afraid of this disease, and this particular set built a great fire, jumped through the flames to purify themselves from contagion, took to the hills, and have not been seen since!

While in hearty sympathy with the admirable work which was being done among the Tagálogs, I was dissatisfied with the failure to push explorations in the interior more actively and to get more closely in touch with the wild inhabitants. When the Tagálog settlements had at last been put in really good condition, I gave Governor Van Schaick, who had succeeded Governor Offley, positive instructions that more attention must be paid to the Mangyans. He then began active explorations, and pushed them with considerable success up to the time when he was compelled to tender his resignation by the terms of the Army Appropriation Bill for 1913, which necessitated his return to his regiment. Prior to his departure he succeeded in establishing a new Mangyan village which has continued to prosper up to the present time. His successor, Governor R. E. Walters, was kept from actively pushing exploration work during the past "dry" season, by unprecedented rains. Road and trail construction began several years ago and is going forward as rapidly as limited funds will permit.

The great trouble with the Tagálogs of Mindoro is that nature has been too kind to them. They have only to plough a bit of ground at the beginning of the rainy season, scatter a little rice on it, and harvest the crop when ripe, to be able to live idly the rest of the year, and too many of them adopt this course. However, some good towns, like Pinamalayan, are waking up as the result of immigration from Marinduque.

Two great services have been rendered to the more orderly of the inhabitants of Mindoro, which was, in Spanish days, a rendezvous for evil-doers from Luzón. Indeed, it was the most disorderly province north of Mindanao. An excellent state of public order has been established, and there has not been an armed *ladrone*[1] in the province for years. It was famous for its "bad climate." We have shown that its climate is good, making its towns really healthful by merely cleaning them up.

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[1] The words *ladrones* and *tusilanes* are used indiscriminately in the Philippines to designate armed robbers and brigands.

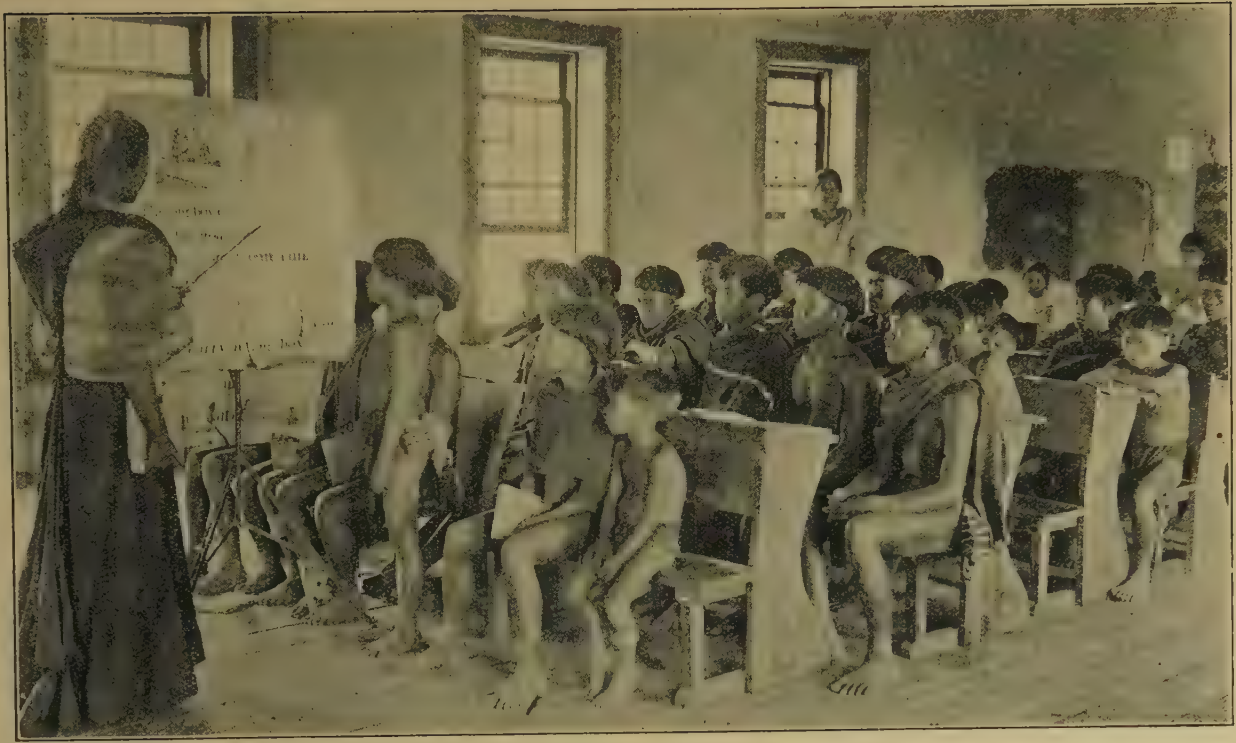
The establishment of a great modern sugar estate on the southwest coast has doubled the daily wage, and given profitable employment to all who wanted to work, and the people are beginning to bestir themselves. The public schools, of which every town has one, are materially assisting the awakening now in progress.

PALAWAN

Palawan, like Mindoro, is made up of one large island, which bears the name of the province, and a number of smaller ones. Indeed, it includes more small islands than does any other province, with the possible exception of Moro. The bulk of its Christian population are found on the smaller islands, several of which are very thickly settled. The non-Christian inhabitants are divided between three tribes,—the Moros, Tagbanuas and Bataks. The latter are Negritos of very pure blood. Their number is quite limited. They extend across the island from the east coast to the west in the region north of Bahia Honda.

Until within a short time there have been Moro settlements scattered along both east and west coasts of the southern third of the main island. The Moro population of Palawan is largely composed of renegades who have been driven out of Joló, Tawi Tawi, Cagayan de Joló, British North Borneo and Banguey by their own people because of infractions of the laws of their tribe. When the province was organized, they were not cultivating a hectare of land amongst them. They lived in part by fishing, but chiefly on what they stole, or on the products of the labour of the hill people in the interior, many of whom they enslaved or held in a state of peonage, taking their rice and other agricultural products with or without giving compensation, as seemed to them good.

The hill people, who occupy the higher mountains in the interior of southern Palawan, and who in the central and northern portions of the island extend down to the very coast, are known as Paluanes in the south and as Tagbanuas elsewhere. Tagbanuas are also found on Dumarán and Linapácan, and quite generally throughout the Calamianes Islands, especially on Culion and Busuanga. I have failed to discover any real tribal differences between the Paluanes and the Tagbanuas and believe that they should be classed as one people, although the Paluanes are more inclined to stand up for their rights than are the Tagbanuas, and by using blow guns and poisoned arrows have succeeded in keeping the Moros out of the interior highlands. They were, however, long forced to trade with the Moros in order to obtain cloth,



AN IFUGAO SCHOOL.

A *Filipina* woman is teaching *Ifugao* boys to read *English*.

steel, salt and other things not produced in their own country, and so were at their mercy. The Tagbanuas are a rather timid and docile people, giving evidence of a considerable amount of Negrito blood. They are at times quite industrious, and raise considerable quantities of rice and *camotes,* but live, in part, on fish, game and forest products.

Communication in this province was very difficult. The main island of Palawan, which is some two hundred fifty miles in length and very narrow, extends in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction, and as a result both of its coasts are swept by each monsoon so that there are only about two months of the year when travel by sea in small boats is comfortable and safe. At the outset there was not a mile of trail on the island. This latter condition is being rapidly remedied.

The first governor appointed for the newly established province of Palawan was Lieutenant E. Y. Miller, U. S. A., a man of splendid physique, tireless energy, and indomitable courage. Governor Miller set to work very actively to better the condition of the Filipinos and to establish friendly and helpful relations with the non-Christians. The bulk of the Christians are unusually poor and ignorant and many of them were held in a miserable state of peonage by a few *caciques.* Vigorous efforts extending through a long term of years have weakened the grip of the *caciques,* but have by no means broken it.

At an early date the new governor won the admiration of the Moros, who like courage, by a series of very brave acts. A number of constabulary soldiers who were coasting along the west shore of Palawan in a sail-boat went ashore, leaving their rifles on board guarded by two or three of their comrades. They also left several Moros on the boat, and the latter, watching their opportunity, killed the guards and got away with the rifles, taking them to Dato Tumay, their chief, who armed his people with them.

Governor Miller, with Captain Louden, of the constabulary company concerned, promptly attacked Tumay's place and drove him into the hills. Tumay took refuge in a Tagbanua village, never dreaming that he would be pursued into the mountain fastnesses. Miller and his companions succeeded in getting into the place before Tumay knew they were in the vicinity, and there followed a fight to the death at close quarters. Two soldiers, standing one to the right and one to the left of Governor Miller, were shot dead, but he was not scratched.

On a number of other occasions he displayed a bravery approaching recklessness. Hearing that a fleet of some fifty Moro boats had put to sea on a piratical expedition, he embarked in a twenty-foot launch accompanied only by a captain of constabulary, and the two of them ran down and disarmed the pirates and sent them home. They nearly sank their tiny launch with the dead weight of the weapons which they took on board. The thing seems preposterous, and only Miller's extraordinary moral influence over these unruly people made it humanly possible.

When I visited Palawan on my regular inspection trip in the year 1909, I found Mrs. Miller much worried about her husband, who was absent from the capital, having gone to arrest some Moro murderers at Lara. As usual, he had taken with him only a constabulary captain and three or four soldiers, and Mrs. Miller feared that he might be killed.

I hastened down the coast of the island at the full speed of my steamer, keeping a close watch for his boat, and finally located it at Bonabóna, where he had succeeded in arresting several of the criminals. On his way down he had stopped at Lara and had learned that a brother of the local chief, Dato Pula, was responsible for the murder, having ordered it and paid the assassins who committed it, one of whom was lurking in the vicinity, while others had gone to Bonabóna. Governor Miller called upon Dato Pula to deliver both his brother and the murderer, who was then at Lara, and stated that he would be back on a certain day to receive them. As he insisted on returning at the appointed time and attempting to arrest these men, I took him on my steamer, together with his American companion and one constabulary soldier. The other soldiers remained on his boat to guard the prisoners he had already taken.

We returned to Lara, but were unable to land in front of the town as a heavy surf was thundering on the beach. A mile to the north we found a sheltered spot where we could safely disembark and our little party, consisting of Governor Miller armed with a six-shooter, a constabulary captain armed with a Winchester shotgun and a six-shooter, a constabulary soldier armed with a carbine, ex-Insurgent Colonel Pablo Tecson armed with my double-barrelled shotgun, Governor Pack of the Mountain Province, my brother George S. Worcester, and my stenographer, all of whom were without weapons, and myself carrying an automatic Winchester rifle, marched on the town. Governor Miller sent the soldier ahead to warn the Moros that they must meet us unarmed. A small reception committee did so.

On the very outskirts of Lara we waded a creek nearly up to our necks in water, then marched up the street and entered Pula's house. Just as we did so I saw twenty or thirty fully armed Moros come in on the run and hastily conceal themselves in one of the numerous neighbouring houses. I further promptly discovered that two rooms partitioned off in the corners of the great living room of Pula's house were crowded full of men armed to the teeth, and that a second-story room, immediately under the roof and over our heads, was similarly occupied. I asked Governor Pack quietly to ascertain how many of the houses in the village were occupied by fully equipped fighting men, and he soon informed me that every one of them was packed. We estimated that there were several hundred warriors in town, which meant that Pula had raked the coast of the island north and south for miles and brought in every male Moro big enough to wield a weapon.

We seated ourselves on a table, back to back and facing out, with our own weapons very handy, and had a talk with Pula which lasted until late in the afternoon. Standing within striking distance of us most of the day, were two stalwart Moros, each of whom had a kriss dagger firmly gripped in his right hand and concealed between his folded arms. When one remembers that the average Moro fighter does not seem to know when he is dead, but keeps on doing damage after he ought to be busily occupied in passing to the other world, it will be seen that our situation left much to be desired.

Under the pretext of sending for a phonograph with which to entertain the crowd while our negotiations continued, I communicated with the captain of our steamer, advising him of the facts. He got out ammunition for his two one-pounder rapid-fire guns and took up a position immediately in front of the town. We did not ask him for reënforcements, believing that any attempt on his part to send them would precipitate an attack on us.

Never did I pass a more peculiar, or a more unpleasant, day. Miller steadfastly insisted that Pula's brother and the hired assassin be given up. Pula produced two thoroughly cowed Tagbanuas whom he had induced by threats to declare that they had committed the murders, and most emphatically declined to turn over either his brother or the true murderer. Our discussions were punctuated by tunes played on the phonograph which created great excitement among the Moros, some of whom got up and danced to the music! Finally, late in the afternoon, Pula gave in, turned the murderer over to us, and promised to turn over his brother, but said that the latter must first be allowed to go home to get some clothes, and that he would then send him on board our ship.

We improved this our first opportunity to beat a retreat without losing face. Our Moro "friends" bid us good-by on the beach, then armed themselves and followed us at a short distance as we marched back to the landing place where our launch was pounding in the surf, awaiting our return. Three strong fighting parties came out of the dense vegetation which bordered the beach immediately after we had passed the places where they were concealed. They had obviously been waiting there to cut off our retreat if trouble started, and could most certainly have done it. In fact, they could have shot us down from the brush without showing themselves.

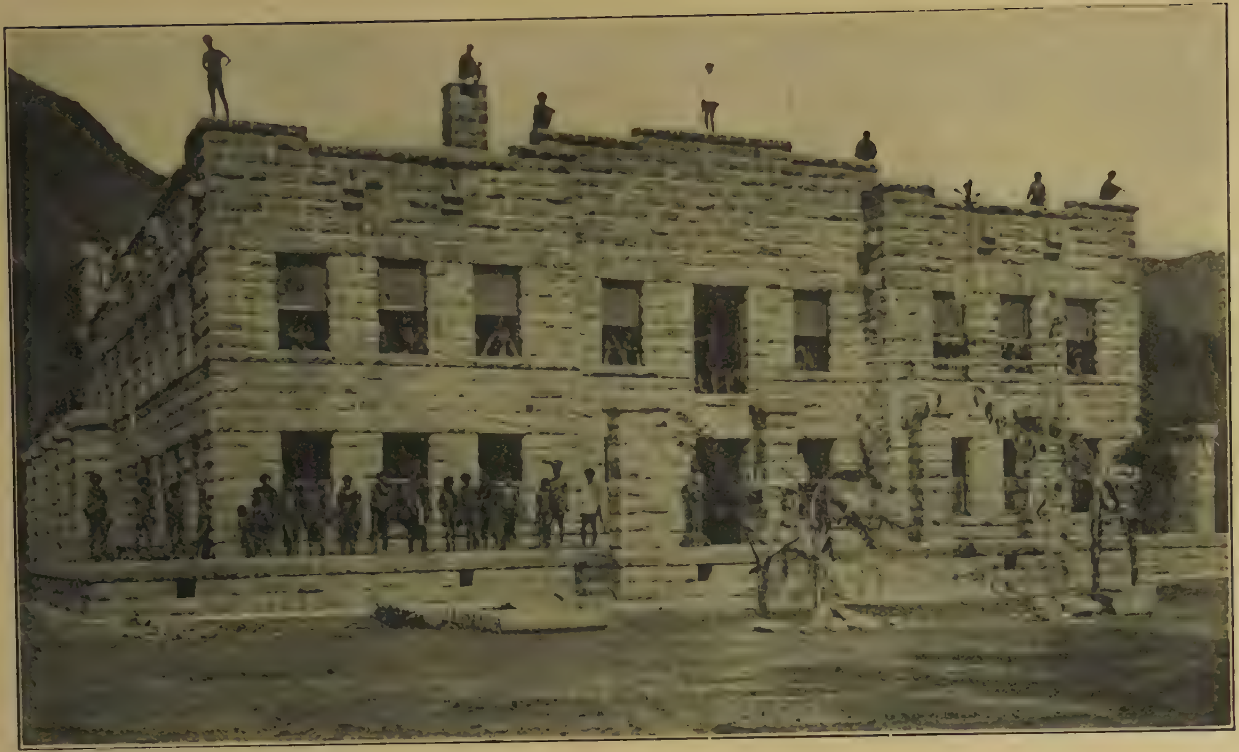
It required all the self-control which I could muster to keep my back toward the strong and constantly growing group of armed men who followed us, and to look unconcerned, yet I knew, as did every other member of the party, that our seeing the light of another day probably depended on our ability to do both things. The slightest evidence of alarm would have precipitated a fight which could have had but one outcome for us.

When opposite the launch, we turned and faced the Moros and then the several members of the party went aboard, one at a time. Never did a widening strip of water look better to me than did that which finally began to separate us from the shore. To our great amazement Dato Pula kept his word and sent his brother on board!

No man ever laboured more diligently for the good of alien peoples than did Governor Miller. He evolved a wise plan for improving the condition of the Tagbanuas living in the vicinity of Puerto Princesa, many of whom, as is so often the case with the uncivilized peoples of the Philippines, were reduced to a state of peonage by their Filipino neighbours. A large reservation was set aside for their exclusive use, and they were persuaded to retire to it. At the cost of infinite labour and pains Governor Miller built there a fine set of school buildings, and the Bureau of Education started a school which gives instruction in English, arithmetic and manual training to Tagbanua boys and girls.

Governor Miller's keen interest in this project led him to stop to inspect the progress of the work when returning from a long trip around the island. In the face of a coming storm he ascended the Aborlan River to the school site, where he remained until after dark, oblivious of the fact that a tremendous downpour of rain in the neighbouring mountains had produced a sudden flood in the river. Returning to his launch, he jumped on board and cast off before the engine was started. The current swept the launch away like a straw, carried it in close to the bank, and an overhanging branch, which ordinarily would have been high above the water, struck the governor a stunning blow on the head, knocking him overboard. He never came to the surface, and twenty-four hours elapsed before his body was recovered.

Mr. John H. Evans, then serving as lieutenant-governor of Bontoc, in the Mountain Province, was appointed in his place, and I took him around the Palawan group of islands to introduce him to his unruly subjects. On arrival at Puerto Princesa we were told that the occupants of a fleet of Moro boats were already raiding and killing along the southern coast of the island, and we accordingly took on board Captain Moynihan of the Philippine Scouts, with thirty



The Sub-provincial Building at Quiangan.

All the work of preparing materials for this building and of erecting it was done by Ifugao school-boys under the direction of a foreman. It was not quite completed when this photograph was taken.

of his soldiers. The report proved unfounded, but nevertheless the soldiers came in very handily.

I landed at Culasián Bay on the west coast, meaning to ascend a river to the settlement of Dato Tumay, the man whose people had on a former occasion fought Governor Miller with captured constabulary rifles and been soundly whipped. Finding no one on the beach, we walked up the river bank for a short distance to a group of half a dozen tightly closed houses which looked as if they might belong to fishermen. Here we were met by a splendidly dressed glad-hand delegation, who greeted us rather too effusively. My suspicion was further aroused by the fact that only three of them carried weapons, in sight at least. The weapons of a Moro chief are just as much a part of his full dress as are the garments he wears. I had a few moments' friendly conversation with these people, during which I noticed that several of them displayed a marked inclination to get behind me. This I did not like, so took up a position with my back to the river. Presently I suggested that we had come to call on Dato Tumay. The following conversation ensued:—

"You cannot go to see him."

"Why not? Are the trails in bad condition?"

"There are no trails."

"Are you not Dato Tumay's people?"

"Yes."

"How did you come down if there are no trails?"

"We came down the river."

"Very well, we will go up the river."

"You cannot do that."

"Why not?"

"There are no boats to carry you."

"How did you come down?"

"In those boats. [Pointing out two tiny dugouts barely able to carry two men each.] You and one of your friends can go up in them if you like. Two of our men will paddle you."

This proposition did not seem attractive to me, so I suggested that I would take a little walk up the river. I had been positively assured that there was no other boat in the vicinity, but at the very first turn discovered a suspicious-looking trail running up into the bushes and following it found a fully rigged war-canoe over which freshly cut brush had been hastily thrown. I suggested to the Moros that this looked very much like a boat. They replied that it leaked. I asked them to put it into the water, stating that I liked to see boats leak. Not a Moro stirred. We had brought twenty-five soldiers ashore with us, as Tumay's reputation was by no means of the best, and I now called to some of them to come and put the boat into the river. In passing back of the group of Moros, one of these men stubbed his toe on the shaft of a lance which was hidden in the grass, and fell on his nose. He raised the lance as he recovered his feet, then stooped and picked up a second one, trailed them behind him until he reached a position in front of me and dropped them on the ground. Both had the sheaths removed from their long steel heads. Another soldier kicked around in the grass a bit and produced a serpent kriss which had been drawn from its scabbard. Still another fished up a *baróng*.[1]

I asked the ranking Moro present what was the meaning of these weapons, concealed at our very feet. He said that they were afraid that we would steal them and had therefore hidden them. I asked him whether any white man had ever stolen anything from them, and also why they had hidden them there, where we were likely to cut our feet on them, instead of in the forest which was not fifty yards away. Obviously there was no satisfactory answer to these questions and he had no time to attempt any, for one of the soldiers stooped down and pulled out of the grass from beside his very hand a forty-five caliber single-action revolver, cocked and with all six cylinders loaded. Fearing to be taken at a disadvantage, I said to the soldiers, "Make these men sit down, and search the place for arms."

The soldiers repeatedly ordered the Moros to sit down and the order was translated to them in their own language by my interpreter. Not a man obeyed. On the contrary, one of them turned his back and started off at a quick pace, disregarding repeated orders to halt. Theoretically he should have been shot.

Practically, I had ordered the soldiers not to fire under any circumstances unless some Moro drew a weapon. Mr. Olney Bondurant, assistant to the provincial governor for work among the Moros, had been taking a hasty look back of the houses and was returning to tell me that they were full of armed men. The Moro above mentioned, just before meeting Bondurant, reached into a bush and drew out two of the cruel fighting knives known as *baróngs*. They were in their flat sheaths, and lay one on top of the other. Snatching the upper one from its scabbard, he struck a wicked blow at Bondurant as the latter passed him on the trail. Bondurant, who was quick as a cat, dodged the blow, then whirled and shot his assailant. Instantly armed men with drawn weapons began to boil out of the houses on the side farthest from us, and those soldiers who were in a position to see them promptly opened fire. Other Moros also began to pop up at the edge of the forest, and we had a bit of a scrimmage, lively enough while it lasted. I took no part in it, but with three soldiers helping me compelled eleven men of the group with whom we had been talking to sit down, and kept them sitting until the unpleasantness was over, as I wanted to talk with them. I then told the head man to stand up.

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[1] A fighting knife of deadly effectiveness.

He was very reluctant to do this, obviously expecting to be shot, but no such fate was in store for him. On the contrary, I gave him a lecture, told him where certain wounded and certain dead Moros were to be found, and instructed him and his people first to care for the wounded; second, to bury the dead; third, to go to Tumay's place and tell him that although I had come to make a friendly call on him, my party had been attacked by his people, but that the only men who had been hurt were those who had endeavoured to use their weapons on us. I furthermore directed him to tell Tumay that he must come across the island to the place where Mr. Bondurant lived, and explain this extraordinary occurrence. We then took our departure, marching down the beach a mile to our launch, and expecting every moment to be fired on from the dense forest close at hand.

We learned from a wounded Moro that our party had been mistaken at a distance for that of Governor Miller. On his last trip around the island he had been threatened by Tumay, who surrounded him with a strong body of armed men and talked to him in a very insulting manner. Miller, who had but a single companion, knew himself to be at Tumay's mercy, and believing that he was in grave danger of being killed and that only a bluff could save him, slapped Tumay's face vigorously and then gave him a strong piece of his mind. Tumay, overawed at such temerity, allowed him to depart in safety. Before leaving, Governor Miller exercised his lawful authority to order Tumay to take his people and move to the east coast of the island.[1] Tumay begged that his people be allowed to harvest some rice which he said they had planted, and Governor Miller, not knowing whether or not the statement was true, and not being in a position to investigate it, allowed him two weeks to be spent in this way.

I was about Governor Miller's size. When I landed Tumay's people mistook me for him, and thought that he was returning with soldiers to punish them for having disobeyed him, or to enforce his order that they move to a more accessible place. Hence the plan for the attack, which was rather clever. While the reception committee entertained us, the men concealed in the woods were to open on us. As we turned to deal with them the ones hidden in the houses were to attack us from the rear, and the reception committee were then to join in. When they found themselves mistaken as to the make-up of the party, which was larger than they had expected, there was delay and confusion, and the attack fizzled.

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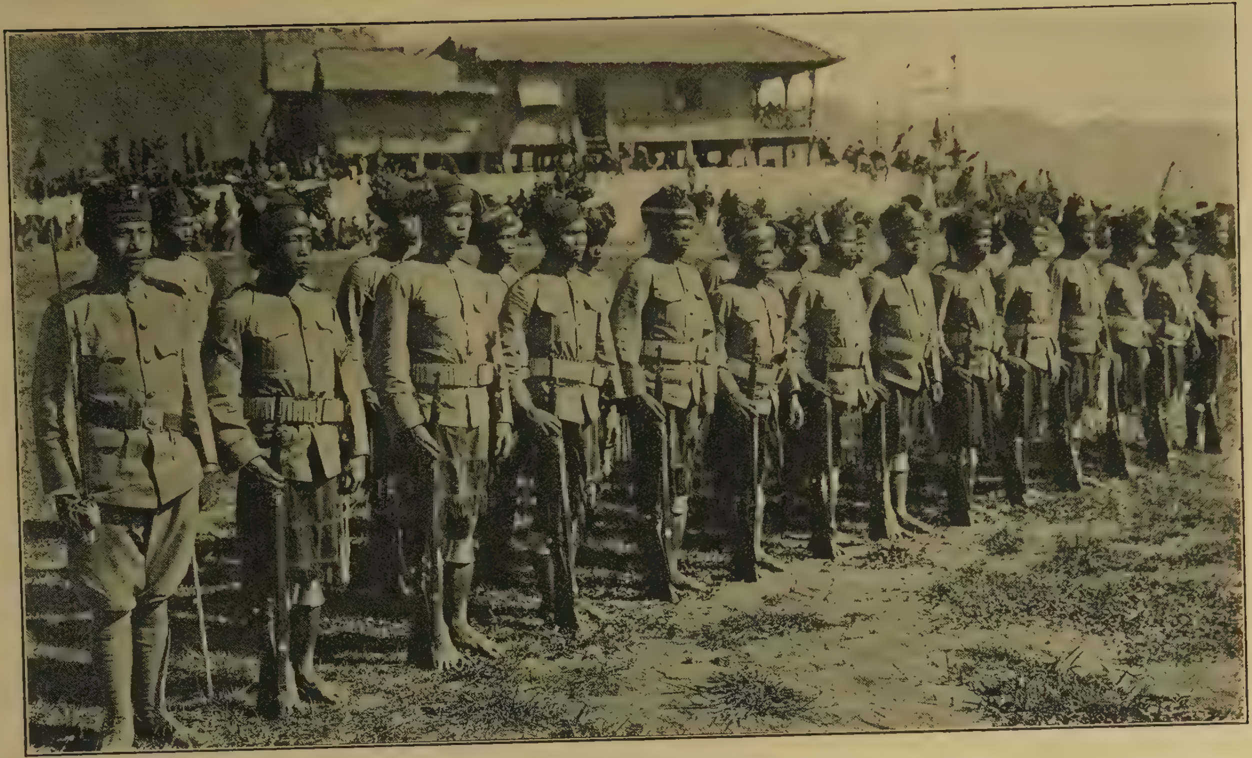
[1] A governor of a province may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, require members of a non-Christian tribe to take up their residence on land reserved for such purpose if he deems such a course to be in the interest of public order. The object of this provision is to make it possible to compel lawless persons to live in reasonably accessible places. In only three instances has it been necessary to exercise this authority. Tumay and his people were outlaws and were living in a nipa swamp where it would have been almost impossible to attack them successfully.

A few days later Tumay actually started across the island in obedience to my instructions, but on the way he met two recalcitrant Moro chiefs who encouraged him to stand out, saying that they and their people would help him fight the Americans, and he turned back. I accordingly asked that a hundred scouts be sent after him, and this was done, fifty of them marching over the mountains to cut off his retreat and fifty coming on a coast-guard boat which was intended to serve as a base of operations and afford a place to which injured men might be brought for treatment. Strict instructions had been given that there was to be no firing, except in self-defence, when women or children were liable to be hit. These orders were strictly adhered to, and Tumay was twice allowed to escape when he could have been shot down if it had not been for the danger of killing Moro women and children. Ultimately, after the non-combatants had surrendered, his armed band was overtaken early in the morning, and fired from ambush into the approaching scouts. The return fire killed or wounded most of them, but Tumay got away. It was stated by some of his followers that he was badly wounded, but this proved to be untrue. A little later he voluntarily surrendered, as he had been deserted by his people and was reduced to dire straits.

The misconduct of Tumay and his men gave me a reason for moving the Moros from the west coast of Palawan, where they were living in mangrove or nipa swamps. It was hard to approach their settlements under any circumstances, and very dangerous to do so if they were disposed to be hostile. The west coast of Palawan was a no-man's land, difficult of access on account of weather conditions and numberless uncharted reefs. It had long been a safe haven for evil-doers who fled from other portions of the Moro country to escape the vengeance of their fellows, and there was no possibility of compelling them to abandon their evil practices unless they were transferred to more accessible regions.

Governor Evans, with my approval, now issued the necessary instructions to them, and they were all moved to the other side of the island, together with their household goods and chattels of every description. Once there they were assisted in procuring building materials, and were fed until such time as they were able to take care of themselves. Only the old, the infirm, and women and children who could not support themselves by working were given food gratis. Trail construction was inaugurated; and all able-bodied persons



Ifugao Constabulary Soldiers.

These men are brave, efficient, and loyal. They shoot with extraordinary accuracy. The Filipino officer at the left, Lieutenant Maximo Meimban, has long rendered efficient service in Ifugao.

were given an opportunity to engage in this or in other honest labor for a good wage payable either in money or in rice.

At the end of a year, I visited these Moros at their new homes near Bonabóna, going ashore without a weapon of any sort, and finding them more friendly than could reasonably have been anticipated. I sent for old Tumay and had a very frank talk with him about past differences, in the course of which I asked him if he had had enough. He assured me that he had, and I then suggested that we forget the troubles which were behind us and try to get on better in future. He promised to do his part, and has faithfully kept his word.

In August, 1912, I again visited the Moros of this region and to my great surprise was greeted as if I were a member of their royal family. They carried me ashore through the surf in a chair covered with a fine piece of purple brocade. Two men equipped respectively with a five-foot blue and a five-foot yellow umbrella, struggled with each other to see who should protect my delicate complexion from the sun. Wonder of wonders, the wives of the ranking chiefs were present in a dancing pavilion which had been erected for our benefit, this being the first time that these women had ever shown themselves in public. I learned that Hadji Mohammed[1] had explained to them that the women of other nations were getting progressive, and had argued that they ought to follow suit. The poor things were dreadfully frightened, and sat with their backs toward us, covering their faces with gayly colored cloths if we so much as glanced toward them, but they were there, anyhow! At noon the Moros sat down with us to a fine luncheon of their own providing. This was the first time in my eighteen years of residence in the Philippines that I have known a Moro to sit at meat with a white man, or for that matter with any person not a Mohammedan.

After the meal several chiefs insisted on my visiting them individually, and I found that entertainment had been provided at each of their houses. Old Dato Tumay, with only one woman to help him, had built the best house in town, and was cultivating with his own hands the largest piece of land farmed by any Moro in Palawan. He was greatly pleased when I complimented him on the good example he was setting. Later I referred to it in my annual report, and the assistant to the governor for work among the Moros read to him what I had said. The old man was delighted. He immediately called the local chiefs together and delivered a long lecture on the advisability of settling down and tilling the soil. The principal request that the Moros made, on the occasion of this visit, was that they be furnished agricultural implements and seeds. Tumay was very ill with dysentery. From the ship I sent him medicine and a case of milk. He recovered in due time.

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[1] One of the most influential of the Palawan Moro chiefs.

Moros are uncertain people to deal with, but I believe that we are now on the right road so far as concerns those inhabiting Palawan, and that with a continuance of the present policy there will be no further serious trouble with them.

The Tagbanua reservation and the school established in connection with it have proved a great success. A large number of Tagbanuas have settled on the reserve and are farming industriously, while their boys and girls are making rapid progress in school, where they obtain practical instruction that will make them better and more useful men and women.

In Southern Palawan the wild people of the highlands, who have never yet allowed any one to enter their country, are being persuaded to come down to the coast by the establishment of little government trading posts where they can sell their few products at good prices, and can purchase what they need at a reasonable figure.

All in all, things are moving forward steadily in Palawan, although many of the Filipino settlements are still filthy and unsanitary. Encouraged by the results obtained in Mindoro, I have inaugurated an active campaign to compel these people to clean up, and anticipate success. One thing which renders it difficult to deal with some of the Filipinos of this province is that in its more remote districts they are showing a marked tendency to scatter out into the forests where they make *caiñgins,* or forest clearings, and live in tiny huts. Little by little they are gravitating back to the barbarism from which they originally emerged, and under existing laws they are free to do this if they like. I regret that this tendency is by no means confined to the province of Palawan. The Spaniards dealt with it in no gentle manner, but we are powerless to do more than argue against it.

The cost of the work in Palawan in valuable human lives has been dear. No one can at the outset fill the place of a man like Governor Miller, who had become invaluable not only as a result of his personal characteristics, but because of his years of experience and of the regard in which he was held by his people. Unfortunately his life is not the only one which has been sacrificed for the good of the inhabitants of this province. Mr. W. B. Dawson, who organized the work of the Tagbanua Industrial School and was in a fair way to make a success of it, died of malignant malarial fever contracted at his post of duty. Mr. William M. Wooden, who succeeded him, in his anxiety to return more quickly to his post after a brief absence, leaped overboard from a launch and was drowned while trying to swim ashore. Mr. Olney Bondurant, assistant to the provincial governor, who did admirable work among the Moros and the Tagbanuas in

Southern Palawan, and though suffering from dangerous illness never gave up, but rendered service in the field on the very day of his death, also fell a victim to pernicious malaria.

If the results obtained by these splendid men, who amid lonely surroundings, and in the face of manifold discouragements, bravely and effectively carried on their country's work, are to be *permanent* results, then I hold that the price has not been too dear, but if they are to be destroyed by the premature withdrawal of American control these sacrifices are pathetic indeed.

MINDANAO

All of the territory in Northern Mindanao east of Dapitan and north of the eighth parallel of latitude was at the outset divided between the provinces of Surigao and Misamis. It is generally conceded that these provinces had been worse governed under American rule by their Filipino officials than have any others, and it was to be anticipated that, under such circumstances, their very numerous non-Christian inhabitants would prove to have been very badly mistreated. Sinister rumours reached me from time to time as to what was occurring, but I had no competent persons whom I could send to make investigations on the ground, and intended to defer action until I could go myself.

Matters were finally brought to a crisis by reports from Catholic priests, school-teachers and other reliable persons setting forth a condition of affairs which seemed to demand immediate remedial action. The commission had previously made a liberal sum available for work among the Bukidnon people of Misamis, and I had endeavoured to bring about the prosecution of this work by the Filipino provincial officials, but my efforts had been fruitless. Not one *centavo* of the funds appropriated had ever been expended. No Filipino provincial official had so much as visited the main Bukidnon country, the borders of which were distant less than three hours' ride from the provincial capital.

The Bukidnon people are industrious. They raise a large part of the coffee, hemp and cacao exported from Cagayan, the capital and the principal port of Misamis. They were being robbed when they sold their produce. A common procedure was to instruct them that they must sell to certain individuals at absurdedly low prices, and if they did not promptly obey, to bring charges of sedition against them and throw them into jail. As a matter of fact, they hardly knew the meaning of the word sedition.

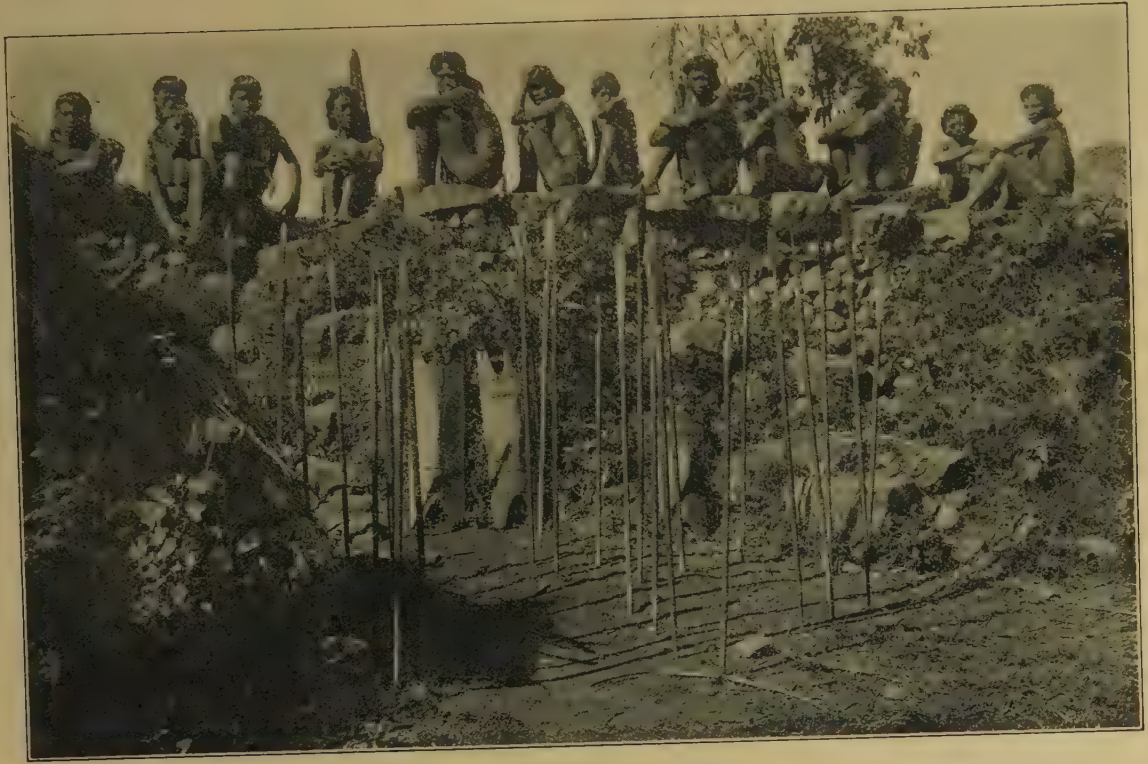
Depredations upon them were by no means confined to the town of Cagayan de Misamis. Filipinos from the coast invaded their territory, debauching them with *vino* and purchasing their property when they were drunk; getting them into crooked gambling games and cheating them, or swaggering around armed with revolvers and so terrorizing them that they surrendered their belongings. It was common for a Filipino to go into the Bukidnon country with nothing but the clothes on his back, and soon to return with three or four carabaos heavily laden with hemp, coffee, cacao, or gutta percha.

Although the provincial governor had appointed, in some instances, men whom he had never seen as presidentes of settlements, the settlements were in reality without government, and their discouraged and disgusted people were betaking themselves to the mountains whence they had been brought years before by Jesuit missionary priests. The wilder members of the Bukidnon tribe, and the Manobos in the southern part of the province, who had never abandoned their mountain homes, were preying upon their neighbours, and committing crimes of violence undisturbed.

In the Agusan River valley conditions were nearly as bad. The people along the main stream were for the most part broken-spirited Manobos. Their settlements had been parcelled out among the members of the municipal council of Butuan to be plundered. The activities of these "Christian" gentlemen had been such that a number of Manobo villages were already completely abandoned, while the people of others were gradually betaking themselves to secure hiding-places in the trackless forests which stretch east and west from the banks of the Agusan.

Both in the Bukidnon and in the Manobo country the trade in bad *vino* was being actively pushed. The principal business on the Agusan River at that time was shipping it up-stream. Opium was being imported in considerable quantities from Cebu. The use of this drug was already established among the people of Butuan, and was gradually spreading up the river. The wilder Manobos, who lived some distance back from the stream, and the Mandayas along its upper waters, were killing and plundering without let or hindrance.

These statements, coming as they did from absolutely reliable witnesses, convinced me that I had allowed work for non-Christians in other parts of the archipelago to interfere unduly with investigations which I should have made in this region. As the legislation under which we were working for the betterment of the wild people had now taken final form, all that was necessary in order to begin active operations looking to the correction of these untoward conditions was to cut off a province from Surigao and Misamis and organize it under the Special Provincial Government Act. In view of the relative unimportance of the Filipino population in Misamis and Surigao, and of the lamentable conditions which had arisen there



Bontoc Igorot Head-hunters.

These men were expecting to be attacked at the time this photograph was taken.

under Filipino provincial officials elected in accordance with the provisions of the Provincial Government Act, I suggested that both provinces be reorganized under the Special Provincial Government Act. This would have had the effect of making their officials appointive. American governors who would have protected the non-Christian inhabitants could have been put in office. Unfortunately, the first session of the Philippine Legislature was about to be held, the assemblymen having already been elected. Every member of the commission present, American and Filipino, agreed with me that the course which I suggested would be in the interest of the inhabitants of these two provinces, but they all shied off when it came to taking the needed action because of the political hullabaloo which would most certainly have resulted. I was forced to accept the best compromise I could get, and a law was passed providing for the establishment of the province of Agusan with two sub-provinces to be known respectively as Butuan and Bukidnon. Butuan took in the whole Agusan River valley as far south as the eighth parallel of latitude, and east and west to the crests of the two watersheds. It also included some territory on the west coast of the northern peninsula of Mindanao. Bukidnon included all of the territory inhabited by the people of the same name, and that of some wild Manobos in central Mindanao.[1]

Armed with the law creating the new province, I proceeded to investigate conditions on the ground, and actually to establish the provincial government. At the town of Butuan, situated about five miles up the Agusan River, and accessible to good-sized steamers, I was met by Frederick Johnson, a captain in the Philippine constabulary who had had wide experience in dealing with the non-Christian tribes of the Moro Province and had been very successful in this work. At my request he had been appointed governor of the Province of Agusan, of which the town of Butuan was the capital.

We hired a launch, driven by a one-cylinder engine, from a man named Wantz, and in it proceeded up the river, taking the owner along to run the boat. It was paid for by the day, and I was warned before I started that Wantz had his own ways of lengthening journeys. I soon discovered that this was true. Before starting I had indicated the settlement which must be reached before dark, but the engine soon began to wheeze and thump dolefully. It happened that I knew something about gasoline engines, and this one sounded to me as if it were running with the spark advanced too far, but I could not discover the adjusting mechanism, so exercised diplomacy, involving Wantz in a discussion of the intricacies of modern gasoline engines, and stating that I had an automobile with a very convenient attachment for advancing and retarding the spark. He promptly and proudly showed me the device on his engine for the same purpose. It was hidden away where I could not have found it. After he had instructed me in its operation I quietly retarded the spark, and the engine began to work in a most cheering manner. In order to punish Wantz, I insisted that we keep on until we reached our prescribed destination, in spite of the time we had lost.

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[1] In 1914 the sub-province of Bukidnon was created a province. During the past ten years both Agusan and Bukidnon have been developing rapidly, although their potential riches have hardly been touched as yet. The progress which has been made is shown by the following figures:—Agusan: population, 1918, 44,740; 1927, 54,510; area under cultivation, 1918, 27,814 acres; 1926, 42,368 acres, exclusive of cacao, coffee and coconut plantations; Bukidnon: population, 1918, 48,544; 1927, 50,200; area under cultivation, 1918, 18,954 acres; 1926, 23,103 acres, exclusive of cacao, coffee and coconut plantations; cattle, 1917, 52; 1924, 14,653. (*Statistical Bulletin,* 1927, pp. 1, 4, 27, 44, and table no, 38.) The estimated population probably falls far short of the actual number of inhabitants, as in the tables no account has been taken of immigration, which has been considerable in both provinces. As is indicated by the figures, Bukidnon is rapidly becoming the most important livestock producing region of the Philippines. Coffee and citrous fruits and corn are grown there and could be produced in large quantities, while in the Diklom region there are 250,000 acres of gently rolling uplands suitable for the cultivation of rubber at comparatively low cost. (*Possibilities for Para Rubber Production in the Philippine Islands,* pp. 38–42. Washington, 1925.) That these provinces are still a frontier region, however, is indicated by their automobile registration for 1927:—passenger cars: Aguson, 3, Bukidnon, 16; trucks, Aguson, 14; Bukidnon, 74. (*Statistical Bulletin,* 1927, pp. 173, 174.)

We had a prophet of evil on board who predicted that Wantz would certainly have the engine thoroughly stacked by the next morning, and he did. We had planned to start at daylight, but, when we climbed down to the boat in the gray dawn, found him puttering over its machinery. He said that the cylinder was "froze up." As the temperature did not seem to warrant such a result, I got him to explain to me what was wrong, and after watching him put on and take off the cylinder-head several times, discovered that he had an ingenious contrivance so arranged that by giving a single push he could put the make-and-break spark connection out of commission from the inside of the cylinder. I myself adjusted it properly, compelled him to put on the cylinder-head without touching his disarranging mechanism, and we went on our way. For some time I watched him closely, and while I continued to do so, the engine ran beautifully, but ultimately I had to go ashore to inspect a rotting Manobo settlement, and while I was gone he queered it again in such a manner that I could not find the cause of the mischief. We had speedy revenge, however, for while we were negotiating a swift rapid the engine died, with the result that the launch nearly turned turtle and narrowly escaped being wrecked. This frightened Wantz, and after a few mysterious manipulations on his part the engine began to "put, put, put" again most cheerfully, and we ascended the rapid without difficulty.

On the evening of the third day we reached a Filipino settlement called Talacógon, seventy miles up the river. Wantz began to complain that he was sick, and as Talacógon would have been a very comfortable place to lie over, I opined that his ailment would become acute before morning. At four o'clock I sneaked down to the river bank by a back street to see what was going on. He was whistling cheerfully. I beat a careful retreat, then came ostentatiously down the main road to the pier. Sepulchral groans were now issuing from the launch, and Wantz was not visible. I found him writhing on its bottom in assumed agony. By this time I had become convinced that a native *banca* with a few good oarsmen would be better than a launch with such an engineer, so told him I was sorry he was ill, gave him permission to return to Butuan, and offered to pay what I owed him on the spot. When he found that it was not my intention to pay for the time consumed by the return trip his symptoms became less alarming, and he expressed hope of ultimate recovery. Interrogated as to the probable date when he would be prepared to continue the journey, he put it three days ahead. I told him that I could not wait so long. Gradually he reduced to half a day the time which the reëstablishment of his health would require, but I told him that I could not wait, and that his recovery must be immediate if he was to continue with us. This was too much of a jolt to his pride, and when we were ready to embark he was still too ill to start! We accordingly loaded our belongings into two *bancas* each some sixty feet long, lay down on our backs in their little cabins, and continued on our way upstream.

The trip up the Agusan River is a most wonderful one. Nothing could surpass the magnificence of the tropical vegetation along its banks. The sportsman finds himself constantly diverted. Great fruit pigeons and huge hornbills frequently fly over one's boat, or perch in trees where they can be shot from the river. Monkeys abound. Huge crocodiles may occasionally be observed sleeping on the banks. Wild hogs are plentiful, but usually keep out of sight. The trees are hung with a marvellous drapery of vines, orchids and ferns, and, as the stream is so broad and deep as to render its navigation easy, one can lean back and enjoy to the full the beauties of nature displayed in prodigal abundance on every side.

We found the human inhabitants of this wonderful region a highly unsatisfactory lot. The Manobo families were living either singly, scattered along the river, or grouped in little villages composed of a dozen or two rotting huts and surrounded by the accumulated filth of years. As was to be anticipated under the circumstances, most of the people were full of malaria, and many suffered from repulsive skin diseases. They had little cultivated ground. The growing and cleaning of hemp was their only resource, and they had become so accustomed to having the products of their labour taken from them by the people of Butuan that they had almost given up working. They listened with dull, uncomprehending hopelessness to our story of better days to come, and it soon became evident that nothing but practical experience would convince these helpless people that times were going to change.

The Filipinos of Talacógon were an especially lazy, vicious lot, who did no work themselves, but sponged or stole a living from their non-Christian neighbours. Forest trees were springing up on the plaza of this town. Its streets were deep in mud, and its sanitary condition beggared description. I was really afraid to stay overnight. I ordered the people to clean up, and they laughed at me. I ultimately made them clean up, but they successfully resisted my efforts to do so longer than the people of any other town ever did, and several years passed before I was at all satisfied with results.

Our progress up the river was unimpeded until we reached what is shown on the maps of Mindanao as a series of extensive lakes, but is in reality a huge and trackless swamp. Some years before a very severe earthquake had caused the subsidence of a vast forested area along the banks of this portion of the Agusan River, with the result that the old river-bed was completely broken up, and the river below this point reversed its flow for some time until the depressed region had been filled up by the water which entered it from all sides. There were no well-established channels through this submerged forest, and navigation in it was dangerous unless one had experienced guides.

In order that such guides might be always available, the Spaniards had compelled a number of them to live on the outskirts of the swamp at a place called Clavijo. The ground on which their houses stood was under water most of the year. They were a miserable, sickly lot. Most of them were suffering acutely from malaria, and all were very anxious to abandon the ill-fated site of their village,—a thing which, it is needless to say, they were promptly permitted by us to do. Having secured the services of several of them, we continued our journey toward Bunauan, but found the stream which we ascended after extricating ourselves from the swamp so choked with rubbish that it was frequently necessary either to clear channels or to haul our heavy boats over masses of dead tree trunks, branches, bamboo, etc. From Bunauan we returned to Butuan and sailed for Cagayan de Misamis.

While passing along one of the main streets of the latter town on my way to the provincial building, I discovered Bukidnon people buying *vino* by the demijohn. The law prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors to members of non-Christian tribes was then in effect throughout the archipelago. One of the first questions which I put to the Filipino governor was whether he had taken the necessary measures to see that this law was enforced. He replied in the affirmative. I asked him what he had done. He said that he had sent letters to the several Bukidnon settlements telling the people that they must not buy

A Bontoc Igorot Tug-of-War.

The government now encourages field sports among the wild people as an outlet for energies which were formerly expended in head-hunting. The Bontoc Igorots, the Ifugaos, and the Kalingas take the keenest interest in contests like that here shown.

vino. I asked him if he had warned the dealers in his own town that they must not sell to the Bukidnons, and he replied, "It has not occurred to me to do that!"

Having explained to the governor the terms of the law establishing the province of Agusan, and the reason for its adoption, I proceeded across the bay to a *barrio* which then was, and still is, the point of departure for the interior, planning to start at daylight the following morning. I had with me my private secretary, Mr. Zinn, and Mr. Frederick Lewis, who had just accepted appointment as lieutenant-governor of the sub-province.

Lewis had taken a number of Zamboanga Moros to the St. Louis Exposition and had also assumed charge of the Lake Lanao Moros there when their manager misbehaved and it became necessary to dispense with his services. He had looked after his people so carefully and so well that some of the hardened old sinners from Lake Lanao actually wept when they parted company with him on the beach after their return from the United States! He was a tireless rider, and the country which he was to govern was a horseman's country *par excellence.*

Our transportation for the trip was in charge of a Filipino lieutenant of constabulary, named Manuel Fortich, and I was not greatly pleased with this arrangement, as we had a hard journey ahead of us which might be rendered difficult or even dangerous by lack of efficiency on the part of the man who looked after our saddle animals and our carriers. I soon learned, however, that no better man could have been selected for this task.

We marched at daylight, as is my custom when travelling overland in the provinces. At midnight a mounted Filipino messenger, sent by the *caciques* of Cagayan, had started ahead of us to frighten the people of the towns which we proposed to visit so that they would take to the hills. In this he was partially successful. When we reached the small settlement of Tanculan late in the afternoon, after a hard day's work, the only inhabitants left were a few old cripples who had been too sick or too feeble to run away. However, many of those who had fled were hiding in the underbrush near by. Lieutenant Fortich, who had already made himself invaluable to us, soon rounded up quite a number of them, and they were in turn despatched for their friends.

This little village was in a deplorable state of abandonment. Only a few of its houses were habitable. It had been well laid out by some good Jesuit missionary priest, but its streets and plaza were choked with a jungle of tropical vegetation through which ran trails resembling deer paths! There was absolutely nothing growing in the vicinity which could furnish food for a human being.

Lieutenant Fortich ultimately got together quite an audience for me. We squatted around a cheerful camp-fire and discussed the past and the future until late at night. I was delighted to find that my auditors took a keen interest in my statements. They soon gained courage to tell me freely of the abuses which they had suffered, and while obviously not optimistic over my promises of better things, were evidently willing to be shown.

Just before we turned in Lieutenant Fortich asked me at what time I would like to start in the morning. I said "five o'clock." He replied, "Very well." While his remarks were gratifyingly in accord with the biblical injunction to "let your conversation be yea, yea; nay, nay," I feared that he did not fully comprehend the difficulties involved in an early start, so decided to take a hand myself when the time came. I accordingly arose at three-thirty A.M., and nearly fainted when I found that the horses were already munching their grain and, wonder of wonders, that the carriers were eating their breakfast. The usual thing is to be informed, when you are about an hour on your way, that the carriers have had no breakfast, and to be forced to sit down and wait while they cook and eat their morning meal. I went back to bed, convinced that I had discovered a new kind of Filipino constabulary officer. I got up again at four o'clock, dressed, and went to the table at four-thirty, finding a piping hot meal ready. When at five o'clock I descended the stairs of the house where I had spent the night, my horse was saddled and waiting at the gate. All I had to do was to climb aboard. Meanwhile I had not heard an order given, or a word spoken in a tone above that of ordinary conversation. Throughout the trip Lieutenant Fortich continued to display quiet efficiency. I jotted his name down in my mental notebook as that of a man to be used later. He is to-day the lieutenant-governor of Bukidnon, and a most faithful, competent and efficient public officer.[1]

During my first day's ride I had had a decidedly startling experience. On leaving the sea beach one climbs rather abruptly for some nine hundred feet and then comes out on a wonderful plain. After riding over this beautiful stretch of level country for some time I could not longer resist the temptation to attempt to take a panoramic series of views showing it, so dismounted, set up my camera and made three exposures, rotating the instrument so as to get a panoramic effect. I worked with my back toward my companions, and became so absorbed in my task that I failed to notice that they were moving on. When I finally turned around I discovered to my utter amazement that I was alone, save for the carrier who packed my camera and plates. In every direction an apparently unbroken plain stretched for miles, and there was not another human being in sight. My companions had disappeared from off the face of the earth. I actually began to fear that I had taken leave of my senses. Nothing which has ever befallen me has given me such a curious sensation. However, one tangible thing remained; to wit, a well-marked trail through the grass. I followed it, and before I had gone three hundred yards came to the brink of a precipitous cañon down the wall of which my companions were zigzagging. From the point where I had taken my photographs it was absolutely impossible to detect the existence of this narrow crack in the earth. We soon learned, to our sorrow, that this first cañon was only one of many.

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[1] The qualities which Worcester observed in Señor Fortich have made him one of the outstanding pioneers in the present province of Bukidnon. His great cattle ranch and rapidly increasing herds have brought him wealth, while his progressive methods and confidence in the future of Bukidnon have made him a powerful factor in the development of the province. [Editor.]

At its bottom was a raging torrent which we forded with difficulty. My fool horse got frightened and turned down-stream where the current was swiftest, and I narrowly escaped taking an impromptu trip down rapids which would have hammered me into insensibility against the rocks.

Until we reached Malaybalay the conditions encountered in the several villages through which we passed were similar to those which we had found at Tanculan: houses abandoned for the most part, and always in a lamentable state of neglect; sanitary conditions very bad; streets and plazas overgrown; an abundance of coffee bushes in some of the villages, but no visible source of food supply anywhere, except for a few scraggly banana plants.

At the outset we had found all the villages deserted, but in each case had managed to get some of the people back and hold a friendly interview with them. The "grapevine telegraph" got to working, and soon they began to await our arrival. At Malaybalay they gave us quite an ovation. This town was comparatively clean; the grass on the plaza was neatly cut. All in all, conditions were so encouraging that I decided that it should be the capital of the subprovince.

The following day we continued our journey to Linabo, where I heard of a Filipino engaged, as usual, in terrorizing the inhabitants and taking their products from them. I twice sent him courteous requests to come to see me, and then had him unceremoniously brought into my presence. He was carrying an ugly-looking, heavy-calibre six-shooter. I demanded the document which justified his possession of this weapon, and as he could produce nothing more satisfactory than a note from the governor of Misamis authorizing him to use it in that province, I took his gun away from him. He assumed a threatening attitude and warned me that he was a friend of the provincial governor, but I told him that he was not a friend of mine, and started him on his way to the coast. This occurrence was known throughout Bukidnon within three days, and as the man in question was influential the fact that his claws had been at least temporarily trimmed greatly encouraged the people.

From Linabo we returned by a different route, visiting the old settlement of Sumilao, the site of the original Jesuit mission in Bukidnon, and spending a day in endeavouring to reach a constantly disappearing village named Nanca. We had gathered from the written report of a lieutenant of the United States army that Nanca was distant from Sumilao about two hours' ride. We reached it after dark, having travelled steadily throughout the day except for some thirty minutes taken for lunch, and having, I firmly believe, broken the world's record for the number of cañons encountered in the course of a fourteen-hour ride.

Nanca proved to be a very interesting Bukidnon village, as its people retained their picturesque tribal dress and most of their primitive customs. I became much interested in finding out about its organization, and the part that each family took in its affairs, and asked the persons present what each man did. I finally came to a particularly fine-looking white-haired individual, and when I inquired about him my informant replied: "Oh, he does not do anything. He is a philosopher!" Then the crowd shouted with laughter. We decided that the Bukidnons were not without a sense of humor.

A hard half day's ride brought us back to Cagayan de Misamis, and I sailed at once for Manila, leaving Lieutenant-Governor Lewis to face his difficult task alone. As I had anticipated, trouble promptly began. The wealthiest people of Cagayan had always lived off the unfortunate Bukidnons, and had no intention of relaxing their grip. I have deeply regretted that I did not myself visit the remaining villages in the valley of the Cagayan River and explain to their inhabitants the change in their fortunes. Agents of the Cagayan *caciques* had been busy there while I was occupied on the other side of the subprovince, and shortly after my arrival at Manila a telegram was received from the provincial governor, saying that the Bukidnons were asking for a brown governor, instead of a white one, and were reported to be preparing ropes and poison with which to commit suicide. Now these simple people of the hills had no intention of committing suicide, nor did they want "a brown governor." Their petitions were prepared by Cagayan *caciques* and they were forced to sign them.

In the part of the subprovince which I had visited the conspirators against the new government made little headway. Nevertheless their vicious activities continued, and later, on several occasions, they succeeded in frightening the people of one or another of the then rapidly growing towns so badly that they took to the hills, and Mr.

Bontoc Igorot Boys Learning To Make Furniture.

Their teacher, Mr. Hora, has staked hundreds of miles of trail in the Mountain Province, and supervised the construction of the wonderful stone school-house built by the Ifugao boys of Quiangan.

Lewis had to hunt them up and persuade them to come back again, which he always succeeded in doing.

When I returned to inspect Bukidnon a year later, I found that a marvellous change had already been brought about. Model villages had taken the place of the ramshackle affairs which I had found on my first visit. The houses were grouped around spacious plazas on which the grass had been so carefully cut that they had already begun to look like lawns. Streets were kept so clean that one could literally pick up a dropped pin without the slightest difficulty. Where the streets reached the open prairie, bars were provided to keep stray animals out of town. Every yard was neatly fenced. All domestic animals were properly confined if not out at pasture. Every village was perfectly drained, the slope of the land being such that all drainage promptly ran off onto the prairie. Yards were immaculately clean and were planted with useful food-producing crops. Little cultivated fields were already beginning to appear near the outskirts of the towns. This latter change greatly delighted me. These poor, ignorant people had always believed that the prairie soil was worthless for agricultural purposes, and that in order to grow crops it was necessary for them to go to the distant mountains, clear forest land and plant it. Furthermore, they had been quite unable to break the prairie sod and bring the underlying soil under cultivation with such simple agricultural implements as they possessed.

At the request of Lieutenant-Governor Lewis, I had furnished two disk plows with the necessary animals to pull them, in order that the land might be plowed the first time for those who were willing to cultivate it. Thereafter they were left to care for it themselves. This plan had aroused great enthusiasm. As I approached Sumilao I saw a crowd of men busily engaged in some task, and when I drew near was amazed and delighted to find that, although the disk plow intended for use at that place had arrived before the animals which were to pull it, fifteen men had harnessed themselves to it and were vigorously breaking the sod. I decided on the spot that the Bukidnon people had a future, and have never changed my mind. The progress which they have since made is almost unbelievable.

Efforts to destroy the government which we had established in Bukidnon, and to reëstablish the system of peonage under which its peaceful, industrious inhabitants had so long groaned, were persistently continued. During my third annual inspection trip, I found that there was a plan on foot to trump up criminal charges against Lieutenant-Governor Lewis and Señor Manuel Fortich, whose services I had meanwhile secured as an assistant to Mr. Lewis upon his severing his connection with the constabulary. The efforts of the mischief-makers had become so persistent and so vicious that I decided to declare war on them. Accordingly, I ran over to Cagayan and summoned the provincial officers and several other prominent citizens, with whom I went straight to the point, telling them that I had not anticipated that they would readily adapt themselves to the changed conditions which resulted from the separation of Bukidnon as a distinct subprovince, and had patiently waited three years for them to accept the inevitable, but that I had grown weary of their constant efforts to nullify the work which we were doing, and that I was aware of the plan to destroy the usefulness of Lewis and Fortich; adding that they must let the Bukidnon officials alone, and that in the event of future failure to do so I would temporarily transfer my office to Cagayan de Misamis and devote my time and attention to making things interesting for certain of them. I named no names, and it was not necessary to do so. The individuals referred to knew whom I meant.

Conditions now rapidly improved for a time, but in November I was called to Washington to be investigated by the Committee on Insular Affairs with reference to my administration of public and friar lands, and the enemies of the Bukidnon government promptly became active. Governor Lewis was arrested and tried on two criminal charges, while his assistant, Señor Fortich, was charged with murder, no less. If the charges of *estafa* and falsification of public documents brought against Lewis failed, it was proposed to prosecute him for adultery, the minimum penalty for which in the Philippine Islands is imprisonment for two years, four months and one day. Fortunately, it took but a short time to show that the cases against those two young men were spite cases pure and simple, and they collapsed miserably. Other charges were immediately brought.

There had been a sad mix up, resulting from an ill-defined boundary line between Bukidnon and the Moro Province, for which I myself was directly responsible, as the papers concerning it were on my desk awaiting action when I was called home, and in the rush of a hurried departure I had overlooked them. Lewis and Fortich had been unjustly blamed for the result. I now took a hand in the game myself, and the whole matter was satisfactorily cleared up. Lewis was promoted to the governorship of Agusan, and Fortich was made lieutenant-governor of Bukidnon, a position which he has filled ever since with great credit to himself and advantage to the Bukidnon people.

The progress which has been made in Bukidnon is really wonderful. At the outset there was not a decent trail in the subprovince. Now one can go nineteen miles inland to the Mañgima River cañon in an automobile, and it will be soon possible so to continue the journey ten miles further to Maluco. Excellent low-grade horse trails, many miles of which are already wide enough to serve as automobile roads as soon as the line to the coast is completed, connect the principal settlements of Bukidnon proper, which also have telephonic communication, the people having gladly undertaken to cut and erect the necessary poles and build and maintain the lines, if furnished instruments, wire, insulators and tools. They have kept their bargain, and there are constant demands for an extension of the system, under similar conditions, to the more remote mountain villages.

There was not a bridge or a culvert in the subprovince. Pack animals were constantly being swept away by the rushing currents of the larger rivers, or perishing miserably in mud when attempting to cross soft-bottomed creeks. Now one may ride from the sea-coast to Malaybalay without wetting the feet of one's horse, and in so doing one will cross more than a hundred substantial bridges and culverts built by the Bukidnons themselves.[1] As a rule, even the largest bridges have cost the government no more than the price of their iron bolts and braces. The people have voluntarily and cheerfully done the work, in order to get the benefits which would result. In some cases heavy hardwood timbers have been dragged for fifteen miles or more by teams of hundreds of men. All bridges are roofed, and they afford fine camping places for travellers and their pack animals. Incidentally the load which pack animals can comfortably carry has been more than doubled.

Old villages have increased greatly in size, and numerous new ones have been established. All have spacious plazas and streets which are beautifully kept. The mountains are almost depopulated. The hardy old fighters who used to frequent them have become peaceful agriculturists. Houses are neat and clean. Yards are fenced, planted with useful crops, and well cultivated. Each house has its own sanitary arrangements. No domestic animals are allowed to run at large in towns.

Rich, cultivated fields surround the villages and each year stretch farther and farther out over the neighbouring prairies. Coffee production is increasing by leaps and bounds, and blight is disappearing from the plantations as the result of intensive cultivation. The people are well fed and prosperous. Their condition steadily improves. They have been taught the value of their products, and encouraged to insist on receiving it.

Practically every village has its schoolhouse and its schoolmaster's house, voluntarily built free of charge by the inhabitants. Children are sent to school by their parents and learn rapidly. On my second visit I found the boys trying to play baseball, using joints of bamboo for bats, and big, thick-skinned oranges for balls. I sent to each of the more important towns a complete baseball outfit, and now the boys certainly know, and can play, the game.

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[1] Before 1926 the road to Malaybalay was in regular use by automobiles.

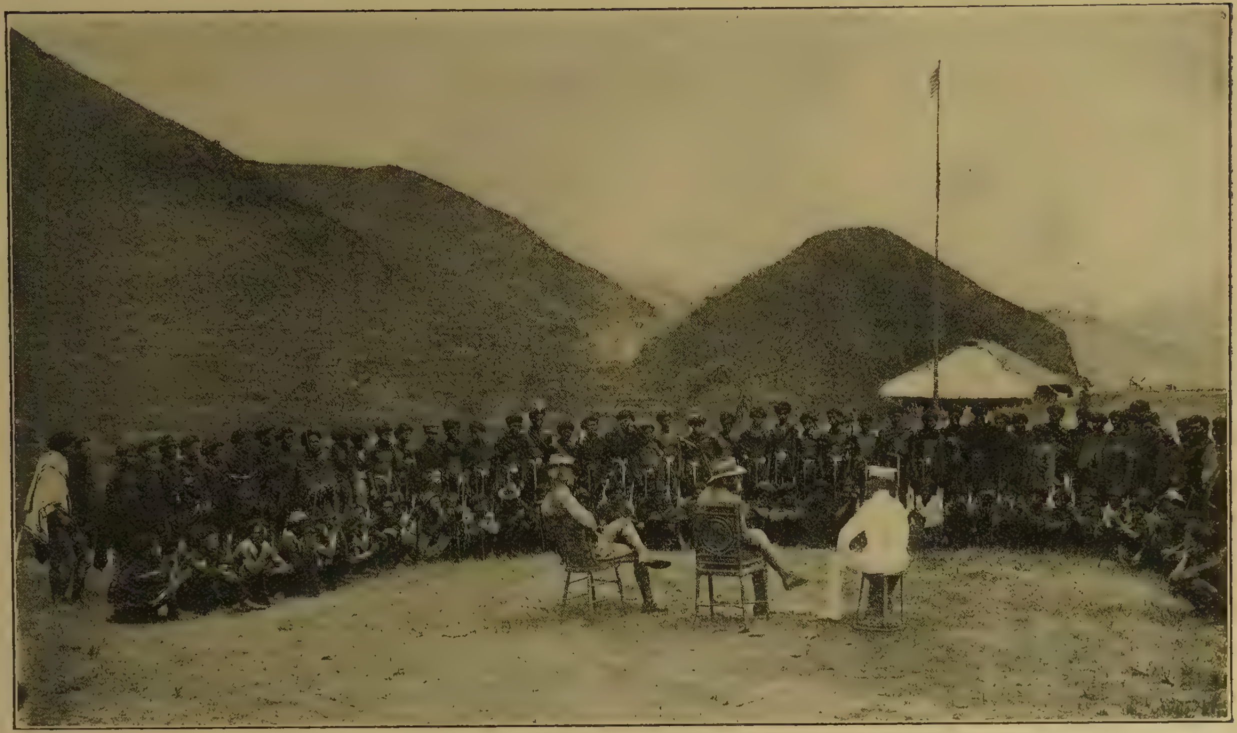
These results have been accomplished practically without bloodshed or rough treatment of any sort. Only in the rarest instances, and in dealing with the very worst of the hill men, who were professional murderers, has a shot been fired. When the subprovince was invaded by bands of savages from the mountains of Butuan and from the neighbouring Moro Province, the people requested firearms so that they might protect themselves. Some twenty-five old carbines were furnished them, and they organized an effective force which pursued the evil-doers and policed them up very effectively.

Marámag, one of the most recently established villages, is in the very heart of Mindanao. Two years ago a good many of its leading citizens were living in tree-houses. During August, 1912, I found them cutting the grass on their plaza with a lawn-mower!

Another thing which has made me rub my eyes and wonder if I were awake was the discovery that the people of this subprovince were clothing themselves and their children in garments purchased from Montgomery, Ward & Co., of Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.! The explanation is simple. The Cagayan shopkeepers persist in cheating them at every opportunity, and the house of Montgomery, Ward & Co. does not. Although Chicago is far away, the mail service is nevertheless good!

Death has just summoned Leoncio, one of the most remarkable men who has yet arisen among the Bukidnon people. We found him an absolutely illiterate heathen. With no other instruction than that given him by Lieutenant-Governors Lewis and Fortich, he learned to lay out and build roads and trails on any desired grade, to construct bridges which will be standing twenty years hence, and to erect public buildings which would be a credit to any man compelled to use such materials as those available in Bukidnon. At the time of his death he was just finishing a bridge three hundred feet long across the rushing Culaman River. This structure has a galvanized iron roof, contributed by the enthusiastic residents of Sumilao.

The healthful rivalry between towns is one of the delightful things about Bukidnon. Each desires to have better buildings, better streets, better bridges, better roads and better schools than its neighbours. I experience no keener pleasure than that which I enjoy on my annual trips through Bukidnon. There is always something new to see. The people are most grateful for the help which has been given them. Their friendliness and their loyalty cannot fail to touch the hearts of all who know them. They are now well housed, and well fed. Their children are being given in liberal measure the education which had previously been denied to them. The Bukidnons are to-day



A CONFERENCE WITH IFUGAO CHIEFS.

From left to right the Americans are: Governor William F. Pack of the Mountain Province, the author, and Lieutenant-Governor Jeff D. Gallman of Ifugao.

a prosperous, progressive people, happy and contented. I have an abiding faith in their future if they are given a chance.

When they meet their old Filipino oppressors on trips to the coast, the latter grit their teeth and remark under their breath: "Oh, very well. This is your inning now, but ours will come! The Americans are going soon, and then we will square our little account with you. You will pay dearly for your 'insubordination'!" Having set the feet of these people on the road which leads onward and upward, shall we leave them to their fate?

Conditions in Butuan have improved far more slowly than in Bukidnon. The climate is less favourable. Bukidnon is a highland country with a white man's climate. The Agusan River valley is usually hot, and always damp. The town of Butuan was considered the worst misgoverned municipality in the Philippines on the date of its separation from Surigao, and it was certainly one of the filthiest. I have sunk to my knees in the mud of its streets. It is to-day a beautifully kept and sanitary place, and is certainly not misgoverned.

As I have already said, the Manobo inhabitants of the wretched villages along the banks of the main Agusan River were a sickly, filthy, broken-spirited lot, besotted with *vino* and in danger of becoming victims of the opium habit. It is almost a physical impossibility completely to suppress the opium traffic because of the ease with which the drug is smuggled, but the *vino* traffic has been suppressed. The chief business on the Agusan River was formerly the transportation of *vino* up-stream. It is now the transportation down-stream of Manila hemp raised by the people of the valley.

The villages have been greatly improved and rendered reasonably sanitary. The best of them compare not unfavourably with some of the Bukidnon towns. The people improve, but radical improvement will not be in evidence until the next generation comes on.

Transportation facilities have been greatly increased by freeing several of the more important branches of the Agusan River from snags, and so opening them for launch navigation. Two good canals have been cut through the swamps, and communication by launch has thus been opened with the upper Agusan valley. There is an industrial school for Manobo boys, and a number of the villages have primary schools. Doubtless the most important single factor in improving the condition of the Manobos has been the establishment of a series of government shops at which they can sell their products for a fair price, and buy what they need so cheaply that it almost seems to them as if they were receiving presents.

Governor Frederick Johnson, who is largely responsible for these improved conditions, laboured ceaselessly to bring them about. At the outset he had no launch transportation and lived for weeks at a time in native canoes or *bancas*. He was fearless and tireless. When the time came for him to take long overdue leave I had no competent person to put in his place, and in deference to my wishes he continued at his post for nearly two years. At the end of that time it was found that one of his legs, which had been injured on an early exploring expedition, had become cancerous, and that immediate amputation was necessary. This made it impossible for him to continue his work, and crippled him for life. He had borne his trouble uncomplainingly, and I had not even known of its existence. Although a man of mature years, he bravely entered upon the study of medicine, hoping to prepare himself for a useful life, but the operation had come too late. Cancer reappeared, and for a year he was dying by inches. In a way I am responsible for it. Do you think he laid it up against me? You shall judge for yourselves.

He used to write a copy-book hand. Just before leaving Manila I received from him an almost illegible letter in which he economized words as if composing a cablegram. It brought the tears to my eyes. He said:—

> "I thank you for your slavery book just received. If strength is left me to read it, I shall read it though I do nothing else in this life.
>
> "I have had letter in preparation to you since last June but I haven't strength to sit at the machine. I expect now to die before New Year.
>
> "I have offered surgeons to take all chances, but they decline to operate, stating that they would consider operation deliberate murder.
>
> "This is first letter I write since last September. If I do not get strength to finish typewritten letter I have given instructions it be sent when I am dead. I cannot write with pen; I have tried it.
>
> "If you hear no more, please remember I never forgot you. Sorry you leave the Secretariat—so sorry I can't tell you.
>
> "I am ready to die. I know that I have lived unselfishly for what I thought was right and good, and death is nothing. If this should be the last, then accept from the man that was always your man and will be your man until he dies, a last Good-by."

A few days later he went to his reward.

The loyalty of such a man is a precious possession.

The lot of the non-Christian tribes inhabiting the regularly organized provinces is not a happy one. The township government act is applicable to their settlements, and the provincial officers have the same powers and duties with reference to them as have the corresponding officers in the special government provinces. In both cases these powers are exercised subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior, but in providing for the government of non-Christians in Christian provinces, we overlooked one very essential detail. Neither the secretary of the interior nor any one else has authority to compel the governors or provincial boards of these provinces to act. They have discovered that efforts to improve the condition of the ignorant and primitive peoples intrusted to their charge can be very effectively nullified if they merely sit still and do nothing, and almost with one accord they have adopted this policy. Exception should be made in favour of North Ilocos, South Ilocos, Pangasinán, Ambos Camarines, Iloilo and Zambales. No other provinces have made any real effort to help their non-Christian population, and the funds set aside by law to be expended for this end simply go on accumulating in their respective treasuries, as I have managed to convince them that efforts to divert such funds to purposes not authorized by law will not prosper. The law should be so amended as to provide that if provincial boards fail to act, the secretary of the interior may do so.

The organization of the Moro Province was provided for by an act passed on June 1, 1903.[1] It is the largest single province in the Philippine Islands, including within its limits more than half of the great island of Mindanao with various small islands adjacent thereto, and Basilan, Joló, Siassi, Tawi Tawi, Sibutu, Cagayan de Joló and the very numerous other small islands stretching between Mindanao and North Borneo. It is divided into five districts, each with a district governor. The province has a governor, a secretary, a treasurer, an attorney, an engineer and a superintendent of schools. The four officials first named constitute a legislative council the acts of which are subject to the approval of the Philippine Commission.

The province is allowed to expend the moneys accruing from the customs dues paid at Joló and Zamboanga, which are ports of entry, but is not fully self-supporting. The insular government pays for the Philippine constabulary serving there. Until within a very short time the provincial officials have been almost exclusively officers of the army of the United States. In my opinion this arrangement has been a bad one, not because of the character of the men who have done the work, many of whom were of exceptional ability and were admirably fitted for the performance of the duties which fell to their lot, but because no one of them has retained a given office long enough to carry a policy through to its logical conclusion and get the results which might thus have been obtained. Indeed, the lack of a fixed policy, combined with some unnecessary and unjustifiable killing, explain, in my opinion, the fact that the results accomplished have come far short of what might have been expected when one considers the splendid body of men from which the provincial officials have been drawn.

Noteworthy public improvements have been made in places like

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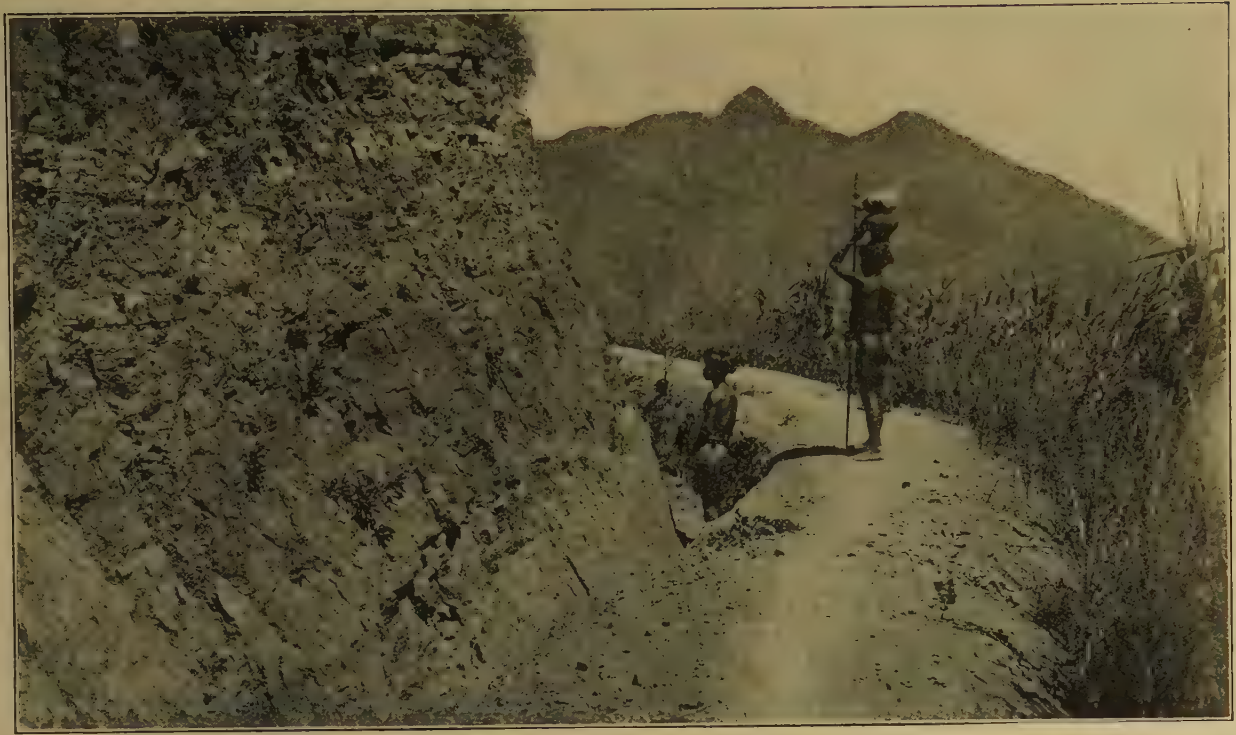
[1] Act No. 787, Philippine Commission, June 1, 1903. For a contemporaneous account of the situation which led to the creation of the Moro Province, see, *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 1, pp. 5–14.

Zamboanga and Joló, but the country of the hill people, which ought to have been crisscrossed with trails long ere this, is still not opened up. Tribes like the Mandayas would, if given the opportunity, advance as rapidly as have the Bukidnons, but such opportunity has not been given to them to any considerable extent.

Having heard much of the Mandaya villages near Mati, I improved the opportunity to visit them in August, 1912, only to find to my amazement that the local constabulary officer, who ought to have been in the closest possible touch with these people, did not even know the way to their settlements. At another place where some 1400 hill people had been compelled to come down from their native mountains and settle in a village which could have been made a model of cleanliness, and should have been surrounded by rich cultivated fields, not half enough ground had been cleared to furnish food for the inhabitants, even under the most favourable circumstances. The houses were falling down; the streets were deep in mud; the garden patches were overgrown with weeds; more than half of the people had taken to the hills again in a search for food, and small blame to them! I found here as fine appearing a young constabulary officer as one could hope to meet, eating his heart out because he had nothing to do! Neither he nor any of his soldiers spoke the local dialect. He was supposed to be running a store, among other things, for the benefit of the hill people. I asked to see it, and it took him half an hour to find the key! In sixty minutes I could have set him work enough to keep him busy for three months. All that he needed was some one to direct him, but there was no one to do it. With the best intentions in the world he was using his soldiers to chase a lot of poor hill people back into a village where they ought never to have been asked to live. In other words, the Moro Province, having brought these people down and ordered them to settle on a site selected for them, had signally failed to back its own game. I myself would not think of trying to compel members of a wild tribe to live in any given place, unless it were necessary to do so in the interest of public order. Life in villages can, and should, be made so attractive to them that they will be glad to adopt it.

The Moros, with their fanatical religious beliefs and prejudices, present a very grave problem. Conditions have undoubtedly greatly improved in Davao, Cotabato and Zamboanga. I am not sufficiently familiar with affairs in the Lanao district to express an intelligent opinion concerning them. So far as concerns Joló, it is my opinion that things have come to a bad pass there; that life and property are not as safe to-day as they were during the early days of the American occupation, and that we have progressed backward for some



Finished Trail Built by Ifugaos.

Approximately a thousand miles of such trail have been built in the Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya under American rule.

time. However, Joló pirates have at least been pretty effectively kept off the sea, and that in itself is a very important result.

It is idle to suppose that the Moros can be subdued and made into decent citizens by throwing kisses at them. It was certain from the start that they would transgress. In my opinion, if we are to cure them of their evil tendencies, we must first warn them that they will be punished if they misbehave, and then make the warning come true. This has been done, but to another very important part of the programme which I deem essential to success, comparatively little attention seems to have been given. When people who have been punished for misbehavior have had enough they should be afforded a chance to quit, and indeed should be encouraged and helped to do so. No grudge should be borne for past misdeeds after the account has once been settled. Occasions have not been lacking in the Moro Province on which men have been treated with severity when they should have been treated with kindness.

In the Moro, native racial characteristics have been profoundly modified by religious beliefs. These people are religious fanatics. I have known two Moros armed with bamboo lances to attack a column of two thousand soldiers armed with rifles. It is an historic fact that Moro *juramentados*[1] once attempted to rush the walls of Joló and kept up the fruitless effort until they blocked with their dead bodies the rifle slits, so that it became necessary for the Spanish soldiers to take positions on top of the walls in order to fire. I have known a Moro, shot repeatedly through the body and with both legs broken, to take his kriss in his teeth and pull himself forward with his hands in the hope of getting near enough to strike one more blow for the Prophet.

The Filipinos are afraid of the Moros and they have the best of reasons to be. The relative numerical insignificance of these Mohammedan fighters has little to do with the question under consideration. Their number has for centuries borne substantially the same proportion to the total population of the Philippines which it now bears, yet no one can deny that it is but a short time since they harried the archipelago from south to north and from east to west. The shores of Northern Luzón and the neighbouring islands are to-day dotted with the forts which were built for defence against them. The town of Polillo, on the northernmost island off the east coast of Luzón, is still surrounded by a high wall built to protect its inhabitants from the Moros. The churches at Cuyo, Agutaya, Culion, Linapacan and Taytay stand inside of strong stone fortresses in which the people took refuge when the Moros descended on their towns. Back of Bacuit a cave high up in a cliff was kept provisioned that it might serve a similiar purpose.

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[1] Men who have taken a solemn oath to die killing Christians.

Not only were the Filipinos unable to protect themselves against these bloodthirsty pirates of the south, but the Spaniards were for nearly two and a half centuries unable to afford them adequate protection. When I was in Tawi Tawi in 1891 the Moros of that island were still actively engaged in taking Filipino slaves and selling them in Borneo.

I yield to no one in my admiration for the courage of Filipinos, and have expressed it on a score of occasions. In my first book on the Philippines I made the following reference to it:—

> "I once saw a man in Culion who was seamed and gashed with horrible scars from head to foot. How any one could possibly survive such injuries as he had received I do not know. It seemed that his wife and children had been butchered by four Moros while he was absent. He returned just as the murderers were taking to their boat. Snatching a machete, he plunged into the water after them, clambered into their prau, and killed them all. When one remembers the sort of weapons that Moros carry, the thing seems incredible, but a whole village full of people vouched for the truth of the story." [1]

This was not the only tribute which I paid to the courage of the Filipinos [2] and I have never made a statement intended to reflect on it in the slightest degree. It is true that their fighting ability is on the average far below that of the Moros, and I may add that the same thing holds for Americans on the average.

With all of our resources we have not as yet been able to establish a decent state of public order in the little island of Joló. No serious-minded person, familiar with the facts, with whom I have ever talked, believes for a moment that the Filipinos could establish an effective government over the Moros, or could keep them at home. They are wonderful boatmen and when once at sea in the little crafts of their own building are liable to strike the coast of the Philippine Islands at any point. When it is remembered that this coast is longer than that of the continental United States, the impossibility of adequately protecting the whole of it becomes immediately manifest. It would be always possible, under Filipino rule, for the Moros to strike defenceless towns, and where they struck the only resource of the inhabitants, whether Filipinos, Europeans or Americans, would be in speedy flight. It should be borne in mind that one Mohammedan who is earnestly desirous of being killed while fighting Christians can chase a good many unarmed citizens into the tall timber, brave though they may be!

I venture here once more to express the deliberate opinion that if American control were withdrawn from these islands and some other civilized nation did not interfere to restore a decent state of public order, the Moros would resume their piratical raids and the terrorization of the coast towns of the Philippines.

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[1] Worcester, *The Philippine Islands and Their People*, p. 481.

[2] See p. 639. Chapter XIV, *passim;* p. 321.

Men endowed with such magnificent courage as the Moro warriors often display certainly have their redeeming qualities. The same old policy that has won with the Ifugaos, Bontoc Igorots and Kalingas, and is winning with the wild Tingians and Ilongots, has been tried in dealing with the renegade Moros of Palawan with a considerable degree of success. It is my firm belief that it will work with the Moros of Mindanao, Basilan, Joló and Tawi Tawi, but substantial and permanent progress cannot now be anticipated for many years. The Moros must be given more than a square deal, or results will not differ essentially from those which have attended the efforts of Japan to subdue the hill people of Northern Formosa, or those of the Dutch to subdue the Achinese.

Recently nearly all of the army officers holding positions in the Moro Province have been replaced by civilians. This is a move in the right direction; not, I repeat, because the men thus displaced are incapable of achieving success if given the opportunity, but because continuity of policy is absolutely essential to success and is impracticable if the men charged with carrying out that policy are to be constantly changed. The next governor of the Moro Province should be a civilian and should be selected with the greatest care. He should be able, energetic, fearless, tireless and young. He should be kept in office for twenty years if he will stay so long. The task which awaits him is real man's work.[1]

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[1] Developments in the government of the Moros since 1913 are traced in, Ralston Hayden, "What Next for the Moro?" in *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. VI, no. 4 (July, 1928).

CHAPTER XXIII

NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBE PROBLEMS

AND now let us try to gain a clear appreciation of some of the problems actually presented by the existence of the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines. They belong to twenty-seven tribes at the most.[1] Probably this number will ultimately be somewhat further reduced. The number of dialects spoken is greatly in excess of the number of tribes, as the people of a single tribe sometimes speak three or four well-marked dialects.

The tribes are divided between two wholly distinct races, to wit, Negritos and Malays.[2] The Negritos are of very low mentality and are incapable of any considerable degree of civilization. Many of them are kept in a state of abject peonage, and not a few are held in actual slavery, by their Christian Filipino neighbours. In revenge for the abuses which they suffer they are prone to commit criminal acts, and the problem which they present resolves itself into protecting them from their neighbours and their neighbours from them. The latter thing would be easy enough if the former were practicable, but unfortunately their neighbours cannot be persuaded to let them alone, and never do it except under compulsion.

In social development these Malay tribes vary from the semi-nomadic Mangyans of Mindoro to the highly civilized Tingians of Abra, who are in many ways superior to the Ilocanos with whom they live in close contact. Some of these tribes, like the Benguet-Lepanto Igorots and the Tingians, are peaceful agriculturists; others, like the wild Tingians of Apayao, the Kalingas, the Bontoc Igorots, the Ifugaos, the Ilongots, the Manobos and the Mandayas, are, or recently have been, fierce fighters prone to indulge in such customs as the taking of human heads for war trophies, or even the making of human sacrifices to appease their heathen divinities. The Moros stand in a class by themselves on account of their strong adherence to the Mohammedan faith and their inclination to propagate it by the sword.

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[1] In his painstaking study, *The Population of the Philippines in 1916,* Professor H. Otley Beyer recognizes and describes 24 pagan and seven Mohammedan "ethnographic groups," speaking 62 known dialects. The Census of 1918 estimated the non-Christian population of the Philippines as 932,953, or 9 per cent of the total number of inhabitants. (*Census,* 1918, II, pp. 13, 19.) Of the non-Christians listed, 821,790 were dwelling in the specially organized provinces. (*Ibid.,* p. 13.) The pagans numbered 508,596, and the Mohammedans 443,037, or five per cent and four and three-tenths per cent, respectively, of the total population of the Archipelago. (*Ibid.,* p. 51.)

[2] Professor Beyer recognizes three "general racial types" among the non-Christians: the Pygmies, the Idonesians, and the Malays. See his important paper, "The Non-Christian People of the Philippines," *Census,* 1918, II, pp. 907–957.

Americans have adopted a firm but kindly policy in dealing with the non-Christian tribes and have met with extraordinary success in winning their good will and weaning them from the worst of their evil customs. Even with those of the Moros who live outside of the island of Joló considerable progress has been made. Head-hunting has been abolished among the Ifugaos, Igorots and Kalingas with an ease which was wholly unanticipated.

In all work for the wild people the attitude of governors and lieutenant-governors has proved to be a matter of fundamental importance. The problem in each province or subprovince has been a one-man problem. He who would succeed in handling wild men must be absolutely fearless, for if he is not, they are quick to discover the fact and to take advantage of it. He must protect his people from injustice and oppression, or they will lose faith in him. He must have a genuinely friendly feeling toward them, and must bear them no ill will even when they misbehave. They will not object to severe punishment when they know that it is deserved, but after being punished feel that the slate has been wiped clean, and that they are making a fresh start. They believe in letting by-gones be by-gones, and their officials should meet them half way in this.

The following occurrence illustrates my point. Before all the settlements of Ifugao had been brought under control, Lieutenant-Governor Jeff D. Gallman had a headman acting as policeman, who rendered invaluable service and was allowed to carry a gun. No one dreamed that he would ever be molested. When on a trip to Lingay he became overheated, and stopped to bathe in a stream, leaving his gun on the bank. Some young men improved the opportunity thus afforded to attack him. One of them threw a lance into him, and then they all started to run away. Such was his reputation and influence that he succeeded in compelling them to return and pull the lance out, but he was fatally hurt and soon died.

After his death they took his head and his gun, and immediately thereafter the Lingay people sent to Gallman a challenge to come and fight them. He promptly accepted their invitation, taking a few Ifugao soldiers with him. He found the country deserted. Women, children, pigs and chickens had been sent into the forested mountains. Roofs and board sides of houses had been removed so that there remained only the bare frameworks which could not readily be burned.

For some time Gallman encountered no opposition. He at last grew careless and walked into an ambush. He was met with a volley of stones and a flight of lances. Fortunately for him the stones arrived first and one of them, striking him in the face, knocked him senseless. Another injured his right hand and knocked his revolver some distance down the almost precipitous mountainside, and his soldiers thought him dead. When he recovered consciousness, he heard them talking close to him. They agreed that they must do two things: first, prevent his head from being taken; and, second, punish his assailants. Before he could call to them they charged the latter and scattered them right and left. Gallman staggered to his feet, hunted around until he found his revolver, and rejoined his men. It was known that their opponents had had ten guns before killing the policeman and taking his. There followed a marked unpleasantness, at the end of which Gallman had the eleven guns, and most of those who had been using them had been gathered to their fathers. He then returned to his station at Banaue.

Three days later the headmen of Lingay came walking in, shook hands and announced that they had had enough. Gallman asked them why they had been so foolish. They replied that as they already had ten guns, when they got one more the young men became overconfident, thought that they could whip the constabulary, get their guns also and dominate all that part of Ifugao. The old men said that they had warned the young fellows that their plan would result in disaster, but as they were not to be dissuaded, and as they were their young men, had finally joined in. They said, however, that they were glad things had come out as they had, for the young men would now behave themselves, and it is worthy of note that they have done so ever since. Six weeks later, when I visited Banaue, the one survivor of the eleven gunmen came in and danced with the other Ifugaos on the plaza, apparently as happy as any of them.

How many Filipinos are there who have the courage, the kindliness, the knowledge of primitive human nature and the sympathy with it which would enable them to treat the really wild barbarians as Gallman and Hale have treated them? Thus far I have found one, and one only.

In a previous chapter[1] I have told the story of a Kalinga with whom I had just made friends according to the formula of his tribe who put his life in deadly peril twice within the space of twenty-four hours in order to save mine when it was gravely endangered by his fellow-tribesmen. Is such real friendship possible between Filipinos and non-Christians? Not at present. A lot of ancient history must first be lived down.

In the Philippines it has invariably been true that the wild man has in the past been more or less completely despoiled of the fruits

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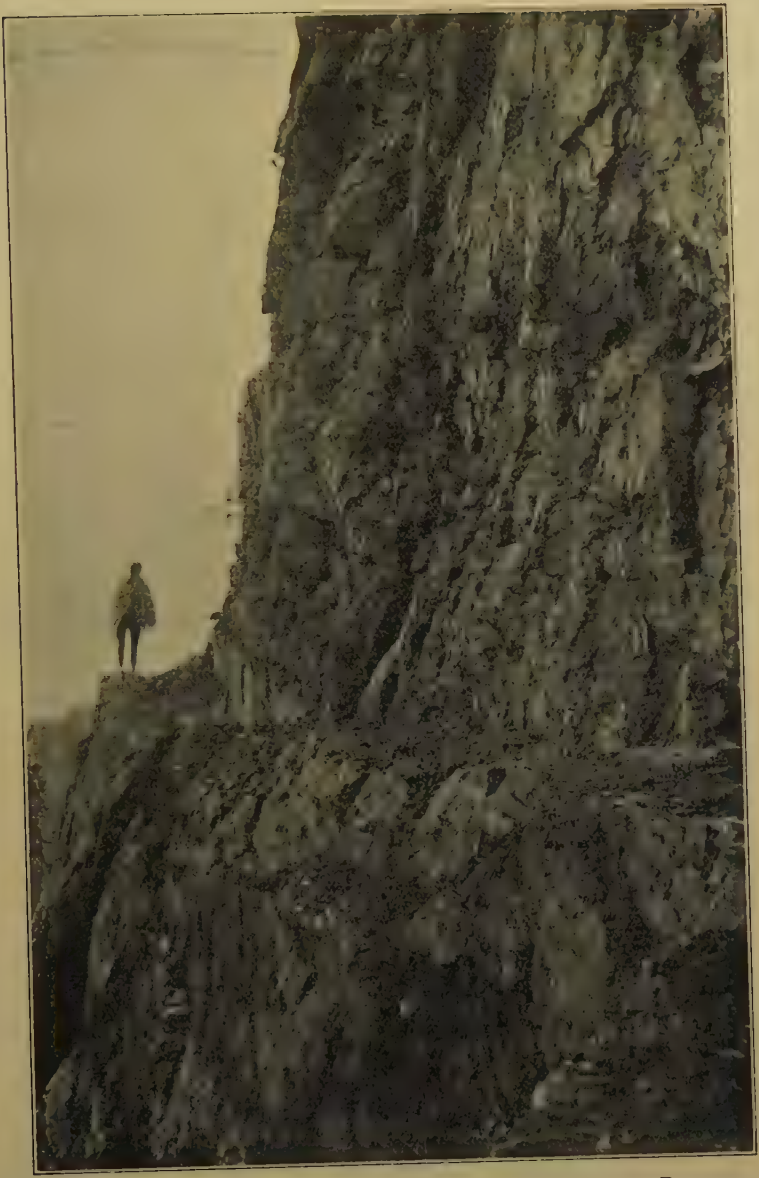
[1] Page 428, *et seq.*



A Difficult Bit of Rock Work on the Mountain Trail in Benguet.

This trail has since been widened. It formerly required nerve to ride a horse around the corner where the Igorot is standing.

of his labour by his so-called "Christian" neighbours whenever compelled to do business with them in order to obtain some of the necessaries of life. He is accustomed to receive a mere pittance for his products, and to pay enormous prices when he makes purchases. The opening of the so-called "government exchanges," which are stores where the products of the surrounding country are purchased and where the things required by the hill people are sold at a small margin of profit, has proved very useful in the establishment of friendly and helpful relations with them. In some places they have been persuaded to grow new and more profitable crops. Some of the Benguet Igorots, for instance, now raise strawberries for sale at Baguio, although a few years ago they had never seen them.

If in control, would the Filipinos reverse the policy they have heretofore always followed in commercial dealings with the wild men? Most assuredly not.

The Igorots, Ifugaos and Kalingas are adepts in the use of irrigation water, and know how to terrace the steepest mountainsides so as to employ it advantageously wherever it is available. The giving of help in running main irrigation ditches through rock has been especially appreciated by them. The money which we expend for this purpose goes for the establishment of proper grade lines, the providing of necessary supervision and the purchase of explosives and tools for rock work. The people concerned are more than glad to contribute all necessary labour free of charge.

Would the Filipinos continue to make funds available for such improvements in the wild man's country? A thousand times no! Before any one disputes me, let him show one instance where they have done any such thing in any one of the very numerous provinces where the expenditure of funds for non-Christians is under their control.

In dealing with tribes which have been accustomed to live by families, or small groups of families, and to select very inaccessible places for their homes, it is of course necessary to persuade them to live in larger groups and in reasonably accessible places before much progress can be made toward improving their condition. This is usually not a very difficult task if one goes about it in the right way.

In Bukidnon, for instance, where we are still bringing people down from the tree-tops, in which they and some of their ancestors have lived for centuries, and settling them in well-ordered and beautifully kept villages, when new arrivals come in to inspect the towns and interrogate me as to the conditions under which they may take up residence there, I often have conversations like this:—

"What about this life in town?"

"Look around and see for yourself. Talk with the people and hear what they have to say about it. They will tell you whether they like it or not, and why."

"But what do I have to do if I wish to live in town?"

"A piece of ground will be assigned to you and on it you must build a decent house like those you see. This house is for you and your family, not for me. I come here only once or twice a year and at the most stay over one night, so I do not need your house. The lieutenant-governor does not need it. When he comes he stays at the *presidencia*. He will not let any one take it away from you."

"Very well. What else?"

"You will have to build a good, tight fence around the lot given you and keep your domestic animals inside it. You must also clean it up thoroughly, removing all vegetation and filling all the low places so that water cannot stand in them. Then you must keep it clean."

"What is the use of that?"

"The *búsaos* [1] who cause sickness do not like clean places and stay away from them."

"I never heard of that."

"Ask the people who have tried keeping their yards clean, and they will tell you that it is true."

"Well, what else?"

"As long as you have to keep your yard clean you might as well plant something useful in it, so that you will get a good return for your labour."

"That is a good idea. Is there anything more?"

"Yes. You must take up a piece of the beautiful prairie land near town, build a fence around it to keep out the wild hogs and deer, and plant it with rice, *camotes* or something else that will give your family plenty of food and if possible leave a surplus to sell, so that you can buy better clothes with the money you make."

"But I cannot break this thick prairie sod."

"The ground will be ploughed for you the first time. After that you must look after it yourself."

"Is that all?"

"No. There is one additional very important thing. I am getting old and fat,[2] and I can no longer scramble around over these hills as I used to do. I want to come and see you every year, and find out how you are getting on. You will have to help build good trails for my big horse, working ten days every year, or paying two pesos, so that some one else can be hired to work in your place. Everything else that I have told you must be done, if you come to town, is for your benefit, not for mine, and even the trails are only partly for my benefit. You will find it easy and safe to travel over them, and when you want to go to market, your carabao will be able to pack three or four times as much as he can now carry over bad paths."

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[1] Evil spirits.

[2] This is only too true!

"Will I gain any other advantages by living in town?"

"Yes, two very important ones. You and your family will be safe from attack, and you will have a chance to send your children to school."

"Must I come and live in town if I do not want to?"

"By no means. If you prefer to live up a tree in the mountains, no one will interfere with you so long as you behave yourself. There are plenty of mountains and plenty of trees."

As a result of the simple arguments above outlined and of the protection and help given them, nearly all of the Bukidnon people have left the mountain fastnesses through which they have until recently been scattered, and are voluntarily taking up their residences in towns which in their way are models.

Could the Filipinos keep them in the towns where we have settled them? No; and they would not if they could. They would chase them back into the foreets as they were doing when we made them stop it. Furthermore, they could not if they would. In September, 1912, I heard the people of eastern Bukidnon tell Governor Reyes of Misamis that if their territory were put back into his province, they would take to the hills and live with the Manobos.

One of the most important factors in winning and retaining the good will of the non-Christian peoples has been the extension to them of protection from the impositions of their Filipino neighbours. The following is a fair sample of the sort of thing to which they have in the past been subjected.

During my last trip through Bukidnon I learned that a long-haired mountaineer who had been encouraged to plant coffee and Manila hemp had acted on the suggestion, working very hard and establishing an excellent plantation which had prospered. When he had products ready for market he had taken them to the coast town of Balingasák. He did not speak the language of the Visayan Filipino inhabitants of that place, so fell into the hands of one of them who knew his dialect. This rascal helped him to sell his produce, but took a heavy commission for this service. The hillman was nevertheless delighted with the result, whereupon his "commissioner" suggested that what he really needed was a partner in town to sell his crops, so that he could spend his whole time in cultivating his fields and not have to go to market. This struck the hillman as a good idea. The Filipino made out what purported to be articles of partnership and the hillman signed them with his mark, in the presence of witnesses.

A few months later he sent a valuable shipment of coffee and hemp to his "partner." When weeks had passed without his hearing from it, he went to Balingasák to find out what was wrong, whereupon his "partner" stated that he was greatly obliged to him for his trouble in cultivating and harvesting the products of the farm. The hillman demanded his share of the returns and the "partner" calmly assured him that he had no share, having sold his farm at the time of his last visit. Investigation proved that this ignorant man had signed a bill of sale for his place.

Lieutenant-Governor Fortich interested himself in the case and caused suit to be brought against the rascally "partner" for stealing the hillman's produce. The *fiscal*, or public prosecuting, officer was a bright young Filipino who had recently graduated from an American university. Nevertheless, he had the suit thrown out of court because the "partner" of the hillman claimed that the farm was his, and a question of property ownership could not be conveniently determined in connection with a criminal suit.

At this stage of events I took a hand and brought the matter to the attention of the Honourable Gregorio Araneta, secretary of finance and justice. The *fiscal* had suggested that the wild man could bring a civil suit for damages against his "partner." How could this helpless barbarian have gone to Cagayan, hired a lawyer and lived there while his case was pending? He was absolutely helpless. Naturally, I was not. Another suit was brought and the "partner" was sentenced to pay a fine and was given a term in jail.

This is no isolated case. The wild men are constantly deprived of their crops or their lands; cheated in the sale of their products and in their purchases; arrested and fined on trumped-up charges; compelled to work for others without compensation; charged by private individuals for the privilege of using government forests or taking up public lands; and badgered and imposed upon in a thousand and one other ways.

If the Filipinos were put in control, would there rise up among them unselfish men who would check the rapacity of their fellows, and extend to the helpless peoples the protection they now enjoy?

At all events, those who have made it their business to protect the people of the non-Christian tribes have not been popular among the Filipinos. As a precautionary measure, I warned every man appointed governor of, or lieutenant-governor in, a special government province that he must expect sooner or later to be accused of many of the crimes recognized by existing laws. Every such man who does his duty eventually has false, and usually foul, charges brought against him. A common, and indeed the favourite, complaint is that he has been guilty of improper relations with women. The Filipino is an expert in framing up cases of this sort, and seems to take special

A Flying Ferry in Operation.

delight in it, partly no doubt because such charges are so excessively difficult to disprove.

Cruel abuse of the wild men, or their families; falsification of public documents; misappropriation of public funds; adultery; rape,—these are all common charges, while more than one of my subordinates has been accused of murder, and one has actually been brought into court on such a charge. It is certainly no sinecure to be an officer of a special government province.

A potent means of winning the undying regard of the wild man is to cure him when he is sick, or heal him when he is injured. Hospitals have already been established in two of the special government provinces and are doing untold good.[1] Practically every officer of these provinces carries a set of simple remedies with him when he travels, and treats the sick without compensation as opportunity offers, but this work is as yet in its infancy.

The Filipinos have not doctors enough to heal their own sick. Would they remember to heal the wild men? Hardly.

Several of the wild tribes have progressed very rapidly during the brief period since the American occupation, and if given adequate protection and friendly assistance they will continue to progress. Their splendid physiques and high intelligence, no less than their truthfulness, honesty and morality, certainly make them well worth saving.

Under Filipino rule the more helpless of these tribes would speedily come under the control of their former oppressors, but people like the Ifugaos, Bontoc Igorots, Kalingas and wild Tingians would fight to the death before submitting to them, and there would result a guerrilla warfare as endless and disastrous as that which has lasted so long between the Dutch and the Achinese. There is every theoretical reason to believe that the Filipinos would adopt toward such hostile primitive peoples the policy of extermination which the Japanese have been so vigorously carrying out in dealing with the hill people of northern Formosa, who do not differ in any important respect from the hill people of northern Luzón, with whom such helpful and friendly relations have now been established.[2]

We have encouraged the primitive Philippine peoples to stand up for their rights. We have promised them our protection and help if they would do it, and thus far we have kept our promise. To break it now, and turn them over to the tender mercies of the Filipinos, who have never ceased to make threats as to what they will do when they get the chance, would in my opinion be a crime against civilization. Were American control to be withdrawn before the civilization of the wild tribes had been effected, their future would be dark indeed. Under continued American control they can be won over to civilized ways, and will in the end become mentally and morally, as they now are physically, a superior type of citizen.

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[1] In 1927 there were in operation in the special provinces ten hospitals under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Public Health Service. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, pp. 150–151.)

[2] Although the Japanese have not been successful in starting the Formosan hill tribes on the road towards civilization, they have not, at least during recent years, followed a "policy of extermination" in dealing with them. [Editor.]

No man has been blessed with better subordinates than I have had to assist me in the work carried on under my direction for the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines. I wish it clearly understood that it is to the loyalty and efficiency of these men that the results which have been obtained are due. Fearlessly, tirelessly, uncomplainingly, they have borne their heavy shares of the white man's burden, finding their greatest reward in the respect, gratitude, and in many cases the affection, of those whom they have so faithfully and effectively served.

Think of Pack, weakened by illnesses which twice brought him within a hair's breadth of death, wearing himself out riding over the Mountain Province trails, many of which he himself had laboriously built, in order to keep the little handful of men who control its 400,000 non-Christian inhabitants up to the high-water mark of efficiency, when he could have gone home any day and spent his remaining years in leisurely comfort; of Bryant, wandering for weeks on end through the trackless forests of Nueva Vizcaya in order to get in touch with Ilongot savages who were a good deal more than "half devil" with the balance not "half child" but peculiarly treacherous, vicious and savage man; of Offley, packing the bare necessities of life on his own back while he struggled out to the coast from the centre of Mindoro, where his frightened carriers had deserted him; of Kane, burning in the heat of the lowlands or soaked and shivering on chilly mountain crests, while building new roads and keeping old ones open for traffic; of Lewis, trying to cover a territory large enough to tax the energies of three men, and in his efforts to do so riding until so weary that at night he fell from his horse unable to dismount; of Fortich, a Filipino lieutenant-governor, faithfully carrying out the white man's policy and protecting the Bukidnons from his own people who charged him with murder because he drove them from their prey; of Gallman, risking his life a thousand times in a successful individual effort to bring 125,000 head-hunting savages under effective control and to establish relations of genuine friendship with them; of Hale, turning tattooed Kalinga devils into effective officers for the maintenance of law and order, or making a bundle of the lances thrown at him and sending them back to the people who threw them with a mild suggestion that it was impolite to treat a would-be friend in such an unceremonious way; of Johnson, tramping through the reeking filth of the Butuan swamps with a cancer eating away the bone of his leg, and referring to it as "a little swelling" when asked what made him lame; of Bondurant, spending the last afternoon of his life in pursuing Moro outlaws through that worst of all tropical infernos, a mangrove swamp, when burning with pernicious malarial fever and fighting for the very breath of life; of Miller, faithful unto death!

We are wont to quote with feeling the familiar words, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend," but what shall we say of the love of duty of men like Miller and Bondurant, who in doing their country's work cheerfully laid down their lives for an alien people?

While in the United States in 1910 I read Rudyard Kipling's "If" and thereafter did not rest until I had sent a copy of it to each governor and lieutenant-governor employed in the special provincial government service of the Philippine Islands. Kipling wrote for these men of mine up in the hills without knowing it. They understand him and he would understand them.

There is not one of them who has not learned to

"... fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run";

not one whose personal experience has left him deaf to the appeal of the lines:—

"If you can keep your head when all about you
  Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
  But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
  Or being lied about don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
  And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise."

Furthermore, each of them has again and again finished on his nerve. Did not the words,—

"If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
  To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
  Except the Will which says to them: 'Hold on!'"

run through Bondurant's mind that last afternoon when he was following Moro outlaws through a foul mangrove swamp, while his senses reeled with the fever which was so soon to end his life?

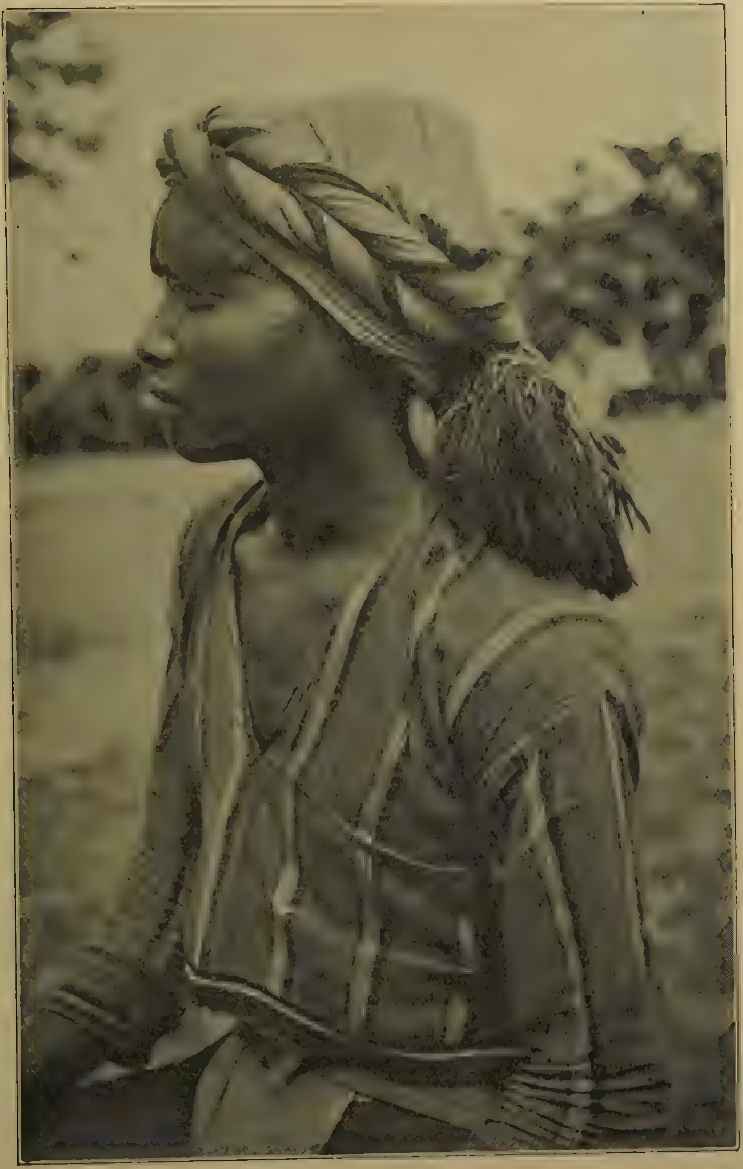
In his wonderful quadruplet of stanzas Kipling has fixed one criterion of manhood which it is hard indeed to meet:—

"If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,
And stoop and build them up with worn-out tools."

I beg my fellow-countrymen to remember that the non-Christians of the Philippines constitute one-ninth of the population; that the work undertaken for their physical, mental and moral advancement has succeeded far beyond the hopes of those who initiated it; that its results would go down like a house of cards if American control were prematurely withdrawn. Shall the men who have devoted their lives to these things be forced to watch them broken, and then be denied the poor privilege of building them up again? If the splendid results of so much efficient, faithful, self-sacrificing and successful effort were to be lost, would not the dead who gave their lives for them turn in their graves?

The greatest of the non-Christian tribe problems in the Philippines at present is, "Shall the work go on?"

There is one satisfaction which no man can take from those of us who have worked for the advancement of these backward and hitherto neglected peoples. We have shown what can be done!



A WILD TINGIAN OF APAYAO.

The Tingians of Apayao have proved to be the most difficult of the hill-tribes of Northern Luzon to bring under effective governmental control. With them head-hunting is connected with religious beliefs and observances.

CHAPTER XXIV

SLAVERY AND PEONAGE

CHATTEL slavery existed in the Philippine Islands when Magellan discovered them in 1521. It exists there to-day.

Morga, who was in the Philippines from 1595 to about 1608, and is admittedly the most reliable chronicler of the events of those early days, has given the following interesting account of the conditions then existing: [1]—

> "There are three classes of persons among the natives of these Islands, by which the commonwealth is divided: *principales*, of whom I have spoken before; *timawa* which is the same as plebeians, and slaves, of *principales* as well as of *timawa*. These slaves were of various classes: some are in entire servitude and slavery, like those which we have, and these are called *sagigilir;* they served in the interior of the houses and so also the children descended from them; others, who have their own dwellings, which they inhabit with their family, away from the house of their master, and these come in at times to help the latter in their fields and crops, as also aboard the vessel when they embark, and in the construction of their houses whenever they erect such, and they also serve in their houses whenever there is a guest of some distinction, and they are under obligation, whenever the master has them called, to come to his house and to serve him in this ministry without pay or other stipend; these are called *namamahai*, and their children and descendents are slaves of the same condition. Of these slaves *sagigilir* and *namamahai* there are some who are slaves entirely, and others who are only half slaves, and others who are slaves only for a fourth part. This originates thus: if either the father or the mother was free and they had a single child, the latter was half free and half slave. If they had more than one child, the children were distributed in this way: the first followed the condition of the father, be he free or a slave, and the second that of the mother; and if the number was uneven, the last child was half free and half slave; and those descended from such child, if they had a free father or a free mother, remained slave only for a fourth part, because they were children of a free father, or mother, and of a half slave. These half or quarter slaves, *namamahai* or *sagigilir*, serve their masters only every second month, respectively, in proportion to their condition as slave.

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[1] Rizal's 1890 edition of Morga's "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas," p. 297, *et seq.*

"Among the natives the ordinary price of a slave *sagigilir* used to be, if much, ten taes of good gold, worth 80 pesos, and if he is a *namamahai* half of that, and thus in proportion the others, taking into account the personality and age.

"It cannot be established as a principle from where these classes of servitude among the natives arose, for they are all of the islands and not foreigners; it is understood that they made them in their wars and differences; and the most certain is that those who were most powerful made and took as slaves the others for slight causes and occasions, and most often through loans and usurious contracts current amongst them, the payment, risk and debt increasing with the lapse of time until they became slaves; and thus all these forms of servitude have their violent and unjust origin, and it is about them that there arise the greater part of the lawsuits that exist among the natives and with which they keep busy the judges in the forum of the court, and the confessors in that of the conscience."

To the last of the preceding paragraphs Rizal makes the following annotation, which, *mutatis mutandis,* should give leading Filipinos of to-day matter for reflection:—

"This class of slaves exists even now in many parts, and before all in the province of Batangas, but it must be confessed that their condition is very different from that of a slave in Greece, or Rome, from that of the negro, and even of those made in later times by Spaniards. . . .

"Filipinas, in spite of so many centuries of christianization, in spite of the efforts of some few noble minds, priests as well as civilians, continues still, and is desired to continue, almost in the same state as formerly, for those who direct the country look more to the present than to the future, and because they are guided not by confidence, but by fear. The efforts of the religious corporations to improve this state of things have never been as efficacious, nor as strenuous, as might have been expected from them."

Morga continues: [1]—

"These slaves are the greatest wealth and capital which the natives of these islands possess, because they are to them very useful and necessary for their labors and farms; and among them they are sold, exchanged, and made objects of contract, like any other merchandise, from one pueblo to the other, from one province to the other, and likewise from one island to the other. For which reason, and in order to avoid so many lawsuits that would arise, if the question of these servitudes, their origin and beginning, were taken up, they [the slaves, Tr.] are retained and kept as they were kept formerly."

Rizal comments on this passage as follows:—

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[1] "Sucesos," p. 300.

"Thus catholicism not only did not liberate the poor class from the tyranny of the oppressive, but with its advent in the Philippines increased the number of tyrants. Time alone, and instruction, which with it brings suaver customs, will ultimately redeem the Pariahs of the Philippines, for we see that the apostles of the peace did not find in themselves sufficient valour to battle with the oppressors, and this in times of great faith; on the contrary, they rather contributed indirectly to their misery, as we see from the foregoing."

The most frequent cause, already mentioned above, from which these conditions of servitude arose, is again pointed out by Morga in the following passage: [1]—

"Loans with interest were in very common practice, excessively high rates of interest being current, so that the debt doubled and multiplied all the time during which the payment was deferred, until there was taken from the debtor what he possessed as capital, and, when ultimately nothing more was left, his person and his children."

Of these statements Rizal says:—

"This is the sad truth, and so much the truth that it subsists until now. In many provinces, and in many towns, there is taking place, word for word, what Morga says, it being to be lamented that at present not only Indios [Filipinos, TR.] continue this usury, but also the *mestizos,* the Spaniards, and even various priests. And it has come to this that the Government itself not only permits it, but in its turn exacts the capital and the person in payment of the debt of others, as occurs with the *cabeza de barangay.*"

It would be easy to compile passages similar to the preceding from other authors, but those given are explicit and authoritative enough to make it clear, first, that slavery existed in the Philippines at the time of the conquest as a general tribal institution of social and economical character and in minutely regulated form; and, second, that although it lost, with the advent of the Spaniards, the character of an institution, and indeed was formally abolished by early edicts from Spain, it continued to exist as an unauthorized practice, so that Rizal, writing at the close of the nineteenth century, could say that slaves still existed in many parts of the country.

I shall now discuss at length the more recent history and present status of slavery and peonage in the Philippines, because of the vital importance of full knowledge of the facts to intelligent consideration of the claim that the Filipinos have arrived at a stage of civilization comparable with that of the more advanced nations of the world, and are capable of establishing and maintaining a just and humane government.

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[1] *Ibid.,* p. 305.

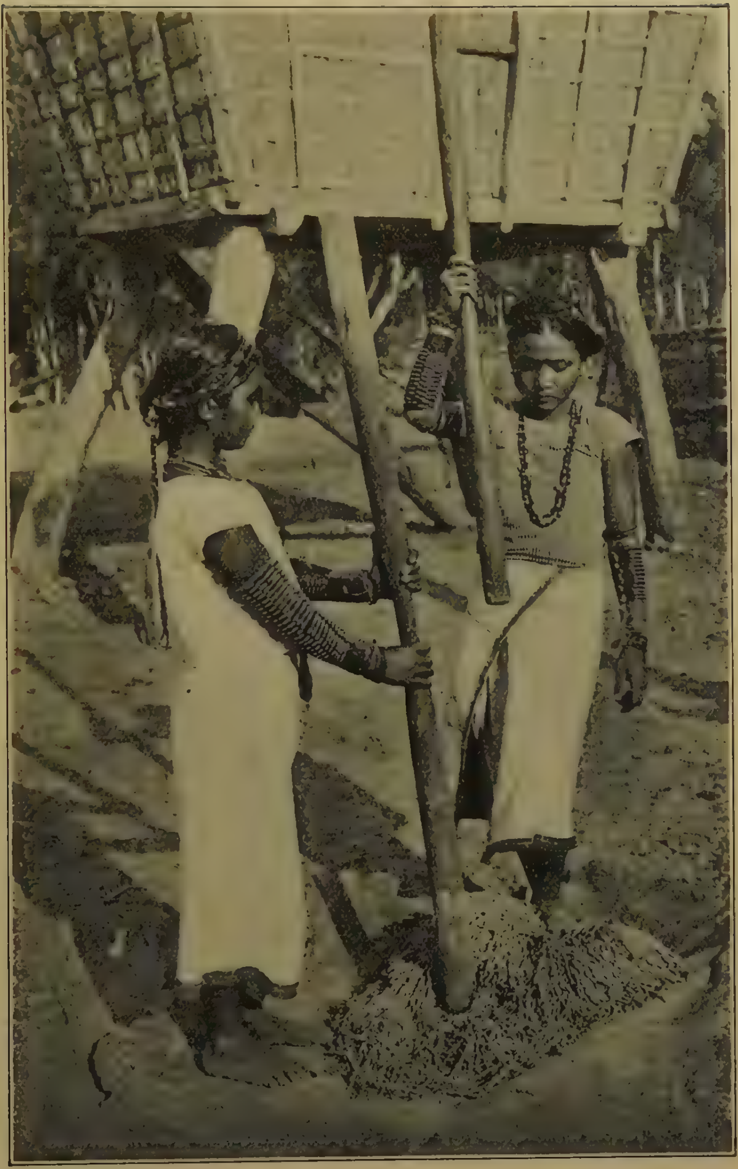
The Spanish Penal Code did not prohibit or penalize slavery, or the purchase or sale of human beings. It did contain provisions against forcible detention of individuals and the abduction of minors, but in the Philippines at least they were more honoured in the breach than in the observance during the Spanish régime.

The Moros raided the towns of the peaceful Filipino inhabitants of the Visayan Islands and of Luzón until within quite recent times. An unhappy fate awaited the prisoners whom they took. Men were frequently compelled to harvest for their captors the crops which they themselves had planted, and were then mercilessly butchered. Women, girls and boys were carried away into slavery, the former to serve as household drudges or as concubines, and the latter to be brought up as slaves pure and simple. Some men met a similar fate. The only reason that more were not enslaved was that it was usually considered too much trouble to make full-grown individuals work. Slaves were held as chattels if it suited the convenience of their masters to retain them, and otherwise were sold, bartered or given away. Zamboanga was at the outset largely populated by escaped Moro slaves who had sought the protection of the Spanish garrison there. Coming originally from widely separated parts of the archipelago, these unfortunates had no common native dialect, hence there arose among them a Spanish patois now known as *Zamboangueño.*

The American occupation brought many and brusque changes in political conditions. The attitude of Americans toward slavery and peonage was very different from that of the easy-going Spaniards, who had never sanctioned it but had never made any determined effort to break it up.

From the effective establishment of United States sovereignty in 1899 until July 4, 1901, the Philippines were under military rule, which has one great advantage: its methods usually bring quick results.

Doubtless the majority of the slaves then held in the islands were too timid, and too suspicious of the character and purposes of Americans, to appeal to them for protection; but there were not a few whose lives had become so unbearable that they were prepared to take almost any risk on the chance of securing release. People of this class ran away from their masters and sought the protection of army officers. I am glad to say that in every such instance which has come to my knowledge it was promptly given. Not only were they advised that they could not be held in bondage, and were free to go where they pleased, but when practicable their masters were warned against attempting to regain control over them. It is probable that the large majority of such cases were never officially reported. Most of the army officers concerned were in some doubt as to their legal status in the premises, but they knew that the constitution of the United States



Tingian Girls Threshing Rice.

prohibits slavery; their sympathies went out to the wretched human beings who appealed to them for aid, and they decided to be a law unto themselves. After the establishment of civil government some army officers continued to exercise arbitrary powers in dealing with such cases of slavery as came to their attention, while others contented themselves with reporting them to the civil authorities.

The conditions which prevailed in the Moro Province in 1902 are concisely described by its military governor, General George W. Davis, in a report written on August 25 of that year. He said:—

> "With a people who have no conception of government that is not arbitrary and absolute; who hold human life as no more sacred than the life of an animal; who have become accustomed to acts of violence; who are constrained by fear from continuing the practice of piracy; who still carry on slave trade; who habitually raid the homes of mountain natives and enslave them; who habitually make slaves of their captives in war—even when of their own race; who not uncommonly make delivery of their own kindred as slaves in satisfaction of a debt for liquidation of which they have not the ready money; who habitually observe the precepts of the Koran, which declares that female slaves must submit to their masters,—it is useless to discuss a plan of government that is not based on physical force, might, and power."

General John C. Bates negotiated a treaty with the Sultan of Joló, in which he felt himself compelled to recognize slavery as an existing Moro custom.[1] This action was unauthorized and was disapproved by his superiors. It did not legalize slavery. Neither Moro nor any other kind of slavery was ever protected by the civil authorities.

The act providing for the organization of the Moro Province was passed on June 1, 1903, and hardly had the civil officers therein provided for been appointed when, on September 24, 1903, the legislative council passed an act entitled "An Act defining the crimes of slaveholding and slavehunting and prescribing the punishment therefor,"[2] which was promptly approved by the Philippine Commission and thus came to have the force and effect of law. Under it active measures were adopted to break up slavery in the Moro Province. They have resulted very successfully, and persons who have captured others to be held or sold as slaves, as well as persons who have actually sold, bought or kept slaves, have been convicted and punished.

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[1] Agreement between General John C. Bates, United States Army, and the Sultan of Sulu, Together with Certain Sulu Chiefs, Signed at Joló, August 30, 1899. This treaty is printed in Forbes, II, app. XIX, p. 470.

Upon the recommendation of General Leonard Wood, then Governor of the Moro Province, the Bates Treaty was abrogated in 1904. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 1, p. 11.) The memorandum in which General Wood recommended the abrogation appears in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 1, p. 489.

[2] On July 15, 1913, I published an official report, as secretary of the interior, on "Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands." It is hereinafter referred to in footnotes under the title of "Slavery and Peonage." Beginning on p. 84 of this document will be found extracts from court records showing convictions obtained under this act, which is quoted in full on p. 83 of the same document.

The existence of slavery in the Moro Province was well known from the outset, hence the immediate enactment of legislation to meet the special conditions which prevailed there. Only little by little the commission learned that slavery was by no means confined to Moro territory, and that peonage was general throughout the islands.

Before going further, I wish to make clear the sense in which I use these terms.

I define slavery as the condition of a human being held as a chattel and compelled to render service for which he is not compensated. As food and clothing are necessarily furnished by the slave owner, they are not considered to constitute compensation.

Peonage I define as the condition of a debtor held by his creditor in a form of qualified servitude to work out a debt.

On April 28, 1903, the senior inspector of constabulary in Isabela wired the first district chief of constabulary, Manila, as follows:—

> "In this province a common practice to own slaves. These are bought by *proprietarios* [property owners.—D. C. W.] from Igorrotes and Calingas who steal same in distant places from other tribes. Young boys and girls are bought at about 100 pesos, men 30 years old and old women cheaper. When bought, are generally christened and put to work on ranch or in house, and I think generally well-treated. In this town a number sold within last few months, and as reported to me, Governor has bought three. Shall I investigate further? Instructions desired.
>
> (Signed) "SORENSON."[1]

Senior Inspector Sorenson was instructed to make a thorough investigation of, and a detailed report on, the slave question. On May 2 he complied with these instructions[2] describing the conditions under which slaves were taken by the neighbouring Kalingas and Ifugaos, whom he wrongly calls "Igorrotes," the methods employed in selling them, and the treatment subsequently given them by their purchasers. He also furnished a list of "Igorrotes" sold in the province during the past year, with names of the purchasers and prices paid. The ages of these unhappy individuals varied from eight to twenty-seven years, the prices paid for them, from one hundred and ten to two hundred and fifty Mexican dollars.

This report led Governor Taft to write to Governor Dichoso of Isabela, who was charged with owning a slave, asking him for a frank statement of the facts as to the prevalence of slavery in his province. Governor Dichoso's reply, dated September 9, 1903, will make interesting reading for those who claim that slavery does not exist, and has never existed, among the Filipinos. I give it practically in full, omitting only the titles of the governor:—

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[1] The originals or transcripts of the documentary material upon which this chapter is based, as well as a large amount of similar material gathered by Worcester but not directly utilized, are, for the most part, preserved in the Worcester Philippine Collection, at the University of Michigan.

[2] For the full text of this interesting and important report see *Slavery and Peonage*, p. 85.

"Having noted the contents of the official letter of the Honourable the Civil Governor in the Philippine Islands, Mr. W. H. Taft, dated the 8th of August, last, and of the copy of the report annexed thereto, which were received yesterday, I have the honour to respectfully reply that during the 21 years, more or less, that I have resided in this provincial capital (Ilagan), I have never thought of buying a member or a child of the race mentioned in the report, or of any other tribe, to serve as a slave in my household, not for the reason that this is prohibited and punished by section 484 and the following sections of the Spanish Code now in force, relative to the crime of kidnapping, but because it goes against my nature to treat in this manner a person who, like all human beings alive, is a likeness of the Highest. This I prove by means of the documents annexed hereto.

"I could easily have done so in time of the late Spanish Government, because I had good opportunities for doing so, and could have afforded to do so on account of my social position from that time on up to date, during which period I held successively the following public offices:—

* * * * * * *

"This having been my status, and considering the power and the opportunity which I had for obtaining slaves, I might not have had only one, but enough to harvest the tobacco on my plantation, and the other crops which I had planted.

"Under the past Government there existed slaves in this province, but only a small number, for only wealthy families could afford to keep them. The same was the case in the neighbouring Provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Cagayan; in the former they also used to have slaves of the Ifugao tribe, and in the latter Negritos, but very few of these.

"Since the glorious Star-Spangled Banner has been unfolded over the Province of Isabela, the slaves existing in the same, which had been purchased in that time and recently, are very well treated and seem to be members of the family, because the military authorities prohibited their masters from ill-treating them as they were wont to do. Since then many of the slaves have run away from their owners and have sought new masters who treat them well, as it happened in the case of an Igorrote woman of the Ifugao tribe, who was about 40 years of age, and who had been in the service of a lady in the pueblo of Echague for many years. When, in the year 1900, the military enforced the prohibition of ill-treatment of slaves in the said pueblo, this Igorrote woman ran away and presented herself at my house, I being at this time justice of the peace of this provincial capital, and asked me to employ her as servant. My principle not to have slaves preventing me from complying with her wishes, I directed her to apply to Mr. Andres

Claraval and his wife, Filomena Salinas. They accepted her, and a short time afterwards they had her baptized and christened Magdalena Claraval. She is being treated like an adopted daughter by them.

"The gentlemen who are mentioned in the report as having purchased slaves really acquired Igorrotes by purchase and keep them in their house, some of them having died since. Some of these transactions were made in the Spanish times, as in the case of the late Mr. Policarpo Gangan, who bought 6 or 7 Ifugaos, whom on his death he left to his children, Mr. Pedro Gangan, Mrs. Susana Gangan, Miss Maria Gangan, and Mrs. Rufina Gangan, and others were made recently and secretly, while I was absent from town on official business in the pueblos of this province. Mr. Thomas Gollayan, the late provincial secretary, bought two Igorrotes while I was in Manila in December and January, last. They were well aware of the fact that I prosecuted kidnapping with tenacity, my object being to put a stop, if possible, to this abominable practice, which has since some time prevailed in the pueblos of this province. . . .

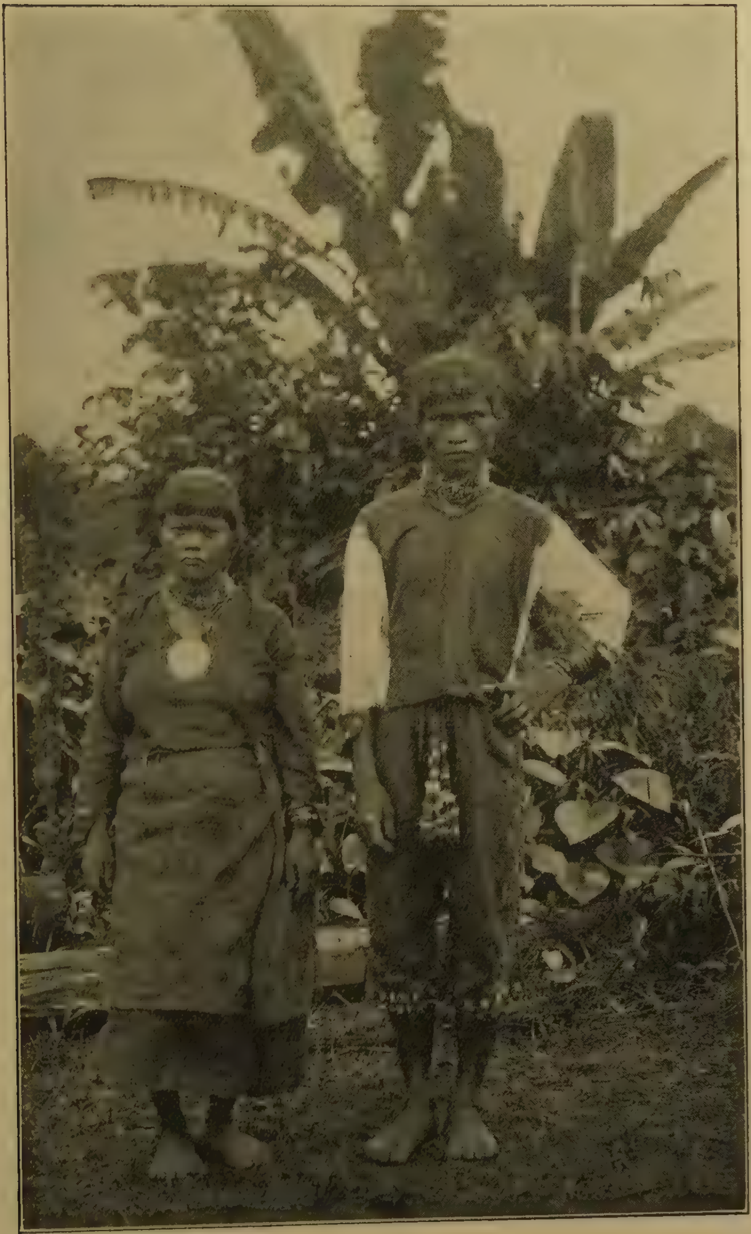
"In order to prove that I endeavoured to make the proper investigation for the purpose of proving whether slavery really existed in this province, I have the honour to annex an affidavit by Agapito Telan, a resident of Ilagan, in which it appears that he sold Igorrotes of the Ifugao tribe to several residents of this town. I was unable to ascertain the numbers of Igorrotes of the same tribe sold by Modesto Sibal, Lorenzo Montevirgen, Lorenzo Montalvo, Andres Castro, and Cosme Ferrer, who are engaged in the same business as Agapito Telan, as it appears from the deposition of the latter, for the reason that these persons did not appear before me, although in 1902 I had on several occasions verbally requested the late municipal president, Mr. Pascual Paguirigan, to cause them to appear in an unofficial manner. I was not surprised that they did not appear before me, as Paguirigan was involved in the investigation, as it happened in the case of the aforesaid Agapito Telan, who appeared before me when I asked the acting municipal president to have him do so." . . .

As supporting evidence Governor Dichoso forwarded with his letter a number of statements from persons resident in the capital of Isabela to the effect that during the twenty-one years that he had lived there he had never purchased, intended to purchase, or kept in his house any Igorrote of the Ifugao or any other tribe.

In addition he forwarded a somewhat unique document in the form of a sworn statement by a slave dealer which is of great interest:—

"I, Agapito Telan, a resident of this provincial capital (Ilagan), certify: On the 19th of June, 1903, I was summoned by the provincial governor, Mr. Francisco Dichoso y Reyes, and when I was with him in the office of the provincial government, he and the secretary took my sworn deposition, as follows:—

"Upon being asked to state the number of children of the infidel



Typical Manobos.

tribe of the Ifugaos sold by me to several residents of this provincial capital, the approximate age of these children, the names of the persons to whom they were sold, the number of children bought by these persons, the value of each of the said children, their sex, and the year, month, and day on which the said sales were made, deponent replied that in the year 1902, in the month of September, and on a day which he cannot remember, he sold to the late Policarpo Gangan two Ifugao boys, of the ages of 8 and 9, respectively, for the sum of 360 Mexican dollars, another boy, 9 years of age, he sold to Juan Dauag for the sum of 180 Mexican dollars, and another boy, 8 years of age, he sold to Seferino Malana for the sum of 160 Mexican dollars, the latter two being sold on the same month and year aforementioned, and in Ilagan also.

"In the year of 1903 the deponent sold a boy and a girl of the Ifugao tribe, who, judging by their physical development, were about 6 and 8 years old; the boy, six years of age, he sold to Pascual Paguirigan, late municipal president, and the girl to Doña Rufina Gangan, for the sum of 180 Mexican dollars each. This was in January, but deponent does not remember the day.

"In February he sold a boy and a girl of the same tribe, 8 years of age, the former to Cirilo Gantinao and the latter to Salvador Aggabao, for 180 Mexican dollars each. The purchasers are residents of this town.

"Upon being asked who are the other persons who, like deponent, are engaged in taking Ifugao children from the settlements of the infidels and then selling the same to whomever wants them, and that he state where they reside, deponent replied that the persons who are engaged in the same business as he, are Modesto Sibal, Lorenzo Montevirgen, and Lorenzo Montalvo, residents of the pueblo of Gamú, and Andres Castro and Cosme Ferrer, residents of this provincial capital. . . .

"He having thus stated, the foregoing was read to him, and he agreed to it, signing it after the Provincial Governor, which I, the secretary appointed for this act, attest.

"FRANCISCO DICHOSO,
"Provincial Governor.
"AGAPITO TELAN,
"FERNANDO DOMINGO.
"Secretary appointed.
(Sgd.) "AGAPITO TELAN.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of September, 1903.

(Sgd.) "FRANCISCO TAUAD,
"Clerk of the Court, Ilagan."

The existence of slavery in Misamis, a regularly organized province, had been disclosed at a still earlier date. On May 2, 1902, General George W. Davis telegraphed the Adjutant-General, Manila:—

"Following telegram respectfully repeated: 'Zamboanga, May 1, 1902, via Malabang, to Wade. Commanding Officer, Misamis, reports April 30, that *Presidente* notified him that he was going to send armed party to capture two Moro slaves which have escaped from their Filipino master whose names were not given. Says there are many Filipinos who own slaves, *Presidente* was told that the troops had nothing to do with civilian affairs. I have no doubt but that the Filipinos on the north coast here have many slaves. At Butuan I saw one in November that had been recently purchased.' "

Governor-General Wright referred a copy of this telegram to Señor Manuel Corrales, the Filipino governor of Misamis, with an indorsement—

"calling his attention to the within communication. Information is desired as to whether or not the within facts are true as stated, and also whether there are any persons held in involuntary servitude other than convicts within the province, and if so, that full particulars be given."

Governor Corrales himself has none too good a record in connection with the treatment accorded the non-Christians of his province, and would certainly not paint a darker picture than was called for by the facts, yet in his reply[1] he gives the names of six towns in which "one still finds a few slave servants, most of them acquired many years ago." He adds:—

"At the present time, there are but few sales of slaves proceeding from the mountain tribes, which are now relatively civilized. In Iligan and Misamis, I have heard that such sales were more frequent, for two reasons: (1) the Moro race is more despotic and more numerous; (2) the weekly market in Iligan gives them an opportunity to carry on that sort of business, although they have to do it by stealth, on account of the watchfulness of the authorities.

"I will call your attention to the fact that the slaves proceeding from the Moro district constitute, in the Moro villages, an inferior social class, the slave family, whose origin is due to the prisoners taken by the Dattos on their expeditions; when they are transferred to the Christians in Iligan or Misamis, because their masters wish to make money, or are hard pressed by the famines which are so frequent in the region of the Lanao, their condition is considerably improved by the good treatment and the better and more abundant food which they obtain in their new situation, by the mere fact that they live with a more civilized people.

"Those who come from the mountain tribes are not born slaves; with few exceptions, the chiefs and principal men of these tribes do not own slaves which they use for their service or for agricultural work, as the Moros do. Slaves are generally obtained in the following way:—

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[1] For the full text of this document see "Slavery and Peonage," pp. 12–14.

"It happens that a chief with bellicose and sanguinary instincts, who leads a nomad life and does not belong to the peaceful class which is given to farm life, organizes a gang of men of his sort, makes incursions in the wildest parts of the woods and raids the lone huts inhabited by savage and nomad families; he kills by treachery the grown-up people and carries off the children, which he can easily master; he then sells them to the peaceful farm dwellers, who sell them in their turn to the Christian pueblos."

In July of the present year,[1] a man accused of holding two Bukidnon children in slavery did not deny the charge, but set up the defence that he was a resident of Misamis, where there was no law against this crime. He had been proceeded against under an anti-slavery law passed by the commission for the provinces under its exclusive jurisdiction, on the theory that he resided in Agusan. He won his case, proving that his house was about a hundred yards over the line.

The revelations contained in the reports above-mentioned naturally called for action. Upon the suggestion of Governor Taft, Inspector Sorenson's report was, by direction of the commission, referred to Commissioner Wright as suggested by Governor Taft for consideration in connection with a proposed new Criminal Code which was being prepared, under his general supervision, for enactment.[2] An immense amount of work was necessary on this code, and it was never completed and enacted. Various matters needing attention have since been reached through the medium of special laws, and the documents indicate that it was intended to pursue this course in this instance.[3]

Why such an act was not drafted and passed I do not know. I was then absent on leave, and did not even learn of the existence of any of the above-quoted documents until years afterward. My personal attention was forcibly drawn to the existence of slavery outside of the Moro territory when I first inspected Nueva Vizcaya in 1905. The territory occupied by the Ifugaos, since separated as a sub-province of the Mountain Province, was then a part of Nueva Vizcaya, which had been organized as a province under a special act and was, in a way, subject to my executive control.

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[1] 1913.

[2] The report was referred to the commission with the following endorsement:

"OFFICE OF THE CIVIL GOVERNOR,
"MANILA, August 13, 1903.

"The Senior Inspector of Constabulary in the Province of Isabela reports that there is quite a slave trade in the Cagayan Valley. The report of Sorenson, the Inspector, is submitted to the Commission and I suggest a reference to Commissioner Wright in order that he may include in the Criminal Code some clauses which will enable us to reach this abuse.

(Signed) "WM. H. TAFT,
"Civil Governor."

[3] Governor Dichoso's reply was forwarded to General Wright in October 19, 1903, with the following indorsement:—

[First Indorsement]

"EXECUTIVE BUREAU,
"MANILA, October 19, 1903.

"Respectfully referred to the Secretary of Commerce and Police, for his information and consideration in connection with the proposed Act denouncing slavery and kidnapping and kindred offences as crimes.

(Signed) "WM. H. TAFT,
"Civil Governor."

Its governor, Louis G. Knight, called my attention to the fact that Ifugao children were frequently enslaved by Filipinos of Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela. I asked him to get specific data so that we might prosecute the offenders. He soon sent to the executive secretary a report [1] which gave full details of a number of recent cases of the buying and selling of Ifugaos as slaves, contained a statement that Governor Knight, who was himself a lawyer, could "find nothing whatever in the penal code defining or punishing as a crime the buying or selling of human beings," and recommended that "this crime be defined and punished in the proposed new penal code."

The report was referred to me by the executive secretary on September 20, 1905, and on September 22 was by me forwarded to the Honourable Luke E. Wright, governor-general, with an indorsement—

> "inviting attention to the inclosed statements from the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, relative to the traffic in Igorrote children in his province.
>
> "The undersigned has reason to believe that Negrito children and children of other non-Christian tribes are occasionally bought and sold by civilized natives, and is strongly of the opinion that in case the Penal Code does not provide adequate punishment for such offences, it should be so amended as to make it possible to inflict severe penalties upon those who buy and sell human beings in this Archipelago.
>
> (Signed) "DEAN C. WORCESTER,
> "*Secretary of the Interior.*"

The papers were referred by Governor-General Wright to the Attorney-General—

> "for an opinion as to whether there is not some provision in the present Penal Code which will provide adequate punishment for such offences as are related herein."

The opinion of the Attorney-General rendered in response to this request [2] encouraged me to believe that something could be done under

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[1] For the full text of this document see *Slavery and Peonage*, pp. 23–25.

[2] "Respectfully returned to the Honourable the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, with the following opinion:

"The acts given in the attached letter of the Provincial Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, dated September 14, 1905, in so far as they refer to the purchase and sale of human beings, are not provided for or punished under the existing Penal Code; but such actions are punishable under that Code when they constitute either the kidnapping of a minor, illegal detention or serious threats, according to sections 481, 484 and 494 thereof.

"Therefore, in accordance with the fourth paragraph of the letter of the said Provincial Governor, I am of the opinion that not only the Igorrotes who stole the Igorrote boy, but also those who received and sold him, as well as the woman who bought him for forty pesos, are guilty of illegal detention. The latter is furthermore guilty of grave threats, inasmuch as she threatened to kill the purchased Igorrote if he tried to escape from her service.

"With reference to paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the attached letter, I believe that existing law. I returned the papers, together with the opinion, to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya and three test suits were brought as promptly as possible.

One of them has become historic. It was brought against Tomás Cabanag, a well-known slave dealer who made a business of buying and selling Ifugao children. He was charged with illegal detention in connection with the admitted sale, by him, of an Ifugao girl named Gamaya,[1] and was convicted in the Court of First Instance. I quote the following extract from the decision of the court:

> "The Congress of the United States has declared that human slavery shall not exist in these islands and while no law, so far as I can discover, has yet been passed either defining slavery in these islands or affixing a punishment for those who engage in this inhuman practice as dealers, buyers, sellers, or derivers, the facts established in this case show conclusively that the child Jimaya was by the defendant forcibly and by fraud, deceit and threats unlawfully deprived of her liberty and that his object and purpose was an unlawful and illegal one, to wit, the sale of the child for money into human slavery. This constitutes the crime of *Detencion ilegal* defined and penalized by Article 481 of the Penal Code and this Court finds the defendant guilty as charged in the information."

The case was promptly appealed to the Supreme Court and was there lost on March 16, 1907.

Gamaya, a thirteen-year-old Ifugao girl, had been purchased from her mother for pigs, hens, rice and a cloak, under the absurd pretext that the object of the purchase was to keep her at home, where she would, of course, naturally have remained in any event. She was allowed to stay with her mother during a period of some three years. In this manner the purchaser was saved the cost of boarding her while she was growing up. Having now reached what the Igorots consider a marriageable age, she was sold to a man who was engaged

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those who stole the little Igorrote and also the woman Antonia, who sold him when knowing him to have been kidnapped, are guilty of the offence of illegal detention.

"If the boy who was stolen and sold, referred to in paragraphs 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the enclosed letter, was under seven years of age, then those who stole him are guilty of the offence of kidnapping a minor, and the Igorrote woman, Antonia, and the wife of Señor Arriola, the Clerk of the Court, are accomplices in the crime. But if the child was over seven years old, then the offence would be illegal detention. The same may be said of the case recounted in paragraphs 14 and 15 of this communication. The parties who stole, sold and bought the little Igorrote are guilty of kidnapping a minor or of illegal detention according to the age of the victim.

"The acts committed by Captain Vicente Tomang, referred to in paragraph 16 of this letter, are punishable both as a serious threat and as illegal detention, because he unlawfully deprived the two Igorrote women of their liberty when they desired to leave his service, for which purpose he threatened to kill them.

"Although not asked for in the indorsement to which this is a reply, I venture to suggest that the Igorrotes who armed themselves and formed a band for the purpose of kidnapping persons for subsequent sale, be punished under Act 1121, which penalizes as *bandolerismo* the abduction of persons for any purpose, even though there may be no extortion or ransom demanded, if the abduction be done by an armed band.

(Signed) "L. R. WILFLEY,
"Attorney-General."

[1] Also written "Jamaya."

in the business of buying in Nueva Vizcaya children to sell in the lowlands of Isabela; in other words, to a slave dealer. He sold her to an inhabitant of the town of Caoayan, in Isabela, who had instructed him to buy a girl. Caoayan is distant many days of hard overland travel from this girl's home. When taken there Gamaya was among an alien people of another tribe and another religion. As stated by the Supreme Court, she was not kept under lock and key and that court held that:—

> ". . . There can be no unlawful detention under article 481 of the Penal Code without confinement or restraint of person, such as did not exist in the present case."

and held further that:—

> "Under the complaint for this crime it is possible to convict for *coacción* under proof of the requisites of that offence . . . but among those requisites is that of violence through force or intimidation, even under the liberal rule of our jurisprudence . . . ; consequently the charge of *coacción* against the accused cannot be sustained upon the evidence."

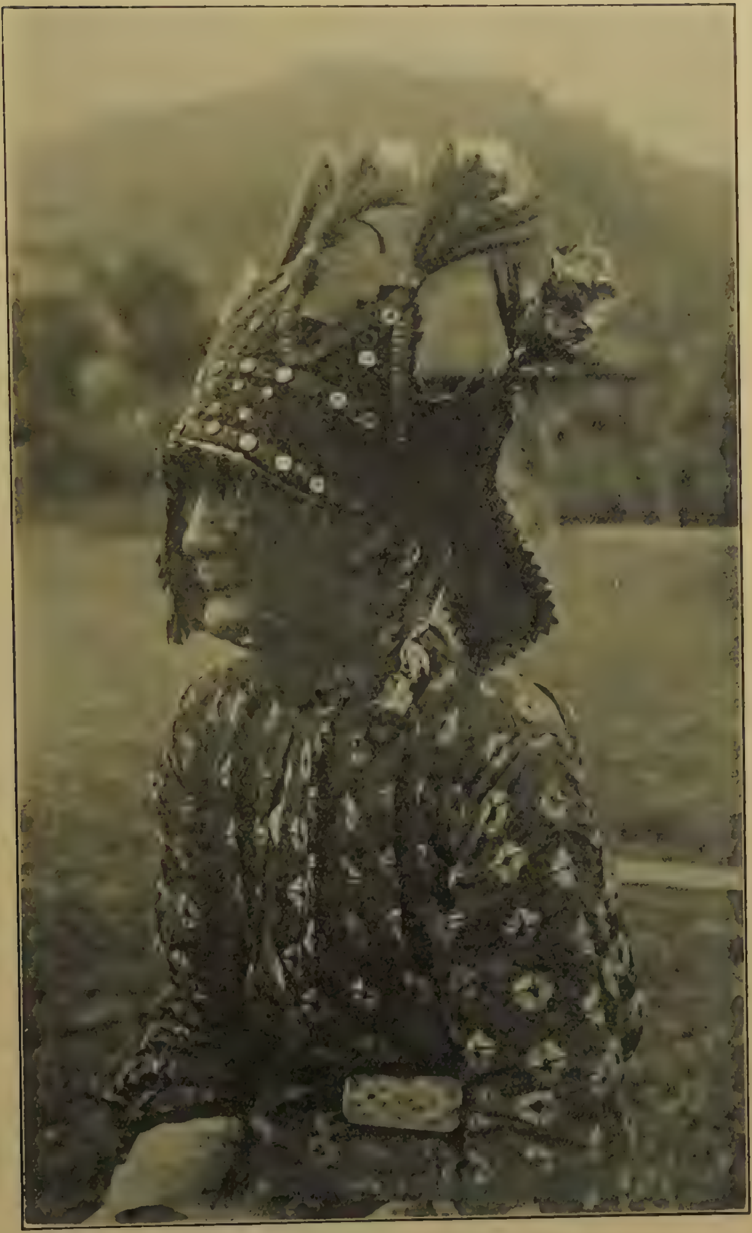
It is, nevertheless, true that this child, who had been thrice sold, was detained just as effectively in Caoayan as if chained to a post in the house of the man who bought her, and was required by him to perform menial labour without compensation. It would have been utterly impossible for her to escape and to make her way back through Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya to her own people, no matter how strenuously she might have endeavoured to do so.

It is extremely difficult to prove forcible detention in connection with most cases of slavery in these islands. Negrito slaves are usually purchased when mere babes and later have no recollection of their parents or of their former wild life in the hills. Babes or very young children bring a better price than do older children, for the reason that they are less likely to run away.

Adult Negritos, and adult members of other tribes held in slavery, have, as a rule, been made to feel the heavy hand of the oppressor and are so afraid of their lives that they will not testify. Only under very exceptional circumstances will they admit that they are being held against their will, although they are quick to make their escape when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

The difficulty involved in protecting these simple people is illustrated by the following case which came to my personal attention:—

An eleven-year-old Bukidnon girl was carried away from northern Mindanao to Bohol by a Filipino school-teacher who had been discharged from the insular service. Her parents gave every indication of



AN OLD BUKIDNON CHIEF.

He is wearing the head-dress of scarlet and gold which may be donned only by those who have killed many enemies.

bitter grief and begged to have their daughter restored to them. This was finally accomplished, to their great joy, as a result of my efforts. The kidnapper was ultimately brought into court, but before the case came up for trial the parents had been subjected to such "influence" that when called to the witness-stand they swore that the kidnapper had taken their daughter with their full knowledge and consent. In order to be reasonably effective, laws in these islands must be so framed as to make it possible to protect people too ignorant, or too timid, to protect themselves.

Returning now to the Supreme Court decision, the court also held that:—

> ". . . the defendant appears to have engaged in the business of buying in Nueva Vizcaya children to sell in the lowlands of Isabela."

But it further held that:—

> "Not even the abhorrent species of traffic apparently carried on by the accused justifies a sentence not authorized by law."

More important still, the court held that:—

> "The judge below quotes the Bill of Rights of the Philippines contained in the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, declaring that 'neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in said Islands.' This constitutional provision is self-acting whenever the nature of a case permits and any law or contract providing for the servitude of a person against his will is forbidden and is void. For two obvious reasons, however, it fails to reach the facts before us:—
>
> "First. The employment or custody of a minor with the consent or sufferance of the parents or guardian, although against the child's own will, cannot be considered involuntary servitude.
>
> "Second. We are dealing not with a civil remedy but with a criminal charge, in relation to which the Bill of Rights defines no crime and provides no punishment. Its effects cannot be carried into the realm of criminal law without an act of the legislature,"

and also that:—

> "To sum up this case, there is no proof of slavery or even of involuntary servitude, inasmuch as it has not been clearly shown that the child has been disposed of against the will of her grandmother or has been taken altogether out of her control. If the facts in this respect be interpreted otherwise, there is no law applicable here, either of the United States or of the Archipelago, punishing slavery as a crime."

In view of the facts above cited the necessity for legislation seemed obvious.

The commission in its capacity as sole legislative body for the territory inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes might have passed an act prohibiting and penalizing slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage in that territory; but such an act unless supplemented by a similar one applicable to the neighbouring Filipino territory where most of the slaves are actually held would obviously have been ineffective, while the desirability of having uniform legislation throughout the Philippines was evident.

The Philippine Assembly was about to meet for the first time. The work of drafting a proper bill was duly provided for and I am sure that no member of the commission for a moment entertained the belief that there would be any difficulty in securing the concurrence of the assembly in the passage of a reasonable act prohibiting and penalizing slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage and the sale and purchase of human beings. The gentleman charged with drafting the bill encountered difficulty in so framing it that it would accomplish the desired end without unduly interfering with the rights of parents over their children. Long delay ensued.

I myself finally drafted a bill entitled: "An Act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, or the sale of human beings in the Philippine Islands," and introduced it in the commission. It was passed, in slightly amended form, on April 29, 1909, and sent to the Philippine Assembly, where it was introduced on May 6, 1909. On May 7 it was referred to the Committee on Revision of Laws, and on May 17 it was returned by that committee with a report which, if adopted, would have emasculated the bill by striking out the minimum penalties;[1] but it was not adopted. On May 19 the assembly laid the bill on the table without discussion. So began a long struggle to secure the coöperation of the assembly in the enactment of legislation on this important subject.

I did not feel that the assembly ought to be allowed to make a joke of the provision of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, that "Neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in said islands," and inserted a frank statement of the case in my annual report. During my absence it was cut out by the governor-general acting on the cabled suggestion of General, then Colonel, McIntyre, speaking for the secretary of war. The secretary, it is understood, based his decision on the statement of alleged facts and the argument in the above-mentioned memorandum prepared by General McIntyre, and signed by General Edwards, then chief of the bureau of insular affairs. Various of these statements of alleged facts were incorrect, and much of the argument was fallacious, but the *toute ensemble* was plausible, and likely to mislead any one not thoroughly familiar with local conditions in the Philippines. I did not see this communication until three years later, and so had no opportunity seasonably to discuss it, or to present my side of the case.[1]

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[1] The report of this committee, dated May 17, 1909, is printed on page 699 of the earlier editions of this book.

On learning that all reference to slavery had been cut out of my report, I sent the following memorandum to the governor-general:—

"BAGUIO, February 28, 1909.

"Memorandum for the Honourable the Governor-General.

"Practices in the matter of purchasing and practically enslaving the children of wild people, and holding wild people in the state of peonage, closely approaching slavery, are more grave and more common than is ordinarily understood here; and, in my opinion, as stated in my report, ought to be brought to the attention of the Congress of the United States if the situation is not dealt with effectively by the Philippine Legislature at its next regular session.

"I do not object to the omission from my report of the matter treating on this subject, with the understanding that a strong effort will be made here to secure legislation which will, at least, penalize the sale for cash or other valuable consideration of human beings.

"As things stand at present, we should be placed in a somewhat embarrassing situation if any one thoroughly acquainted with the facts were to ask us what we had done to make effective the provisions of the Act of Congress prohibiting slavery.

"DEAN C. WORCESTER,
"Secretary of the Interior."

The following year I introduced in the commission the bill which the assembly had rejected. Action upon it was postponed, pending the receipt of information which was requested from the assembly as to the reason for the failure of that body to pass it the preceding year. Shortly afterwards I was called to the United States and no further action was taken in the matter at that time, although the Governor-General in his message to the Legislature had included the following recommendation:—

"There is no express provision of law prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in the Philippine Islands. While the law provides certain methods of punishing the practice of slavery, as for example, the law for illegal detention, yet it does not seem right that an enlightened and modern country should have no way of punishing the purchase or sale of human flesh. It is recommended that this be remedied by appropriate legislation at the coming session."

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[1] The "Edwards memorandum," and the reply of Dean C. Worcester thereto, are printed in *Slavery and Peonage*, pp. 108–116.

In my report on slavery and peonage and in the earlier editions of this book, occurs a serious misstatement to the effect that the part of my 1910 report as Secretary of the Interior dealing with slavery and peonage was cut out without either consulting me or giving me a hearing and that I was advised by General McIntyre that the Secretary of War had disapproved it.

In writing to me under date of January 11, 1913, Mr. Dickinson said:—

> "I have read with much interest the copy of your communication of October 28, 1912, with the Acting Governor-General in regard to the law prohibiting slavery. The whole matter interests me very much and is very enlightening to me.
>
> "I note what you say in regard to the matter coming up during my administration and the memorandum made by General Edwards. My memory may be badly at fault, but I really cannot recall that this matter ever came to my personal attention. I may have forgotten it among the many hundreds of things that came before me, but I certainly have no recollection in regard to it."

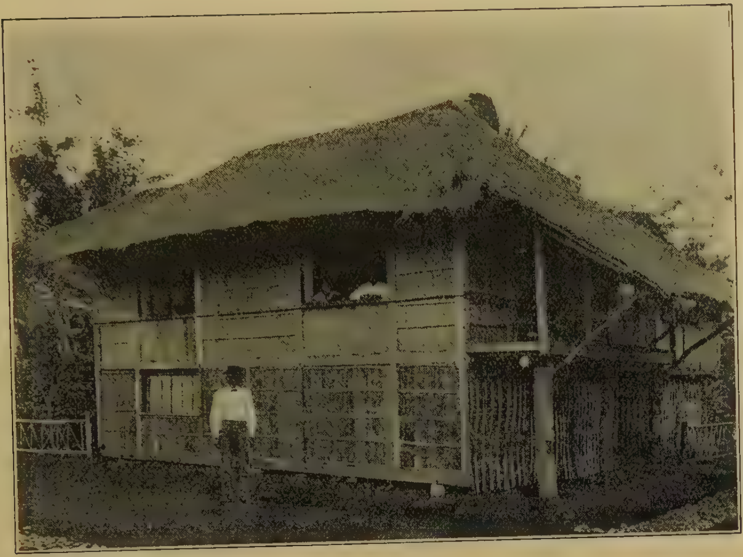
The recollection of Secretary Dickinson is correct. The records of the War Department show that there is no reference to slavery and peonage in the manuscript copy of my 1910 report received at Washington.

On January 31st, 1911, my bill was again introduced in the commission. It was amended in minor details and passed on that date and was duly forwarded to the assembly. There it was introduced on February 2 and on February 3 was laid on the table without discussion.

In my report as secretary of the interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, I again took up this subject. After this report had been submitted to the commission I myself cut out all mention of slavery at the request of Governor-General Forbes, who urged that we make a last effort to get the assembly to act before appealing to Congress.

In spite of the desirability of having uniform legislation on such a matter as this in adjacent provinces, the commission felt that it could not longer with propriety delay action for the territory under its exclusive jurisdiction, and on August 7, 1911, passed the bill for Agusan, Nueva Vizcaya and the Mountain Province. The same act was again passed by the commission for the territory under the jurisdiction of the legislature, when that body reconvened. The assembly referred it to committee on October 27, 1911, and tabled it without discussion on February 1, 1912.

In my annual report for 1912 I included the following recommendation:—



A Typical Improved Bukidnon House.

A Typical Improved Bukidnon Village Street.

"That for the adequate protection of the non-Christian tribes a final and earnest effort be made to secure the concurrence of the Philippine Assembly in the passage for the territory under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Legislature of an Act identical with, or similar to, Act No. 2071, entitled 'An Act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, and the sale or purchase of human beings in the Mountain Province and the Provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Agusan, and providing punishment therefor,' and that in the event of failure, the attention of Congress be called to this important matter to the end that it may pass adequate legislation if it deems such a course in the public interest."

This time I sent the copy for the report to the printer without awaiting further possible requests or orders to remain silent, for I was thoroughly convinced that it was useless to expect action from the assembly and that nothing remained but to appeal to Congress to pass suppletory legislation making effective the provision of the Act of July 1, 1902, prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude in the Philippine Islands.

At the next session of the legislature the commission again passed the bill. The assembly referred it to committee on October 26, and tabled it without discussion on January 8, 1913.

From the above record it will be plain that, beginning in 1909, the commission passed laws prohibiting and penalizing slavery and peonage annually during four successive years, and that the assembly tabled each of the four measures without deigning to give any of them one moment's discussion. Much less have they ever asked for any information as to the necessity for such legislation. While no member of the assembly had ever made any official statement on the subject, the Filipino press had on various occasions denounced me as a liar or an ignoramus, and an enemy of "the Filipino people," for saying that slavery existed.

In preparation for what I deemed to be a probable request from Congress for a detailed statement of facts, I now proceeded to get together the information on file in government offices and courts, called upon various officers of the government for data in their possession which had never been made of record, and initiated new investigations, using for this purpose the police of Manila, the Philippine constabulary and various other agencies. Drawing on the abundant material thus obtained, I began the preparation of a report to the commission, recommending that the necessity for legislation be called to the attention of Congress, and supplying abundant data relative to the existence of slavery and peonage in the Philippines.

Before this report was completed there occurred a most unexpected event. Dr. W. O. Stillman, President of the American Humane Association, had written me months before asking about the power of the Philippine Legislature to enact humane legislation, and further inquiring what laws of this sort, if any, had been enacted. In my reply I had called his attention to the act of the commission prohibiting slavery and peonage in certain provinces, and to the fact that the attitude of the assembly had prevented the enactment of similar prohibitive legislation for the remaining territory. My letter, which furnished no supporting data, was eventually published by this gentleman and was read in the United States Senate by Senator Borah. On May 1, 1913, the senate passed the following resolution:—

"RESOLVED, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to send to the Senate any and all facts bearing directly or indirectly upon the truth of the charge publicly made that human slavery exists at this time in the Philippine Islands and that human beings are bought and sold in such Islands as chattels."

The reply addressed by the secretary of war to the president of the Senate on May 6, 1913, contains the following statement:—

"There is not in this Department, to the knowledge of the Secretary thereof or of the head of the Bureau having charge of insular affairs, a record of any facts bearing directly or indirectly upon the truth of the charge, publicly made, that human slavery exists at this time in the Philippine Islands and that human beings are bought and sold in such Islands as chattels."

This was a most peculiar statement. The passage cut out of my 1909 report was certainly on file there, and it explicitly stated that slavery existed in the Islands. Furthermore, when finally, after the lapse of three years, I saw the so-called "Edwards" memorandum, in reality written by General McIntyre, on which the Secretary of War had based his action in ordering all reference to slavery cut out of my 1909 report, I had made a full reply to it, containing a specific statement that slavery and the sale of human beings were common in certain parts of the islands and citing certain specific cases. I had specially requested that this communication be filed in the bureau of insular affairs, and General McIntyre, the chief of that bureau, who acknowledged its receipt, could hardly have forgotten its existence. The war department reported on this matter without seeking any information from Manila. I can only conclude that Secretary Garrison was deceived by some irresponsible subordinate.

As promptly as practicable I completed my report and sent it to the commission, which read and considered it on May 17, 1913, immediately passing the following resolution:—

"*Whereas* the Act of Congress passed July 1, 1902, 'temporarily providing for civil government of the Philippine Islands and for other purposes' provides that 'neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the parties have been duly convicted shall exist in said Islands,' and

"*Whereas* the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands in the case of the U. S. *vs*. Cabanag (Vol. VIII, p. 64, Phil. Repts.), decided on March 16, 1907, decided that 'there is no law applicable here either of the United States or of the Archipelago punishing slavery as a crime;' and

"*Whereas,* in order to remedy this condition in accordance with the above-mentioned provisions of the said Act of Congress, the Philippine Commission in its exclusive legislative jurisdiction over all that part of the Philippine Islands inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes passed Act No. 2071, and as a branch of the Philippine Legislature has in four successive sessions passed an act prohibiting and penalizing slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, or the sale of human beings, and

"*Whereas* during each of said sessions the Assembly has failed to concur in the passage of such Act; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That the Honourable the Governor-General be requested to send to the Honourable the Secretary of War a copy of the proposed law entitled 'An Act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, peonage, or the sale of human beings in the Philippine Islands' as passed by the Commission in the last session of the last Legislature, but which failed of passage in the Assembly, with the recommendation that a copy of the law be sent to Congress with the request that the necessary legislation be enacted to render fully effective the above-mentioned provisions of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902."

I was subsequently requested by the governor-general to address the report to him rather than to the commission, to the end that the Filipino members of that body might be spared the embarrassment which would otherwise result from the necessity of voting either for its acceptance or for its rejection, and I very willingly made the requested change.

The printing of the report was delayed until July 19, 1913, and I brought it up to that date, as evidence continued to pour in. In this document I gave specific cases of chattel slavery in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Tarlac, Zambales, Pampanga, Batangas, Palawan, Agusan, Ambos Camarines, the Moro Province, the Mountain Province and Manila itself, describing quite fully the conditions under which Ilongots, Ifugaos, Negritos, Tagbanuas, Manobos, Mandayas, Moros and Filipinos are bought, sold and held as chattel slaves.

I will here only briefly summarize them.

The Negritos are savages of low mentality, and most of them lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic life. They constantly get the worst of it in the struggle for existence and to-day are found only on the islands of Mindanao, Palawan, Tablas, Negros, Panay and Luzón, where for the most part they inhabit very remote and inaccessible mountain regions. Owing to their stupidity and their extreme timidity it is comparatively easy to hold them in slavery and they are probably thus victimized more than are the people of any other tribe. They are constantly warring with each other in the more remote of the mountain regions which they inhabit. It would be going too far to say that their moral sense has been blunted. It is probably nearer the truth to say that they never had any. It is therefore a simple matter for Filipino slave dealers to arrange with Negritos for the purchase of their fellow-tribesmen. The latter then proceed to obtain captives by raiding some hostile group of their own people, killing ruthlessly if occasion arises.

They are more ready than are the people of any other Philippine tribe to sell their children or other dependent relatives, and do this not infrequently when pressed by hunger, a condition apt to arise because of their utter improvidence. Unfortunately, the matter does not end here. It is by no means unknown for Filipinos to join in their slave-hunting raids, or even to organize raids of their own, killing Negrito parents in order to get possession of their children. I submit the following case to illustrate this latter procedure:—

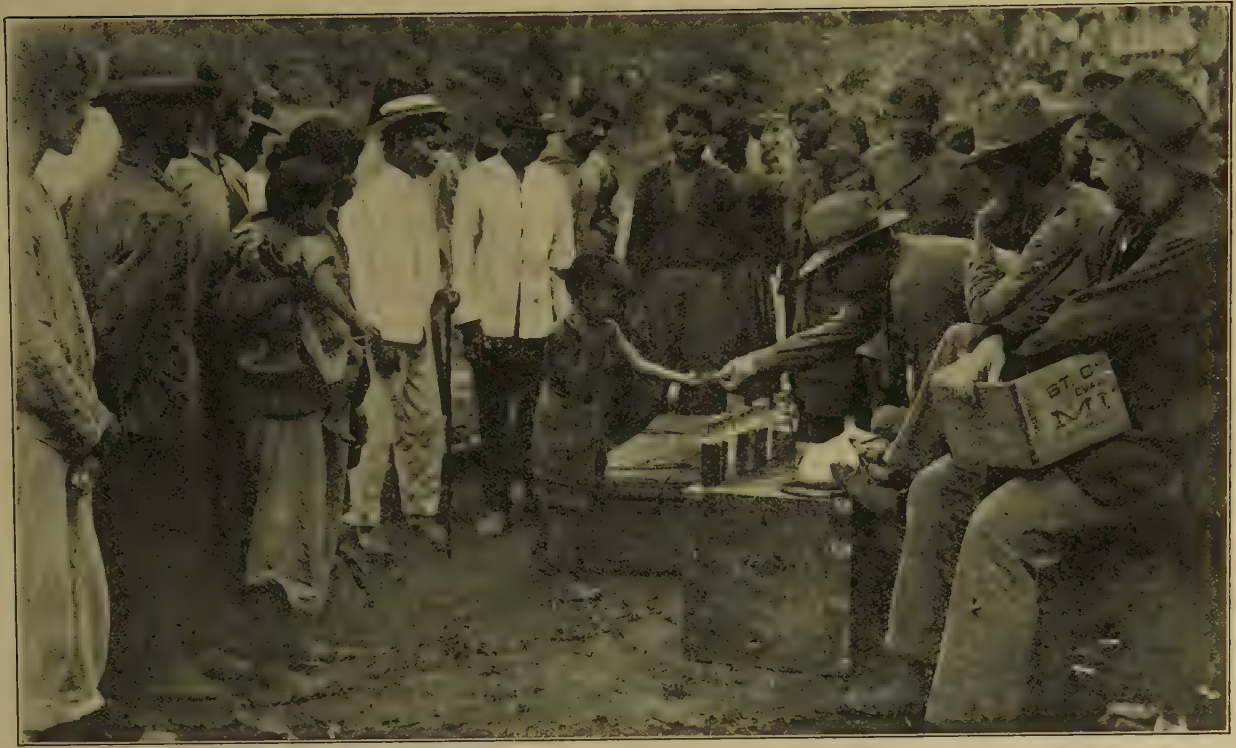
"Camp Stotsenburg, Pampanga, P. I.,
"September 26, 1910.

"The Adjutant,
"Camp Stotsenburg, Pampanga, P. I.

"Sir: I have the honour to inform you that a report has this day been made to me that a party of hostile Filipinos, about 15 in number, armed with 1 rifle, 1 revolver and the remainder with bolos, presumably ladrones, entered a small Negrito barrio situated about one and one half miles directly southeast from the Post during the forenoon of Tuesday, September 20, 1910, and killed three men and carried away two small children. I have visited the barrio and the body of one man showing frightful mutilation, both head, feet and hands completely severed from the body, was found. This settlement is situated in a dense jungle and the other bodies were presumably carried away or hidden, so that they could not be found.

"But one person can be found who witnessed the affair, an aged Negrito woman, who can scarcely walk from the treatment she received at the hands of these outlaws. She states that she would be able to recognize and identify some of the party. I am informed by Negritos living in the vicinity that this party of outlaws has a rendezvous a short distance east of Solbac where they might be apprehended.

"The killing took place without the reservation, but the matter is of sufficient importance, since all the Negritos living in the vicinity of the post are greatly excited and disturbed, to warrant the recommenda-



MAKING FRIENDS WITH THE MANDAYAS.

The people of this tribe are very fond of beads, a teaspoonful of which make a most acceptable gift.

tion that it be referred to the Senior Inspector of Constabulary, San Fernando, Pampanga, P. I., for such action as he may desire to take.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed) "KYLE RUCKER,
"1st Lieut. and Squadron Adjutant, 14th Cav. Intelligence Officer."

The subsequent fate of these Negrito children is made plain by the following letter:—

"PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY,
"SAN FERNANDO, PAMPANGA, P. I.,
"October 4, 1910.

"MY DEAR HOLMES: We have a case up here of murder committed near the town of Angeles in which several Negritos are mixed up.

"We managed to locate two Negrito children who had been sold by the man who killed their father. They were in the possession of a man named Ambrocio David who says he paid sixty pesos for them and says they are his property.

"I think that we can convict the murderer of the children's father, if we can catch him, but this sale of Negritos has gone such a pace that almost every family in Pampanga has at least one as a 'Companion' of their children, they say, but really as a slave.

"The Fiscal says there is no law against the sale or purchase of Negritos and I cannot find it, although I seem to remember a law, but whether it alludes to Negritos or only Moros I am unable to say.

"If there is a law, what number is it, and if not, can you get me an opinion of the Attorney-General or some ruling so as to show us how to act in this and future cases of this kind.

"Yrs.
"W. S. NORTH,
"S. I."

In this case one of the kidnappers was convicted of murder, but nothing could be done to him for selling the Negrito children nor could anything be done to Señor Ambrocio David for buying the children or for claiming that they were his property.

Like many primitive peoples, the Negritos are inordinately fond of strong alcoholic drinks. It is strictly against the law to give or sell any of the white man's liquors to them, but this naturally does not restrain slave hunters, who frequently get adults deeply intoxicated and then trade with them for their children or kidnap the drunken persons themselves and drag them away. Negritos are held to-day in bondage, in considerable numbers, in provinces like Zambales, Pampanga, Tarlac, Pangasinán and Cagayan. While they are not displayed for sale in any market in Pampanga, they can be readily negotiated for in several different public markets of that province; and if none happen to be available at the moment, the would-be purchaser is assured that the supply in the mountains is inexhaustible and that his needs can soon be met.

The publication of my report has caused consternation among slave owners in many provinces. Some slaves have since escaped and little effort has been made to recapture them. Others have been voluntarily set free by their masters, but in Pampanga the trade still goes merrily on. Until recently Negritos have been peddled around the country adjacent to Manila like carabaos or horses, and it is but a short time since their purchasers have in some instances refused to give them up, stoutly asseverating that they were their property. Now, however, warned by experience, owners make no such claim, but advance various more or less ingenious explanations of the fact that they have Negritos in their possession and deny that they are slaves. Some of them insist that it is a Negrito custom to kill orphan children, and that they have taken orphans out of kindness in order to save their lives. Patient investigation has failed to show the existence of any such custom among the Negritos.

Perhaps the commonest procedure of all is to claim that Negrito slaves are "adopted children" or "members of the family." The presumption against a Filipino's taking into his family one of these little woolly-headed, black, dwarf savages is strong. In no single case have I been able to obtain evidence of real, legal adoption. The following document illustrates the procedure which seems invariably to have been followed:—

"On the 25th of December, 1912, I, the authorized curate of this district, Lubao, Province of Pampanga, baptized solemnly, and put on the blessed *Oleos* in this church in my charge on one Negrita ten and eight years of age (18), and have given the name of Juana, daughter of a father poor and unknown. The foster mother, Doña Pia Vitug, married in this town received the charge as a parent to care for the spiritual welfare and other obligations.

"I for the truth sign,

"FRIAR PEDRO DIEZ."

(Girl given the name of Juana de Jesus Vitug.)

A document of this sort imposes no legal obligation whatever on the owner of a slave, and makes no change in the status of the slave, but merely serves as a basis for the claim that he or she "is treated as a member of the family."

This is a cheap and easy method of securing a slave, and the child thus "adopted" may be compelled to labour for a lifetime without compensation, or turned over for a consideration to be similarly "adopted" by some one else. Other Filipinos who do not claim that their Negrito slaves are members of their families find complete justification for purchasing them in the allegation that they have taken them to Christianize, thus preventing their going to hell!

In the provinces of Agusan and Surigao the slave-taking raids of the Mandayas and Manobos are historic. In the more remote parts of these provinces they continue from time to time up to the present day. While one of them lies within the territory for which the commission has been able to legislate, what shall we say of those who contend that slavery does not exist in the Philippine Islands in the face of such occurrences as have taken place there? The same query holds for the sub-province of Ifugao in the Mountain Province and for Nueva Vizcaya. The Ifugaos have been especially victimized. The following kinds of servitude are recognized by them:—

Jim-bút. This is the name applied to real slaves. The *Jim-bút* becomes an article of commerce and often changes owners several times before reaching the country of the *Ba-li-uon* (Christians).

Nij-cóp. This is the name applied to children who have been really adopted under a formal contract made with their parents or nearest relatives in case the parents are dead. The *Nij-cóp* acquire certain property rights from their new parents-by-adoption.

Baj-ál. This is the name given to orphan children who have been formally taken in charge by some well-to-do Ifugao and who are unable to support themselves. The *Baj-ál* is a tentative *Nij-cóp,* for if he turns out to be bright and industrious, he may become a member of the family and acquire property rights.

Ta-gá-la. This is the name applied to servants who receive regular compensation.

It is a matter of common knowledge throughout the sub-province that there are living to-day in Isabela hundreds of Ifugaos who have been sold to Filipinos as slaves.

In Nueva Vizcaya it has been possible to deal with the more flagrant cases since the passage by the commission of the law above referred to, but the commission is powerless to pass a law effective in Isabela.

The holders of slaves now seek to evade the law by nominally hiring them at a monthly salary which is not paid. The promulgation of Act No. 2071 prohibiting and penalizing slavery enabled Lieutenant-Governor Jeff D. Gallman of Ifugao to liberate some forty boys and girls held by Filipinos in Nueva Vizcaya. In no single case, however, could it be proved that the child had been sold. The persons who held them testified in each instance that they were "hired servants." When they learned of the provisions of the above-mentioned act they were easily prevailed upon to pay "salaries" long overdue to their "servants" and the latter were allowed to return to their homes. It was found that some of the persons originally sold into slavery in Nueva Vizcaya had run away from their masters and become vagabonds. Few really wanted to return to their parents, whose language in many cases they had almost forgotten.

I wish this were the worst, but it is not. Not only do the Filipinos buy, sell and hold the wild people as slaves, but Filipino children have been kidnapped, or enticed from their homes, by other Filipinos, and sold as slaves to their own kind. Young girls have been sold outright to Chinese who purchased and kept them for immoral purposes. They have been sold to panderers and keepers of houses of prostitution and compelled to enter upon lives of shame. Filipino children and young women have been sold to Chinese who have taken them to China. God only knows what fate may have befallen them there. In such cases the victims disappear from these islands, never to return.

Some slaves are well treated. Others are half starved, brutally beaten, injured or even killed. The Manobos and Manadayas of Agusan and Surigao, and the Bagobos of the Moro Province, have been accustomed to sacrifice slaves to appease their heathen deities. The Manobos on occasion even have their boys take lances and try the effect of different thrusts on slaves tied to trees or posts.

Those who desire long lists of specific cases of slavery will find them in my report. I think that I have here abundantly demonstrated the fact that genuine slavery exists in the Philippine Islands. It can never be successfully checked until there is a law of general application throughout the archipelago penalizing the sale, barter, or purchase of human beings. What reason has the Philippine Assembly for refusing to pass the necessary act?

Without hesitation I assert that, apart from false and foolish pride which makes the persons concerned unwilling to admit the fact of the existence of slavery, their chief reason for objecting to this law is that it would not only prohibit and penalize slavery, but would prohibit and penalize peonage, which is so common and widespread that it may properly be called general. Indeed, I have no hesitation in asserting that it prevails in every municipality in the Philippine Islands. Slavery is a serious matter, but peonage is far more serious because of the very much larger number of persons involved. It lies at the root of the industrial system of the Philippines.

Much has been said relative to the probable attitude of large American landowners toward Filipino labourers. Thus far their attitude, and that of all other classes of Americans, has been infinitely better than has that of the wealthy Filipinos themselves. The truth is that peonage is repugnant to the average American. One of the complaints persistently made against us by the Filipinos is that we have raised the daily wage throughout the islands, and this is true. When I was there in the Spanish days, it was possible, in many regions, to obtain abundant labour at five cents per day with food, and ten cents with food was the

A Typical Peon.

Helpless and hopeless, she toils at her endless task, receiving in return a pittance that does not pay the interest on her constantly growing debt.

general rule. Now the same class of labour costs at least twenty-five cents per day with food, and in some provinces it costs fifty cents or more. It must be frankly admitted that Americans are responsible for this sad condition of affairs! American landowners who desire to pay their employees regularly a living daily wage encounter difficulty in doing so, for the reason that the labourers have become accustomed to the old system, the evils of which they know, and are afraid of a new one, fearing that it may involve worse evils of which they know nothing. Incidentally, Americans have learned that their labourers are worth more if well fed, and this is another grievance held against us in certain quarters.

With many of the Filipinos it is a different story. The rich and powerful man, commonly known as a *cacique,* encourages the poor man to borrow money from him under such conditions that the debt can never be repaid, and holds the debtor, and frequently the members of his family as well, in debt servitude for life. One might fill a score of volumes with records of cases and I can here do no more than to select a few typical illustrations of the workings of this vicious system.

The Filipinos are born gamblers. Gambling is their besetting sin. The poor are usually glad to get the opportunity to borrow money, and will do this on almost any terms, if necessary, in order to continue to indulge in their pet vice. They are thoughtless about their ability to repay loans, and thus readily fall into the power of the *cacique* money-lenders, who thereafter use them as house servants or labourers, under conditions such as to render their escape from debt-servitude practically impossible.

Indeed, if they seek to escape, the *caciques* often threaten them with the law, or actually invoke it against them, while if they endeavour to homestead public land and thus better their condition, the *caciques* only too often cause opposition to be made to their claims and keep it up until they become discouraged.

The following facts have been furnished me by Hon. James A. Ostrand, judge of the court of land registration:

"In 1907 a woman, whose surname, I think, is Quintos, asked me to lend her twenty-five pesos with which to 'redeem' her daughter who had been mortgaged for that amount to a Chinese merchant, whose name at present I do not recall, but who had his establishment on the ground floor of the house of Ubaldo Diaz in Lingayen. The woman stated that the Chinaman was corrupting the morals of the girl, and that this was the reason why she wanted to make the redemption. I told her that under the circumstances no redemption was necessary, but that I would see that the girl was allowed to leave the Chinaman, who, on proper representations, was induced to let the girl go home. She stayed with her mother for a couple of weeks but, by adding ₱75 to the mortgage debt, the Chinaman got her back and shortly before I left Lingayen I learned that the girl, though scarcely fifteen years old, had given birth to a child."

"In 1907 a woman from the town of Balincaguin in Pangasinán came to my office and stated that she, about six years before had 'mortgaged' [the terms 'salda' in Ilocano and 'sanla' in Pangasinán are usually translated *mortgage,* but also imply *pledge,* as the creditor generally takes possession of the mortgaged property] her twelve-year-old son for some twenty pesos to Don Cirilio Braganza, the member of the second Philippine legislature for the district in which I was then living; that her son had been working for Braganza ever since, and that, according to her reckoning, the debt had already been paid, but that Braganza had unjustly charged the loss of a carabao to her son's account, thus adding ₱120, if I remember correctly, to the debt. She further stated that she had asked Braganza to release the boy, but that he refused to do so. I informed her of the provisions of the Philippine Bill in regard to involuntary servitude, and advised her that her son was free to leave Mr. Braganza's services if he so desired. She said that if the boy should leave, she was afraid something might happen to him as Braganza was very influential in that locality. I then gave her a note for Braganza requesting him to let the boy go. Shortly afterwards Braganza came to me and gave me his version of the case, stating that he had always treated the boy well, and that the loss of the carabao was entirely due to the boy's negligence, and that he, Braganza, would not consent to the boy's leaving him before the carabao was paid for. At last reports the boy was still with Braganza and may be there yet. I may add that I believe Braganza told the truth, and that the boy was guilty of negligence in connection with the loss of the carabao."

The net result in this case was that a boy was "mortgaged" for a ₱20 debt and after six years the debt had very largely increased, probably in part as a result of the carelessness of the boy.

In a letter to Judge Ostrand I had defined peonage as "the condition of a debtor held by his creditor in a form of qualified servitude to work out a debt." Of its prevalence the judge says:—

"While practising law in the Province of Pangasinán, during the years 1905 to 1909, hardly a week passed but what cases of involuntary servitude, as defined in the within communication, came under my observation."

Judge Ostrand summarizes the results of his observations as follows:—

"Nearly all the involuntary servitude cases of which I have any knowledge have arisen from the practice of mortgaging half-grown children. The sum advanced is usually some twenty or thirty pesos.

As the money seldom draws interest at a lower rate than ten per cent a month, and the creditor furnishes the child food and such clothing as it may need, its services are ordinarily not considered worth more than the amount of the interest, and the debt instead of being reduced usually increases as the years pass. I venture to say that among the Filipinos in some sections of the Islands the majority of house servants are obtained and employed in this manner."

It would indeed seem that with interest at the rate of 120 per cent per year and the creditor in a position to fix his own price for food, clothing and other necessaries furnished his debtors while they were trying to work out their debts, they would not be likely to succeed in doing so! If the unfortunate peon finally rebels, the rich *cacique* often invokes the law against him by having him prosecuted on some false criminal charge.

In this connection the following letter is of interest:—

"Philippine Constabulary,
"Office of the Senior Inspector,
"PAMPANGA, SAN FERNANDO, September 26, 1912.

"THE SUPERINTENDENT, INFORMATION DIVISION, P. C.,
"MANILA, P. I.

"(Thru' Adjutant, District of Central Luzón.)

"SIR: Reference to the prosecution of Maria Guzman before the Justice of the Peace of Apalit for 'Infraction of Law 2098' (your file No. 8634-75) I have the honour to attach copy of decision in the case, and remarks:—

"About three (3) years ago Simeon de los Reyes, by and with the consent of his wife Maria Guzman, borrowed and signed receipt for fifty pesos (₱50) to Maria Santos of Apalit, contracting that his wife work out the debt moulding earthen jars—that for every hundred jars made Maria Guzman received ₱1, 25 centavos of which was to go on the debt. The woman states she could make about fifty jars per week, so that her actual wages were 50 centavos per week, or $.005 per jar. This without board, as the woman states that any money she got for food was charged on original debt.

"By the first part of this year the debt had 'decreased' to ₱70, when another receipt for that amount was signed by the husband, de los Reyes, and the old receipt for ₱50 destroyed. In the month of August ultimo the Santos woman refused to advance Maria Guzman more money, so Maria Guzman left and joined her husband, who was working in Manila. The debt at time of trial amounted to ₱79 and a fraction.

"Warrants of this nature are being continually sent from Pampanga, either by messenger or mail, direct to the Superintendent Information Division, without passing through my hands. The reason is evident.

"It is respectfully requested that in the future all warrants reaching your office in this way be referred back to me before execution.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed) "L. T. Rohrer,
"Senior Inspector."

This woman, if she succeeded in making fifty earthen jars per week, received wages amounting to twenty-five cents against which her creditor charged her food and doubtless also her clothing. In other words, she was in effect charged for the privilege of making fifty jars per week for her master. The interest on her debt was meanwhile piling up while the principal steadily increased, and when she grew weary of her hopeless task and ran away, her taskmaster prosecuted her.

The following letter presents a typical case of peonage:

"Rosales,
"March 26, 1912.

"Chief of the Secret Service Dept., Manila:

"Dear Sir: On behalf of Garegorio Almario a young girl residing at my house I write to ask you if you cannot have this matter attended to.

"Six years ago a man named Tomas Almario, living at present in Rosales, borrowed some money (twenty pesos only). This man was unable to repay this money so he sold this girl named Inocencia Almario to a Mr. Galban. I think he is the President of Bautista. Her sister has been to Bautista to take this girl away but she has been rebuked by these people in my presence. They state she owes ₱60 the extra ₱40 being interest on the ₱20 borrowed 6 years ago. They have got this girl and another girl working as slaves and to-day I heard that the girl escaped in a carromatta but they sent an automobile after her and took her into Bautista beating her all the way. In the interest of justice I hope you will have this girl released and hand her over to her sister in my house here out of the hands of those wretches. I also found out that this girl is being sent from place to place amongst men who take girls to cover debts. If you send a man here to Rosales I have the proof and will show you where this girl is and will get the evidence against these people. I understand that the President of Bautista is the man who is at the bottom of the whole affair. I hope you will put a stop to this slavery. I have the man here who owes the money and sold the two girls to this man. I have the sister here; also the other relatives to prove that this girl has worked as a slave for 6 years to cover a debt of twenty pesos and now they want 60 before they will release her. Please release my sister and oblige

"Yours truly,

"+[her mark] Garegorio Almario.
Witness: (Signed) "W. A. Cole.

"Address Garegorio Almario,
"c/o W. A. Cole, Rosales, Pang."

A Typical Group of Filipinos of the Laboring Class.

I have not made the slightest effort to get the peonage records of Philippine assemblymen, but have taken cases as they came, yet three of the limited number here discussed concern members or ex-members of the assembly. Is it any wonder that that body refuses to consider a law prohibiting and penalizing peonage?

My investigation of this matter has developed some interesting phases of human nature. Knowing the certain unpopularity which would result from telling the truth, not a few persons who might have given valuable testimony refused to tell what they knew, or even denied that they knew anything. Others made written statements which I was unable to use, as they insisted that their names be withheld, and I wanted testimony only from witnesses who had the courage of their convictions. Fortunately there was no lack of people unafraid to tell the truth.

Among witnesses to the existence of chattel slavery were army officers, constabulary officers, the Manila chief of police and many men of the police force of that city, judges, Catholic priests, the mother superior of a convent, the insular auditor and a number of his deputies, provincial governors, both Filipino and American, provincial treasurers, the director of education, school teachers, an ethnologist, newspaper men, business men and women both English and American. I accepted only written and signed statements. The long list of cases in my official report was a sample list, not an exhaustive one. I stand ready to furnish specific instances of chattel slavery, *ad nauseam,* giving names of slaves, their vendors and purchasers, prices paid and dates of transactions. I hold more than a thousand typewritten pages of evidence, and it continued to come in up to the day of my departure from Manila.

The attitude of the Filipino politicians toward this great mass of data and the witnesses who furnished it is a most interesting study, from which may be deduced logical conclusions of far-reaching importance. Not all of the Filipino leaders, however, were opposed to legislative action in this matter. There were four Filipino members of the commission at this time, all of whom were in favour of ultimate independence, and one of whom was a leading advocate of immediate independence. All voted for the anti-slavery laws which the assembly refused to pass.

The Filipinos were not wholly to blame for the existence of slavery at the time of the American occupation, but the politicians are unable to grasp the fact that the way to deal with a cancer is to cut it out, not to deny its existence, and by their refusal to legislate have now made themselves fully responsible for the continued existence of slavery and peonage in the regularly organized provinces of the Philippines. The Filipino newspapers have even gone so far as to claim that there could be no slavery until a law defined it, hence to enact such a law would create slavery.

On the Philippine Commission rests the full responsibility for failure to enact anti-slavery legislation from the time when it first learned of the existence of this crime among the Filipinos until it passed its first act prohibiting and penalizing it on April 29, 1909. As I have already shown, the matter was dealt with, in 1903, by directing the inclusion of proper legislation in a proposed new Penal Code never completed. Valuable years were then lost in testing the adequacy of existing law, and when it proved inadequate further time was, in my opinion, needlessly wasted in drafting the necessary act. To this extent, and to this extent only, the commission shares responsibility for existing conditions. Since April 29, 1909, that responsibility has rested on the assembly alone.

I have given two of the reasons for its refusal to act. There is another, but I should have hesitated to give it, as it would have been hard to prove, had not Speaker Osmeña furnished the necessary evidence. He is commonly considered to be the leading Filipino statesman of the day, so special importance attaches to his utterances and he, if any one, can speak with authority concerning the attitude of the assembly. The ominous rumble from the United States which reached these distant shores led him to give out a newspaper interview explaining the inactivity of that body. He said:—

> "Never has Mr. Worcester attempted to furnish us with the facts which he has placed before Congress. The bill itself was sent to the Assembly for action but on account of the unfriendliness of the members for the secretary of the interior and the lack of sympathy between the Assembly and him, it was not given the consideration that it would have received if Mr. Worcester had at the same time sent us the facts which he has sent on to the United States.
>
> "Mr. Worcester as the secretary of the interior, and not as commissioner was in duty bound to furnish the Assembly with the facts that he claims to have found. It is the duty of all of the administrative officers of the government to enlighten the legislature and to furnish it with information gained officially by them. As a matter of fact, Mr. Worcester showed that he was not anxious for the Assembly to consider the matter by never once even mentioning the subject to me, as is customary with other matters for legislation which the secretaries have wished taken up by the Assembly."

If this were not so pathetic it would be very, very funny. The assembly is now made up of 81 Filipino delegates representing 34 provinces. An unfeeling American secretary of the interior, residing at Manila, is charged with having failed to inform them of what was going on under their very noses. All information deemed by the commission necessary to justify legislation was transmitted by me to that body when we lost our slavery case in the Supreme Court.

Never during all the years that this matter has been pending has there been the slightest suggestion that the assembly desired to receive information concerning it. If its members were to tell the half of what they themselves know about slavery and peonage the facts which I have been able to gather would fade into insignificance, but this is not the important thing in this interview. The important thing is that dislike of the person who happened to introduce in the commission a bill prohibiting slavery and peonage in the Philippines is considered a valid reason for the refusal of the assembly to consider it during four successive years.

It is my earnest hope that as a result of the publicity which has now been given this matter there will be speedy action, either by the Philippine Legislature or by the Congress of the United States. I hope that every right-minded person who reads these lines will insist that we have done with concealment of the truth and suppression of the facts; have done with boggling over hurting the feelings of the Filipino people; and will demand that those who have power to end the disgraceful conditions which now exist in the islands shall promptly and effectively exercise it.

The native press has naturally bitterly opposed any investigation of the truth or falsity of my statements. The following extract from a recent editorial is typical of its attitude:—

> "Slavery is not slavery unless it has the characteristics of frequency and notoriousness. Is there here, or has there ever been, at least since Christian civilization has reigned, anything that resembles it? Where is, or who has seen previous to now, such characteristic slavery? Mr. Worcester? Let him point it out, let him give a detailed account of it, let him define it. What will you bet that he will not do so? How is he going to do it if it does not exist! It was enough for him to say: "There is slavery in the Philippines" for men, press, government officials and every stripe of public elements in America to admit the possibility of the affirmation and even an investigation of its likelihood to be ordered.
>
> "That is simply absurd. The mere investigation is an offense. The proof must come solely from, and must be demanded solely of, him who imputes the charge. If he does not demonstrate it, if he does not make it patent, further investigation is not needed. All that there was to investigate is investigated: it is that he has lied."

Nevertheless aroused public sentiment in the United States has forced action here. Governor-General Harrison called the matter to the attention of the assembly in his first speech, and that body is now[1] investigating it. Unfortunately there is grave reason to doubt its good faith. It allowed me to leave Manila without the faintest suggestion that it desired to hear me, and then had the governor-general cable me an invitation to testify and to assist in the investigation when I was half-way home and could not possibly return.

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[1] November 1, 1913.

Assemblyman Sandoval, defending in the public press a friend charged with buying a Tagbanua slave who had been thrice sold, says that the several purchasers did not buy the unfortunate man but bought his debt. A debt is not ordinarily purchased for itself and it is admitted that in this instance the man went with it. The Filipino politicians have hardly approached this matter in a judicial spirit, and the timid and the politic, who refused to give me the information they might have furnished, had some reason for their fears. The removal of Judge Ostrand and Director of Education Crone, who gave valuable testimony, was loudly demanded on the ground that they were "traducers of the Filipino people."

The people were urged to "get together" and disprove my statements.

I have been denounced as an enemy of "the Filipino people."

It has been claimed:—

That my charges were false, and without foundation.

That, if they were true, I myself was to blame for the continued existence of slavery.

That I published my report when I did in order to hold my position.

That I published it when I did in anger because I had lost my position.

That I had been removed because I published it.

In just one instance, so far as I know, has a Filipino considered the possibility that the motive which actuated me was a desire to help many thousands of unfortunate human beings. Good old Arcadio del Rosario, at one time insurgent governor of Benguet, who has a kindly feeling for the wild-men and was glad to note certain immediate results which followed the publication of my report, has said: "Would that Sr. Osmeña[1] might have had the glory of doing what Sr. Worcester has done."

What is needed to end slavery and peonage is congressional legislation enforced by Americans. Without hesitation I assert that their existence in the Philippine Islands is the greatest single problem which there confronts the government of the United States, in its effort to build up a respectable and responsible electorate and establish representative government.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the hand which to-day crushes down the Filipino servant, the Filipino labourer, and the wild-man of

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly.

A Mandayan Boy.

the hills, will to-morrow raise them up and point them on the way to freedom? [1]

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[1] The circumstances attending the passage of the anti-slavery act are related on page 59, *et seq.*, *supra*, and Worcester's comment on this action is recorded on pages 718–720, *infra*.

Since the publication of Worcester's *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands* little has been said, officially, concerning these disagreeable and politically dangerous subjects. The Wood-Forbes Report (page 25), however, contains the following statement concerning peonage: "A frequent cause of complaint [against the courts] is against extreme action taken under the provisions of Act 2098, which enables employers of labor to prosecute their laborers for breach of contract, and in many cases to hold them against their will, resulting in a kind of legalized peonage. The laborers are kept in debt through the advance of money and supplies, and in return for these advances agree to work for certain periods of time and under certain conditions. Under the provisions of this act, should they leave before completion of contract they can be arrested and tried for violation of contract and for obtaining money and supplies under false pretenses. During the fiscal year 1918 there was a total of 3,266 cases of this nature, of which 1,456 were convicted."

Act No. 2098, known as the contract labor law, but generally and even officially referred to as the "peonage act," was approved February 7, 1912. A member of the Philippine Assembly who sought its repeal in 1913 stated that it had been passed, "because of the large number of complaints from plantation owners and other employers of labor who declared that many laborers contracted and received money in advance for traveling expenses and other purposes without any intention of working." (*Manila Times*, November 18, 1913.) The then Governor-General has declared that it was passed by the Commission in an "effort to conform as far as possible to the desires of the Assembly," and has pointed out that, "The third clause in the law gave it a semblance of compensating fairness by providing a similar penalty of fine or imprisonment of the employer who failed to pay his laborer." He has added that, "The practical result, however, of the operation of this law was to strengthen the hands of those who employed laborers under this vicious system of peonage. The Governor-General recommended this law, but he did not come until later to a realization of the extent to which it could injure the cause of labor." (Forbes, I. 527.)

Labor leaders and other public-minded persons familiar with actual conditions in the Philippines repeatedly affirmed that the contract labor law, as actually enforced, was conducive to slavery and peonage. It is to the credit of the Philippine Legislature that this statute has been repealed. (Act No. 3385, Philippine Legislature, December 3, 1927.) The ineffective laws against usury, and other statutes, however, as well as the social and economic organization of society in the Philippines, make easy the exploitation of the Filipino laborer. In 1925 a temporary commission on slavery of the League of Nations discussed the question of peonage in the Philippines and left upon the public the impression that this evil does exist there. Writing in 1928, Dr. Robert W. Hart, Surgeon U. S. Public Health Service, a responsible official who has had exceptional opportunities to know the Filipino people, declared: "It is estimated that not less than twenty per cent of the total laboring population of the islands are held in practical slavery. It is true that these laborers have freedom to come and go, to associate with whom they please, to marry, to raise children and to live, yet they are essentially slaves, toiling from early morn until late at night, at the will of their masters, to whom they are in debt." (Robert W. Hart, *The Philippines Today*, New York, 1928.)

The existence of peonage is usually difficult to prove, in the legal sense, even where its existence is a matter of common knowledge. In view of the very general belief, however, that peonage is still common in the Philippines, it would seem desirable that the question be thoroughly and officially investigated and the facts published. If it does not exist the good name of the United States and of the Filipino people would thereby be cleared. If it is practised, proper remedial measures could be taken.

CHAPTER XXV

The Philippine Legislature

From September 1, 1900, to October 16, 1907, the Philippine Commission was the sole legislative body. The Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, temporarily providing for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, had provided for the taking of a census after the insurrection should have ceased and a condition of general and complete peace should have been certified to by the commission. It had provided further that two years after the publication of the census, if such condition of peace had continued in the territory not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, and was certified to the President by the commission, the President should direct the commission to call, and the commission should call, a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly to be known as the Philippine Assembly, and that after said assembly should convene and organize all the legislative power theretofore conferred on the commission in all that part of the islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes should be vested in a legislature consisting of two houses, the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly.

The first of the certificates required of the commission was issued on September 8, 1902. President Roosevelt on September 25, 1902, issued an order for the taking of the census. On March 28, 1905, Governor-General Wright proclaimed the publication of the census. On March 28, 1907, the commission issued the second of the certificates required of it.[1]

The following day a cablegram was received from the President directing the commission to call a general election for the choice of delegates, and on March 30, 1907, the commission adopted the necessary resolution calling such election to be held on July 30, 1907, in accordance with an election law previously passed on January 9 of the same year. This law provided for eighty-one delegates proportioned among thirty-five provinces according to population, except that each province entitled to representation was allotted at least one delegate, no matter how few people it might have. Cebú, the most populous of all, was given seven. The Mountain Province, the Moro Province, Nueva Vizcaya and Agusan were left without representation because of the predominance of Moros or other non-Christians among their people. On April 1, 1907, the governor-general issued a proclamation embodying the resolution of the commission.

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[1] The essential part of the resolution is printed, page [illegible], note 1, of previous editions of this work, and the resolution is recorded in the *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, [illegible]. For a brief official account of the steps leading up to the election, the election itself, and the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, see the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 1, pp. [illegible]; also *Special Report of Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines*, January 23, 1908. The total number of voters registered for the election was 104,966, of whom 98,251 voted.

The election was duly held, and on October 16, 1907, the first session of the Philippine Legislature was opened, under authority of the President, by Mr. Taft, then secretary of war, who had returned to the Islands for this and other purposes.

The action of the commission in issuing its second certificate has been criticized on account of conditions which arose subsequent to the publication of the census, in Cavite, La Laguna and Samar. These conditions were referred to in the commission resolution. There was no desire to conceal or misrepresent them. As we have already seen, the trouble in Samar was stirred up by abuses among the hill people. It has been claimed that they were not members of any non-Christian tribe. There are a limited number of genuine wild people in Samar, but the great majority of the so-called *pulájanes* were in reality *remontados*[1] or the descendants of *remontados*.

In La Laguna and Cavite disorder caused by wandering *ladrone* bands at one time had become so serious that it was deemed advisable temporarily to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and to authorize the reconcentration of the law-abiding inhabitants of certain regions to the end that they might be adequately protected and to make it easier to distinguish between good citizens, and thieves and murderers.

Whether these occurrences were or were not to be considered as of such a nature as to render it impossible to certify that a condition of "general and complete peace, with recognition of the authority of the United States" had continued to exist in the Philippine territory not occupied by Moros or other non-Christians, was a matter of judgment, and the commission exercised the best judgment it possessed.

During the Spanish days ladronism had always been rampant, affecting every province in the islands and being especially bad in the immediate vicinity of Manila. When we issued our certificate we had little hope of promptly ridding the archipelago of ladrones, as has since been done. On the contrary we expected that a certain amount of ladronism would continue for many years. We did not think that it should be considered public disorder within the meaning of the act of Congress. Furthermore, we were all anxious to encourage the Filipinos and to give them a chance to show what they could do. I, for one, hoped that by this act of liberality we might win the good-will, and secure the real coöperation, of many of the Filipino politicians. It is always easy to look back and see one's mistakes. I now know that nothing could have been more futile than the hope of gaining the good-will of the men with whom we were dealing by any concessions whatsoever, yet the attempt was worth making. It is the wild men in the hills and the good old *taos* [1] in the lowland plains who appreciate and are grateful for fair treatment when they realize that they are receiving it.

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[1] A designation applied by the Spaniards to people who had taken to the hills to avoid paying taxes or to escape abuses, or punishment for crimes.

It cannot be denied that the issuance by the commission of its certificate of March 30, 1907, was a somewhat doubtful measure, involving a rather strained construction of the words "general and complete peace, with recognition of the authority of the United States" in the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902. I am now firmly of the opinion that in thus giving the Filipinos the benefit of the doubt we erred, with the result that the Philippine Assembly came at least ten years too soon. Its creation in 1907 has resulted in imposing a heavy financial burden on the country for which there has been no adequate compensating return.

In the Philippine Legislature neither house enjoys any special privileges, and either may originate any bill which the legislature is authorized to pass. The assembly has been characterized as "a harmless little debating society" and the government of the Philippines has been called "a toy government" because it was claimed that no real powers were given to the lower house. The commission has exclusive power to legislate for certain non-Christian territory. In all other legislative matters the assembly and the commission have equal power. The passage of legislation requires affirmative action by both houses, a condition which is certainly sufficiently common in legislative bodies composed of two houses, and one that does not ordinarily evoke criticism.

Of late the assembly has claimed for itself the exclusive right to initiate appropriation bills, but there is not a vestige of legal authority for such a claim, and even the so-called "Jones Bill" does not confer such right on the lower house. It shares, with the upper house, one power of deadly effectiveness. It can prevent legislation on any subject whatsoever. It has not hesitated to employ this power, when occasion arose, to obstruct the passage of many important and desirable measures, either in the hope of being able in the end to make a trade and of thus securing the passage of acts of more than doubtful utility, or because of a purpose to prevent the enactment of laws dealing with the matters in question.

The most striking instance of the blocking of important legislation by the assembly is afforded by its action in tabling four anti-slavery acts passed by the commission at successive legislative sessions. This matter has already been fully discussed.[2]

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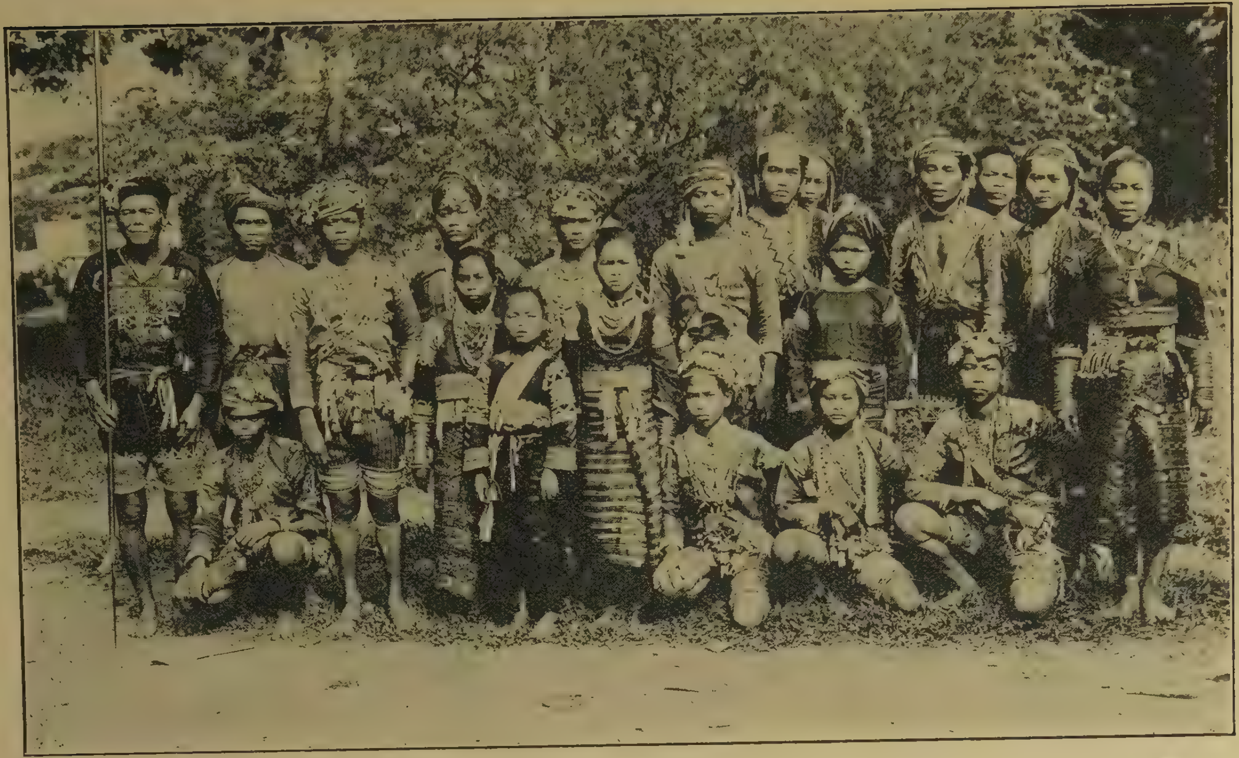
[1] A Tagálog designation applied to the common people, and especially to field labourers.

[2] See p. 524, *et seq.*



A Group of Bagobos.

These people have, until within a short time, made human sacrifices in order to propitiate their divinities. They live in Mindanao, near the Gulf of Davao.

The history of the Cadastral Survey Act affords an example of the holding up by the assembly of a measure of undoubted and undenied utility in order to attempt to force the passage of positively vicious acts.

The case of the would-be landowner who has occupied land for years under such conditions that he could have completed an unperfected title to it, and who finally desires for one reason or another to do so, has been a rather hard one, as the cost of the necessary survey is chargeable to him and when a survey party has to be sent a long distance to measure a little tract of land the ratio of such cost to the value of the land is often very high. Cost of surveys can be materially reduced if all the privately owned land parcels in a given area are surveyed consecutively, and this procedure has the further great advantage of effectively delimitating the public domain in the area in question.

In the interest of small property owners, advantage has been taken of provisions of the Public Land Act which make it possible to compel the survey of private lands under certain conditions in cases of doubt as to ownership. As soon as the people concerned could be made to understand our object in doing this they became enthusiastic about it, but the legal procedure authorized was by no means adequate or satisfactory, and there was great need of the passage of a carefully drafted Cadastral Survey Act providing the necessary legal machinery for accomplishing the desired end with the least possible delay and at the lowest possible expense, and providing further for the distribution of such expense between the insular, provincial and municipal governments and the property owners. All are interested parties, the insular government because it learns what land in a given region belongs to the public domain; the provincial and municipal governments because the collection of taxes is facilitated, and accurate maps of towns and barrios are made.

Such an act was passed by the commission. It was clearly and indisputably designed expressly for the benefit of poor Filipinos. No legitimate objection could be made to it. The treatment accorded it by the Philippine Assembly conclusively demonstrates the irresponsibility of that body, and its unfitness to deal with great questions which vitally affect the common people. Realizing that the commission, and especially the governor-general, were earnestly desirous of securing its passage, the assembly refused to pass it. It was duly reintroduced at the next session of the legislature.

I was a member of the commission conference committee appointed to meet a similar committee from the assembly and discuss it. The assembly committee informed us at the outset that a *sine qua non* for the discussion of the bill was that we should agree to an amendment which would admit, without examination, to the work of making public land surveys Filipino so-called surveyors, known to be utterly incompetent, who could not make correct surveys under the most favourable circumstances. But this was not all. It was generally understood that an additional requirement was to be an amendment to the Judiciary Act providing for a number of new judges. The commission committee believed that they were unnecessary, and were asked for with a view to making places for political appointees. Needness to say, the Cadastral Survey Act failed in conference. In the session of 1912-1913 it finally passed, with practically all of these objectionable features eliminated, but it is at present much less useful than it might be for the reason that an act amending the Judiciary Act so as to provide more judges in the Court of Land Registration, where they are badly needed, instead of for courts of first instance, where no such necessity exists, was killed in the assembly.

As it will take the Court of Land Registration something like three years to finish hearing the cases already in hand, the preparation of a large additional number for it, as a result of the application of the Cadastral Act, will not materially help the present situation unless the number of its judges is increased. There is reason to fear that future attempts to bring this about will be met by demands that there be more judges of first instance, and that they be given jurisdiction in land cases, which should be decided by specially trained and qualified men.

One who examined only the laws actually passed by the legislature might gain the impression that the assembly had done good work. It should be remembered that 312 acts passed by that body have been disapproved by the commission. Had they become laws there would have been a very different story to tell. One hundred and seven acts passed by the commission have been disapproved by the assembly. A careful study of these two groups of acts will be found worth while, but in order to make the picture complete it should be supplemented by detailed consideration of the amendments to assembly bills made by the commission before they have been passed, which have sometimes involved the striking out of everything after title, and the insertion of practically new provisions. It should further be remembered that many really good measures, which have apparently originated as assembly bills, have been drafted by members of the commission, or under their direction, and then first presented in the assembly in order to facilitate their passage.

Had some one of the several gentlemen who have made brief visits to the Philippines and then expressed their views as to the fitness of the Filipinos for early independence devoted himself to the line of study above outlined, he would have gained valuable information on their present fitness to legislate, and we should perhaps now be profiting by the practical results of an experiment already made, instead of embarking on a new and dangerous one.

I cannot here do more than briefly call attention to the nature of a few of the bills killed by the commission and the assembly respectively. For convenience of reference, I refer to these bills by session and number.

Assembly Bills Disapproved by the Commission

FIRST LEGISLATURE

Inaugural Session

Assembly Bill 117 was "An Act to extend the period within which provincial boards organized under the Provincial Government Act may remit the collection of the land tax in their respective provinces."

This was the first of a very long series of assembly measures designed to abolish or reduce existing taxes, or indefinitely to postpone the time for their collection. Provincial boards, with a majority of their members elective, were very amenable to influence in the matter of "postponing" the collection of the land tax.

The per capita rate of taxation is lower in the Philippines than in any other civilized country. Money is badly needed for education, health work and the improvement of means of communication, and all of these measures were ill-advised.

First Session and Special Session of 1908

Assembly Bill 23 provided for the appointment of jurors in courts of first instance and justice of the peace courts. Under it the provincial boards were to select the eligibles from a list of names submitted by the municipal councils of the provincial capitals. This would in effect have put the administration of justice in the hands of the political party in power.

Assembly Bill 104 was entitled "An Act amending Act numbered fifteen hundred and thirty-seven of the Philippine Commission on horse-races in the Philippine Islands."

Gambling is the besetting sin of the Filipinos, and in the city of Manila gambling in connection with horse racing had grown to be such a scandal that the commission had been compelled to take action limiting the days on which it was permitted to legal holidays and one Sunday per month. The evil had reached large dimensions. Several race-tracks were maintained in one small city, and the money that went through the totalizer, or gambling machine, had reached the enormous sum of $3,500,000 per year. Even poorly paid clerks were leaving their work to bet on the races, and then stealing in order to recoup themselves for their losses. The morals of the community were being rapidly undermined. The act passed by the commission interfered with the business of conducting daily crooked races. It certainly left plenty of opportunity to indulge in horse-racing as a legitimate sport. The amendment proposed by the assembly permitted horse-racing on all Sundays, on three days prior to Lent and on all legal holidays except Memorial Day, Rizal Day and Thursday and Friday of Holy Week. If passed it would have protected certain vicious interests and opened the way to a prompt extension of the gambling business.

Assembly Bill 134 reduced the tax on distilled intoxicating liquors one-fourth. The tax was already low. The rate proposed by the assembly was a concession to the demand of powerful interests and its attitude was worthy of severe condemnation.

Assembly Bill 136 abolished provincial boards of health, substituted therefor district health officers and took important powers away from the director of health and gave them to provincial boards. Substantial progress had been made in improving provincial sanitary conditions through provincial boards of health, under the control of the director of health. As was to be anticipated in a country like the Philippines, many necessary health measures were unpopular. This bill, vitally affecting one of the most imperative needs of the islands, would if concurred in by the commission have resulted in widespread disaster.

Assembly Bill 148 provided for the teaching of the local native dialects in the public schools. This would have had the effect of doing away with the teaching of English, or preventing its inauguration, in many places; would have emphasized and perpetuated the different native dialects; would have helped to keep the people speaking these several dialects apart, and would thus seriously have hampered progress toward national unity. One of the most important and useful things that the American government is doing is to generalize the knowledge of the English language, which not only gives the several peoples of the archipelago a common means of communication, but opens up new fields of knowledge to them and makes it easy for them to travel. Even during the days of the Filipino "republic" Mabini advocated making English the official language.[1]

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[1] Mabini's "True Decalogue," published as a part of his constitutional programme for the Philippine Republic (P. I. R., 40. 10) contains the following among other remarkable provisions:—

"Elementary instructions shall comprise reading, speaking and writing correctly the official language which is Tagálog, and the rudimentary principles of English and of the exact physical and natural sciences, together with a slight knowledge of the duties of man and citizenship."—Taylor, 19 MG.

Also the following:—

"Whenever the English language is sufficiently diffused through the whole Philippine Archipelago it shall be declared the official language."—Taylor, 20 MG.

Of this language matter Taylor says:—

"Mabini's plan of having English the language of the state is odd. He wanted inde-

Moro Boats Coming Out to Meet the Philippine Commission at Jolo.

Assembly Bill 197 abolished the Bureau of Civil Service and organized in its stead a division attached to the Bureau of Audits. This bill, ostensibly an economy measure, was designed to minimize the usefulness of one of the most important bureaus of the government. In the early days of the American régime Filipinos who had served the government were often deeply offended that appointments were not given to members of their families or to their near relatives, absolutely irrespective of their fitness for office. Naturally they disapproved of the civil service law when they found that it prevented such appointments.

Second Session

Assembly Bill 201 prohibited the employment of foreigners as engineers or as assistant engineers on vessels in the Philippine Islands. There were at this time an extremely limited number of Filipinos capable of filling such positions, which were largely held by Spaniards and other Europeans who had married native women and had lived in the islands for years. This measure would have crippled shipping companies and would have been a grave injustice to the men above referred to.

Assembly Bill 278, which heavily reduced taxes on distilled spirits and cigarettes, was another attempt to make concessions to certain large tobacco and liquor interests, which could perfectly well afford to pay at the rates then prescribed. It would have decreased the annual insular revenues about $1,000,000 at a time when it was anticipated that free trade with the United States, resulting from the passage of the Payne Bill, would greatly reduce customs duties. Such a loss would seriously have crippled the administration of the islands.

Assembly Bill 352 exempted all uncutivated land, except land in Manila, from the payment of the land tax for a period of five years. The excuse given for its passage was the alleged lack of draft animals. Its real purpose was to exempt valuable property from taxation. It would have encouraged the continued holding of great tracts of uncultivated land and was in the interest of large landowners whose land taxes were likely to be burdensome if they did not come to a reasonable agreement with their tenants and bring their holdings under cultivation.

Assembly Bill 360, "specifying the responsibility in a publication and amending certain sections of the existing libel law," would have rendered that law abortive by making it possible for a newspaper to employ as a "libel editor" some irresponsible person who would be glad to go to jail upon occasion for a consideration.

pendence and he wanted the recognition of the right and of the ability of the natives to govern themselves; and yet he wanted them to adopt a foreign language. By the time this pamphlet was published, or shortly afterwards, Tagálog had been tried and found wanting. The people of the non-Tagálog provinces did not know it and showed no desire to learn it, and indeed protested against its use. Spanish, and all things Spanish, Mabini was weary of, and would sweep them all away. Yet, when he wrote this he did not know English."

The Philippines has a fairly good libel law and it was imperatively needed, for in oriental countries especially, the tendency of a public press which has been subjected to the strictest censorship is to run to license when complete liberty suddenly comes.

Assembly Bill 370, creating the new province of Zamboanga, embodied an attempt on the part of that body to legislate for territory inhabited by Moros and other non-Christian tribes, over which it had no jurisdiction. If passed, it would have led to bloodshed between Moros and Filipinos.

Assembly Bill 433 was an act prohibiting the use of lumber imported from foreign countries in the construction of public buildings. It was not then possible to get enough native lumber to erect the public buildings authorized and needed. The passage of this act under the circumstances showed lack of business sense.

Assembly Bill 487 provided for compulsory school attendance. It was so worded as to make it largely inoperative, and if operative it would have been impracticable, as there were something like 1,200,000 children of school age in the islands and there were neither teachers enough to instruct them, schoolhouses enough to hold them, nor funds available with which to pay for new buildings and additional teachers. Its passage showed lack of business sense.

Assembly Bill 547 amended the so-called "*bandolerismo*[1] act." Up to the time of the American occupation brigandage had been a crying evil throughout the islands. The amendment proposed would not only have greatly weakened the act under which it had been very successfully suppressed, but would have turned loose 1156 criminals, many of whom were desperate and hardened, seriously disturbing the tranquillity of the country and necessitating the early hunting down of many of them.

Assembly Bill 567 was "An Act empowering the Secretary of Commerce and Police to make contracts with silk producers, insuring them the purchase of their silk at a price not to exceed $9 per pound." The Bureau of Science had conclusively demonstrated the possibility of establishing a silk industry in the Philippines. This extraordinary measure would have made it possible for an executive officer to provide for the expenditure of all the revenues of the government in case of a great development of the silk industry. Its passage showed lack of business sense.

Assembly Bill 558 was "An Act to provide for a permanent annual appropriation of $15,000 to reward the inventor of a steam plough or any mechanical engineer who shall perfect a ploughing machine." It was a foolish measure, as there were various successful steam ploughs and other motor-drawn ploughs then in use, and there was no good reason for offering a reward for the invention of a thing which already existed.

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[1] Brigandage.

Assembly Bill 395 was a most extraordinary and dangerous measure. The Spanish law fixed the age of consent of women at twenty-three, which is about ten years after the time when young girls in the Philippines begin to turn their thoughts toward marriage. Whenever a man had sexual relations with a woman under twenty-three he was liable to go to jail for rape unless pardoned by the parents, grandparents or guardian. This provision of law was continually taken advantage of in blackmailing persons. Suit would be brought and the necessary proof provided. Pardon would be offered for a consideration. The crime was known as a private crime, not a crime against the public. The commission had amended the Penal Code, making it a public crime so that once complaint was made no pardon on the part of the interested persons could stop the proceedings. There had been a consequent noticeable falling off in the number of cases brought for the purpose of extorting money. Assembly Bill 395 was designed to change this state of affairs and restore the old conditions. It was a vicious measure.

Special Session 1910

Assembly Bill 396 authorized the use of certain kinds of sledges on improved roads, although it had been abundantly demonstrated that they were veritable road destroyers. The commission had passed a law prohibiting their use and the natives had been compelled to substitute for them carts with wide-tired wheels that turned freely on their axles, and improved the roads instead of ruining them. This bill was an effort to authorize a return to the road-wrecking practices which had previously prevailed.

Assembly Bill 481, "An Act prohibiting the admittance of women and of minors under eighteen years of age into cock-pits established in the Philippine Islands," was a measure encouraging vice, masquerading in the guise of a reform. By inference it permitted the entrance of women and minors more than 18 years of age to cock-pits for the purpose of gambling, and it provided that women and minors could go as sightseers!

Assembly Bill 491 authorized certain classes of people to have firearms irrespective of their individual characteristics. The presence of firearms in the hands of irresponsible people had been a source of great trouble and the granting of gun licenses was then restricted to persons in whom the government had entire confidence. This had been an important factor in suppressing brigandage and highway robbery, and the proposed change in the law was highly undesirable.

Second Session

Assembly Bill 141, "An Act repealing the last paragraph of Act Numbered 1979," took away from the governor-general authority to approve suspension of the additional cedula tax for road purposes, and gave it to provincial boards. The need of improved highways was very great as the inadequate system which had existed under the Spanish régime had gone to pieces during the war. A comprehensive plan of highways for the islands had been worked out and was being put into effect as rapidly as possible. This act would have allowed provincial boards to determine whether funds should be collected for road construction and maintenance, thus bringing this fundamentally important question into the domain of local politics.

Assembly Bill 168 provided that "the Spanish language shall continue to be the official language of the courts until such time as the Philippine Legislature shall provide otherwise."

The reasons why the generalization of English was desirable in the Philippines have already been stated. Under then-existing provisions of law it was to become the official language of the courts in 1913. Assembly Bill 168 would have had the effect of leaving Spanish the official court language for an indefinite time, thus discouraging the use of English and discriminating against young lawyers who had made every effort to obtain a good knowledge of it because of its supposed certainty of usefulness to them.

A novel and objectionable feature of Assembly Bill 947, which appropriated $375,000 for the construction of roads and bridges, was that it made executive action of the secretary of commerce and police subject to the approval of a committee of the legislature.

First and Special Sessions of 1913

Assembly Bill 91 was "An Act prohibiting the exhibition of inhabitants of the non-Christian tribes, and establishing penalties for its violation."

This act grew out of the desire of the assembly to conceal the fact of the existence of wild peoples in the Philippines. It prohibited the publication of indecent photographs of non-Christians, and the appearance at any fair or carnival of a member of a non-Christian tribe clothed in such a manner as to offend against public morals. The commission committee which had this Act under advisement stated, as a part of their report on it, that:—

> "It is obvious that no indecent or immoral picture should be published, irrespective of whether the person or persons depicted are Christian or non-Christian. It is equally evident that no person should

FRANCISCO SANDUETA
LUCIANO

The Philippine Assembly in Session.

be allowed to appear at any exposition, fair or carnival in a costume which offends against morality, whatever may be his religious beliefs or his tribal relationships. Your committee is of the opinion that there now exists on the statute books adequate legislation properly penalizing the one offense and the other."

This act also attempted to limit the right of non-Christians to enter into contracts.

Assembly Bill 130, "An Act declaring invalid the confession or declaration of a defendant against himself, when made under certain circumstances," provided that courts should not give any value to a confession or declaration, oral or written, of any defendant against himself made before the agents of the constabulary, municipal police, judicial or executive officers, or before any other person not vested with authority, during his preventive detention, or while in their custody, unless ratified by the defendant himself in proper style before a competent court.

Only persons familiar with the extreme timidity of many Filipino witnesses, and with the frequency with which they deny in court true statements previously made by them, can appreciate the dangerous character of this measure.

Assembly Bill 170, "An Act obliging manufacturing, industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises in the Philippine Islands to provide themselves with a duly qualified physician and a medicine chest for urgent cases of accident and disease among their laborers, and for other purposes," would have had the effect of forcing the employment of a large number of incompetent Filipino physicians for the reason that no one else would have been available to fill many of the positions in question.

Assembly Bill 172, "An Act protecting the plantation of the cocoanut tree," prohibited the damaging, destroying, uprooting or killing of any cocoanut plant or plants without the owner's consent. There was then going on a large amount of highway construction and widening. This bill would have strengthened the position of certain persons disposed to ask exorbitant prices for land needed for rights of way. At about this time the Manila Railroad Company was compelled to pay a large sum for orange trees on a piece of land through which its road was to pass. On investigation the orange trees proved to be cuttings from branches, or young seedlings, recently stuck into the ground, many of them being already dead.

Assembly Bill 250 would if passed have had the effect of depriving agents of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals of the power to make arrests, and of compelling the payment of all fines imposed and collected through the efforts of the society into the insular treasury, so that the society would have been dependent upon direct appropriations for funds with which to prosecute its work. For three successive years there had been no appropriation bill. The Filipinos have little sympathy with the work of this society, and this was a scheme to kill it. Under the existing law one-half of the fines in question go to it for use in promoting its objects.

Assembly Bill 251, "An Act to create rural guards in all the municipalities organized under Act No. 82, and for other purposes," would seriously have interfered with the maintenance of a proper state of public order. The duties which it proposed to vest in rural guards are now performed most satisfactorily by the Philippine Constabulary. The effect of the bill would have been to restrict the administrative authority of the director of constabulary over the movements of his force, and to interfere with the administrative authority of municipal presidents to utilize their police as in their judgment the public interests require.

Assembly Bill 262 contained the following:—

> "*Provided:* That the Director of Agriculture or his agents shall not adopt quarantine measures in provinces organized under Act No. 83 without previous agreement with the Provincial Boards concerned."

For many years no more serious problem has faced the insular government than that of stamping out the contagious diseases which were decimating the horses and cattle of the islands and threatening to render agriculture almost impossible. The director of agriculture was necessarily given wide authority in the matter of establishing proper quarantines. This act would have taken necessary powers from him and vested them in provincial boards. Quarantining was very unpopular with the very people who were benefited most by it, hence the passage of this act.

Assembly Bill 282 was designed to do away with the public improvement tax in the provinces of Palawan, Mindoro and Batanes, and to substitute therefor the so-called double cedula tax. This would have resulted in decreasing by one-half the amount of money available for the construction of public works in those provinces and increasing in the same amount that available for paying salaries of officials and employees.

Assembly Bill 312, amending "The Philippine Road Law" "so as to punish the violent occupation of land on both sides of any public highway, bridge, wharf, or trail at present occupied by other persons, since prior to the passage of such Act," would have prevented the recovery by the government of highway rights of way where they had been encroached upon by abutting owners during the long period of neglect of road maintenance attendant upon war.

Assembly Bill 319, entitled "An Act to prohibit, and punish judges for the issuance of orders of arrest at hours of the night or on days other than working days," was a most extraordinary measure, the object and effect of which are apparent from merely reading its title. There are 365 nights and 63 legal holidays in the year, so that the time during which judges could issue orders of arrest without exposing themselves to punishment would have been somewhat restricted.

Assembly Bill 324, entitled "An Act amending certain articles of the Penal Code of the Philippine Islands," had for its object the reduction of the age of consent of women to the crimes of abduction and seduction.

Assembly Bill 348 provided for the formation of a "poor list," and regulated "gratuitous medical attendance at public dispensaries and hospitals in the city of Manila and the municipalities, or public hospitals in the provinces."

One of the great things which the American government has done for the Philippines is to bring medical and surgical service of a high order within the reach of a very large number of poor persons. By the proposed bill free service to Filipinos was limited to those who declared themselves to be paupers. Many of the deserving poor would have preferred to perish miserably rather than make such a declaration. Most of the self-respecting poor of the islands are not paupers. Free service could be rendered to foreigners only on presentation of certificates of poverty from their consuls, usually residing in Manila, which would have worked great hardship on such persons living in remote parts of the islands and in need of immediate attention. Charitable free service furnished by the government was objected to by certain Filipino physicians, who hoped to get paid for attending the persons thus relieved. The practical result of the bill would have been to force the poor to depend on these people, and to pay their charges, which are frequently very exorbitant.

Commission Bills Disapproved by the Assembly

SECOND LEGISLATURE

Commission Bill 55, amending "The Philippine Administrative Act by including vessels within the provisions of Sections 322 and 323 of said Act," was designed to make vessels responsible for the transportation of contraband cargo, or for smuggling merchandise, in the same degree that attached to vehicles for land transportation, the attorney-general having held that the word "vehicle" used in the existing law could not be construed to include vessels. This measure was important in connection with the suppression of opium smuggling.

Commission Bill 59 amended an act providing for the punishment of perjury "by changing the punishment for perjury and by punishing persons who endeavour to procure or incite other persons to commit perjury." Its object was to remedy a defect in existing law under which there is no punishment provided for subornation of perjury in official investigations.

Commission Bill 60, "An Act defining habitual criminals and providing additional punishment for the same," had for its object the breaking up of petty thieving, the records of the Bureau of Prisons showing that one hundred twenty-nine persons had been convicted twice, twenty a third time and one as high as thirty-two times. It would unquestionably have been a very useful measure.

The Supreme Court of the United States had found that certain punishments of the Spanish Penal Code, particularly with reference to the falsification of public and private documents, were cruel and unusual, and under its decisions a number of criminals, who should have served moderate sentences, were turned loose because the sentences actually imposed were admittedly too severe. The Penal Code fixed the penalties in such cases and gave no option to the judge to impose lesser ones. This decision of the Supreme Court of the United States had the practical effect of making it impossible to penalize certain crimes at all. Commission Bill 61 remedied this situation by providing moderate penalties. The bill was asked for by the secretary of finance and justice, who is a Filipino, and by the president of the code committee, but the assembly would not pass it.

THIRD LEGISLATURE

First Session and Special Session

Commission Bill 59 provided "more severe punishment for illegal importers and dealers in opium."

Great difficulty has been experienced in endeavouring to check the use of opium in the islands.

Commission Bill 70 provided for gradually restricting cock-fighting by decreasing from year to year the number of days on which it was allowed. It imposed annual license fees of $5 on each fighting cock or cock in training, prohibited persons under 18 years of age and women, except tourists, from entering cock-pits, and forbade all games of chance of any kind on the premises of a cock-pit.

This very cursory review of some of the acts which have failed of passage will serve to show, in a general way, the attitudes of the two houses toward a number of important questions.

Had the commission not prevented the passage of much dangerous and vicious legislation approved by the assembly the public service would have suffered seriously, and public order would have been endangered.

Heretofore the commission has prevented the enactment of really vicious legislation. By giving the Filipinos a majority in this body a very important safeguard has been removed.

Another serious result will follow. It was undoubtedly the will of Congress, when its Act of July 1, 1902, was passed, that Americans should control legislation for the Moros and other non-Christians; hence the power to legislate for the territory which they inhabit was reserved by Congress for the commission. Under the new arrangement Filipinos will control in this matter also, and so the will of Congress will be defeated, although the letter of the law is not violated. The outlook for the backward peoples of the islands, under these circumstances, cannot fail to arouse grave apprehension among all who are genuinely interested in them.

The elections for delegates to the assembly have caused endless trouble in many of the provinces. Neither the people at large nor the candidates themselves have as yet learned cheerfully to accept the will of the majority, and the number of protested election cases is out of all proportion to the number of delegates.

In many towns, like Cuyo, these elections have given rise to serious feuds which have brought their previously rapid social and material progress to a standstill, divided families against each other, and in general have produced very disastrous results. Many of the best people of Cuyo are now begging to have the right to elect an assemblyman taken from their province, on the ground that otherwise there is no hope for the restoration of normal conditions.

The assembly is the judge of the qualifications of its members. It has seen fit to admit a number of very disreputable characters. In my opinion neither the character of its members nor that of the legislation passed by it has justified its establishment, much less the "Filipinization" of the commission.[1]

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[1] For a more extended and much more favourable estimate of the Philippine Assembly, see Forbes, II, ch. xix; see also, James A. Robertson, "The Philippines and the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly," in *The American Historical Review,* July, 1917, pp. 811-830.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Picturesque Philippines

Having now devoted a good deal of time to the consideration of political conditions in the Philippines, let us turn our attention to the islands themselves and consider their physical characteristics, their climate and their commercial possibilities.

There has been much discussion as to the number of islands in the archipelago. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has counted them. Big and little, they number 7,080. Only 466 of them, however, have an area of one square mile or more, while 4,642 are small mangrove or rocky islets, and only 2,441 are of sufficient importance to have been given names. The land area of the archipelago is 114,400 square miles, and the boundaries of the Philippines, as defined by treaty limits, enclose an area of 690,700 square miles. The irregular coast line measures 20,260 statute miles.[1]

The Philippine Islands lie between latitude 4° 40′ and 21° 10′ north, and 116° 40′ and 124° 34′ east longitude.[2] It follows that the lowlands throughout the archipelago have a tropical climate, and in the past those two words have been very generally considered to spell danger for people of the white race. In this connection it should be said, first, that the Philippines have one of the most healthful tropical climates in the world, and second, that the results of sanitary work both there and within the limits of the Panama Canal zone have largely eliminated the tropical climate bugaboo. There is plenty of malaria in some portions of the archipelago, but that is a matter of mosquitoes, not of climate, and there is no difficulty in freeing any given region from this disease if drainage is practicable.

The two great drawbacks to life in the tropics are admittedly heat and humidity. Curiously enough the heat in most parts of the Philippines is never extreme. We do not have in Manila anything approaching the high temperatures sometimes experienced in New York or Boston. Humidity in the atmosphere makes heat trying, and is responsible for what we call "sultry" days. The dry-bulb thermometer shows how hot one is, but it takes an instrument with a wet bulb to show how hot one feels. Fortunately, the periods of greatest heat and greatest humidity do not coincide in the islands. April and May are the hottest months, while August and September have the highest humidity.

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[1] These figures are from the *Census*, 1918 (pp. 70–71, 279), corrected by data from the report of the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey of the Philippine Government for 1927 (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 304), and information furnished in 1929 by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

[2] Report of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, in *Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 304.

It must be remembered, however, that very extreme heat for a few days, followed by cool weather, is not so debilitating as is a lower temperature which is nevertheless continuously high. There are often many days in succession during May when the thermometer stands in the nineties, but there is usually a cool northeasterly breeze at that season, and throughout the Philippines, except in the Cagayan valley and in one or two other inland regions of the larger islands, hot nights are almost unknown. Indeed, it is doubtless due to the fact that the land area is broken into myriad islands, and is therefore swept by the cooling sea breezes, that it has such an exceptionally healthful climate. The heat is never trying when the monsoons blow, and they blow much of the time.

Speaking of the islands in general one may say that they have a wet season from July to October and a dry season from December to May, the weather during June and November being variable. On the Pacific coast, however, these seasons are reversed, and in the southern Philippines they are not well defined, the rainfall being quite uniformly distributed throughout the year. During the months of November, December, January and February weather conditions are usually ideal, with bright, clear days and cool and decidedly invigorating nights. Comfort throughout the year is largely dependent on occupying well-ventilated houses from which the winds are not shut off.

The following table shows for each month the highest temperature, the lowest temperature and the average temperature recorded at Manila from 1885 until 1912:—

Month	Highest ° F.	Lowest ° F.	Average ° F.
January	93.0	59.0	76.8
February	96.1	60.3	77.5
March	97.2	61.2	79.9
April	99.9	64.4	82.8
May	100.9	68.7	83.3
June	99.7	70.9	82.2
July	95.4	70.0	80.8
August	95.4	69.1	80.8
September	95.5	69.6	80.4
October	95.2	67.3	80.2
November	93.0	62.2	78.6
December	92.3	60.3	77.4

The highest temperature ever recorded at Manila is 103.5° Fahrenheit, in May 1878; the next highest, 101.9° in May, 1912.

It should be remembered that there are no abrupt changes either between day and night or from season to season, and that one can therefore wear light, cool clothing throughout the year. Far from being oppressive, the tropical nights are, as a rule, delightful. I know of nothing more satisfying in its way than a stroll in the moonlight on a hard beach of snow-white coral sand bordered by graceful cocoanut palms on the one hand and by rolling surf on the other.

The vegetation in the provinces is a constant delight. Unfortunately, in the immediate vicinity of Manila it is less attractive than in most other parts of the archipelago, but by crossing the bay to the Lanao forest on the slopes of Mariveles Mountain, or by taking an automobile ride to Atimonan, one may see it in all its magnificence. No word painter, however skilled, can convey any adequate idea of it.

Everywhere, both on land and at sea, one sees matchless greens and blues,—greens in the vegetation and in the water, blues in the water and in the sky. The cloud effects are often marvellously fine. I had begun to think that perhaps my prolonged residence in the Philippines had made me forget what was to be seen in other countries, but in 1913 I took the distinguished English vulcanologist, Dr. Tempest Anderson, on a trip with me, and his enthusiasm over the cloud views knew no bounds.

Philippine sunsets are unsurpassed and unsurpassable. I have repeatedly noted one remarkable effect which I have never seen elsewhere, namely, the complete reflection in the east of the western evening sky. On the occasion when I first witnessed one of these extraordinary sights I could hardly believe my senses. I was at sea, and had taken a late afternoon siesta. When I awoke familiar landmarks showed me that I was looking due east, and yet I saw a magnificent sunset with wonderful beams of rays radiating from a dark cloud behind which it seemed that the sun must be hidden. A glance to the westward furnished the explanation of the mystery, for the view was duplicated there. I have seen similar wonderful sights several times.

A typhoon, or tropical cyclone, is often dreadfully destructive but is a most imposing thing to watch from a safe viewpoint, and the weather service in the Philippines is so excellent that if one observes such a storm from an unsafe viewpoint it is usually one's own fault. The rush of the mighty waves at sea and their thunder on the shore, where they may dash up the cliffs for hundreds of feet, are awe inspiring. The resistless sweep of the wind, which sometimes attains a velocity of a hundred twenty miles an hour, or even more, makes one feel one's insignificance. If one chances to be in the region over which the centre of the storm passes, there comes a sudden lull in the terrific gale, followed by a dead calm. Often the sun shines for a brief interval, and then, without warning, the wind renews its relentless assault,

Among the Moros.

This photograph shows Governor Taft and Secretary Arthur W. Ferguson with Dato Utto, and other famous Moro chiefs, at Cotobato. Utto is sitting to the left of Governor Taft.

coming from a direction diametrically opposed to that from which it was blowing before the lull. The rainfall is often enormous. At such times rivulets are converted into roaring rivers, valleys into lakes.

If one is near buildings with galvanized roofs which may fly through the air in pieces, or trees which may blow down, it is best to keep under cover, but after the storm there are always to be seen curious and interesting freaks of wind and water. When the northern district of Manila is flooded, as not infrequently happens during severe typhoons, the people turn out for a regular water *fiesta* as soon as the wind moderates, and go paddling about the streets in dugout canoes, wooden tubs, or on rafts extemporized from old barrels, pieces of bamboo, or the stems of bananas which have been blown down.

Due warning of the approach of a typhoon is given by the Weather Bureau at least twenty-four hours in advance, so that the damage done may be reduced to a minimum. Houses of light materials are apt to suffer severely, but serious damage to strongly built houses is comparatively rare, as they are constructed with a view to meeting just such conditions.

Waterspouts are among the most imposing and picturesque of nature's phenomena in the Philippines. I have repeatedly had the good fortune to watch them form, and start on their stately march across the sea, but to my everlasting regret have never had a camera available on such occasions. They sometimes produce a rain of fishes.

The scenery is never monotonous. At sea one views a constantly changing panorama of islands, many of which are picturesque in the extreme. On land one may travel over long stretches of level, fertile plains, but there are always fine mountains in the background, and once among them what pleasures await one! Some are grass-covered to their very peaks; others are buried from base to summit in the rankest tropical growth. On yet others, pine forests begin to cover the slopes at four thousand feet, and are in turn replaced by oak forests at five or six thousand feet. The numerous rushing streams and waterfalls are a joy in themselves. In one short day one may go from the tropics to the temperate zone, and come back again.

Active and extinct volcanoes form a striking feature of many Philippine landscapes. Of the former, Mayon, in the province of Albay, is the delight of the vulcanologist and of the layman alike on account of its exquisite form, which is that of the theoretically perfect volcano. It rises to a height of seventy-nine hundred sixteen feet from an almost level plain, and the extreme outer periphery of its base measures approximately a hundred twenty miles. An excellent automobile road extends completely around it, well within the peripheral line above mentioned, and the trip, which has no equal in its way, may readily be made in half a day.

Mayon is a storehouse of titanic energy which has frequently broken forth in the past with destructive violence. During the last eruption, which occurred in 1900, lava flowed into the sea at a distance of some fourteen kilometres[1] from the crater. During previous eruptions whole towns have been destroyed by lava flows or by falling volcanic ejecta. Mayon is quiet at present and has been repeatedly climbed of late. The trip is dangerous because of the steepness of the slopes and the unstable nature of the material composing them. It takes two days.

Taal Volcano, situated on an island in Bombon Lake, and distant but thirty-nine miles from Manila, is of special interest on account of its destructive eruption on January 30, 1911, which killed some fourteen hundred people within the space of a few moments. It is very easily climbed, the elevation of the lowest point of the crater rim above the lake being only 369 feet, and the ascent gentle.

Other important active volcanoes are Apo, in Mindanao; Catarman, on the island of Camiguin; Canlaon, sometimes also called Malaspina, on Negros; Caua, in northeastern Luzón; and Claro Babuyan, on the island of the same name. A considerable number of the volcanic peaks of the Philippines, including the one last named, have never been ascended.

It goes without saying that in a country where there are so many active, dormant and extinct volcanoes hot and mineral springs are of common occurrence. On the slopes of Canlaon there are three of the former, known respectively as "the chicken killer," "the hog killer" and "the carabao killer," on account of the supposed destructive powers of their waters. The Tivi Spring, near the base of Mayon Volcano, is famous. The water of Sibul Spring, in Bulacan Province, has medicinal properties of undoubted value, as do the waters of various other mineral springs, including those at Itogon and Daklán in Benguet. The scenic surroundings of some of them are most attractive, and doubtless important watering places will be established in their vicinity in the course of time.

Gigantic limestone cliffs are among the most striking features of many of the more mountainous regions, and in some parts of the islands, especially along the coast of Palawan, rise directly out of the sea. They take on wonderfully beautiful, and sometimes very weird, forms and are often full of caves in which may be found the famous edible birds' nests, so highly prized by the Chinese.

A range of limestone mountains ends at St. Paul's Bay on the west coast of Palawan. The bay takes its name from a majestic peak, with a wonderful limestone dome, which looks like a cathedral. Near it is another remarkable mountain called Liberty Cap, on account of its peculiar form. Beneath this range lies the scenic wonder of the Philippines, the famous Underground River, up which a ship's launch can run for more than three miles to what is called the "stone pile," caused by the falling of a great section of the roof. One may climb this obstruction, and utilizing native boats dragged over it by my party in August, 1912, may continue for a distance of half a mile, to a point where the roof of the cave drops to the level of the surface of the water, and further progress becomes impossible.

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[1] 8¾ miles. Destructive eruptions of Mayon occurred in 1928 and 1929.

A trip up this river is an experience never to be forgotten. There is no danger of getting lost, as the three short side passages which run off from the main cavern all end blindly. The channel has been mapped by the Coast and Geodetic Survey and is plainly marked at all critical points. One's launch should be provided with very powerful acetylene lights so arranged as to give a general illumination. Stalactites and stalagmites occur in every conceivable form. There are vaulted chambers which are full of them, and there are long straight passages which lack them and have roofs and walls resembling those of a New York subway. In places the cavern is full of edible-nest-building swifts and of bats. The air in the main passage is fresh. During the rainly season water runs from the roof in many places, and one must expect an occasional shower bath, but this is the only discomfort attendant upon the trip.

Unfortunately, the mouth of this river is quite fully exposed to the heavy seas stirred up by the southwest monsoon, which heap up sand, forming a bar on which the surf breaks heavily; but during the northeast monsoon the current often opens up a wide and deep channel through this bar. There are several other underground rivers in the Philippines. An adventurous soldier embarked in a *banca* on one in Samar, and passed completely under a large mountain. Judging from his description of his experiences, this trip would be remarkably well worth taking.

In the limestone caves we may some day find remains which will throw light on the history of the early inhabitants of the Philippines, as many of them have been used for burial purposes in bygone times.[1]

Pleasurable river navigation is by no means confined to underground streams. In Mindanao there are two rivers which offer strong attractions to tourists. One may ascend the Rio Grande de Cotabato through fertile plains, to a remarkable series of lakes swarming with great tame crocodiles and with a wonderful variety of water-fowl. On this trip one will see the Moros at home. The Agusan River, which rises near Davao Gulf and empties on the north coast of Mindanao, is the largest navigable stream in the islands. During ordinary weather it is strictly confined between well-marked banks. The dense forests which cover them have been cleared in a few places to make room for Manobo villages. Exquisite orchids and beautiful ferns abound. After ascending the river for one hundred twenty miles one comes to a remarkable submerged forest in a region which subsided a few years ago during a great seismic disturbance. Formerly it was very unsafe to enter it without taking an experienced guide, as the original river bed was completely destroyed and the many small streams flowing through the sunken area formed a very complicated maze. Now, however, two clearly defined canals have been opened up, both terminating in the immediate vicinity of the town of Veruela, and a trip through either of them will not soon be forgotten, for here tropical vegetation is seen at its very best.

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[1] A vast collection of archeological material from the caves of the central and southern islands was made in 1922–1925 by the University of Michigan Expedition under the direction of Dr. Carl E. Guthe. The results of the scientific study of this material will be published when the work is completed.

During a portion of the year one may ascend the Rio Grande de Cagayan, the great river of northern Luzón, in a good-sized stern-wheel steamer for a distance of one hundred twenty miles, passing through a sparsely settled but potentially very rich agricultural district which now produces the best tobacco grown in the islands.

It is a common thing for temporary residents in the Philippines to quote the foolish saying that the flowers are without odour and the birds without song. There is no more delicious fragrance than that given off in the evening by the shrub known as *dama de noche*.[1] The perfume made from ilang-ilang flowers goes all over the world. That extracted from the blossoms of the champaca brings fabulous prices. Jasmine is produced in abundance. If one wishes a heavier odour, tuberoses furnish it, while many species of trees make the whole forest fragrant when in flower.

Some of the birds are sweet singers, while others brighten the landscape with their vivid colours. A row of snowy egrets, perched on the back of a carabao, presents a striking picture. One constantly hears by day the plaint of the *limócon*, a wood pigeon which exercises a most extraordinary influence over the lives of many of the wild people, for they believe that the direction and the nature of its notes augur good or ill for the enterprises which they have in hand. The crescendo shriek of a great black cuckoo, called by the natives *bahów*, commonly heard at night, is likely to cause alarm to one not cognizant of its origin, and has led many a sentry on a wild goose chase into a mangrove swamp in the belief that he was hastening to the rescue of some human being undergoing dreadful torment.

One of the most interesting of the feathered denizens of Philippine fields and forests is the inconspicuous tailor bird, which carefully unwinds the silk from cocoons, and using it for thread, stitches together the edges of living leaves and then builds its nest in the green pocket thus formed.

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[1] Lady of the night.

The insects are as varied and interesting as are the birds. There are very numerous species of ants, and the manifestations of their extraordinary intelligence are well worth careful observation. The work of the huge flocks of locusts which sometimes devastate the fields is worth seeing, although the sight is not a cheering one. There are butterflies and moths of great size and of the most brilliant and varied hues. Some of the very gaudily coloured species disappear as if by magic when they alight, because the under surfaces of their wings, exposed when they close them, perfectly resemble dead leaves. Other protectively coloured insects look marvellously like green leaves or dead twigs.

After all is said and done, the most interesting study of mankind is man, and man in most varied form is to be found in the Philippines, beginning with Manila itself, where the mixture of Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, English, German and American blood with that of the original Malay invaders has produced a wonderfully varied series of types. Many of the women are bravely decked out in the gayest of colours, which harmonize well with their raven black hair and brown or yellow skins.

Manila is a very interesting city. North of the Pasig River are several native residence districts which have changed comparatively little in a century. Old Manila, lying just south of the river, is one of the best remaining examples of a walled town, and it has many buildings which have withstood typhoons and earthquakes for centuries. Its churches are of especial interest. The acoustic properties of the cathedral are excellent, and if an opportunity to hear fine music there presents itself it should not be missed.

The Philippine Museum contains collections of great value and interest to one who seeks to understand the Islands and their people. The ethnological section, housed in its own building just north of the Manila Hotel, is of especial importance, as is a striking exhibit of the products of the Philippine forests maintained by the Bureau of Forestry. The University of Santo Tomas and the Ateneo de Manila, the excellent Jesuit preparatory school, also possess interesting museums. In the botanical and zoölogical collections of the Bureau of Science specialists will find a wealth of material.

The Philippine General Hospital richly repays a visit. It is the largest and most complete institution of its kind in the Far East, and within its walls American and Filipino physicians, surgeons and nurses work side by side for the relief of suffering humanity.

I have only hinted at a few of the interesting sights which may be seen without leaving the city limits. The open country and the provincial towns are made readily accessible by splendid automobile roads. To the north one finds great mango trees with their solid hemispheres of beautiful foliage, and endless rice-fields in the cultivation of which the people still employ the methods of bygone centuries. The good sanitary condition in many of the towns shows that American and Filipino health officers have not been idle.

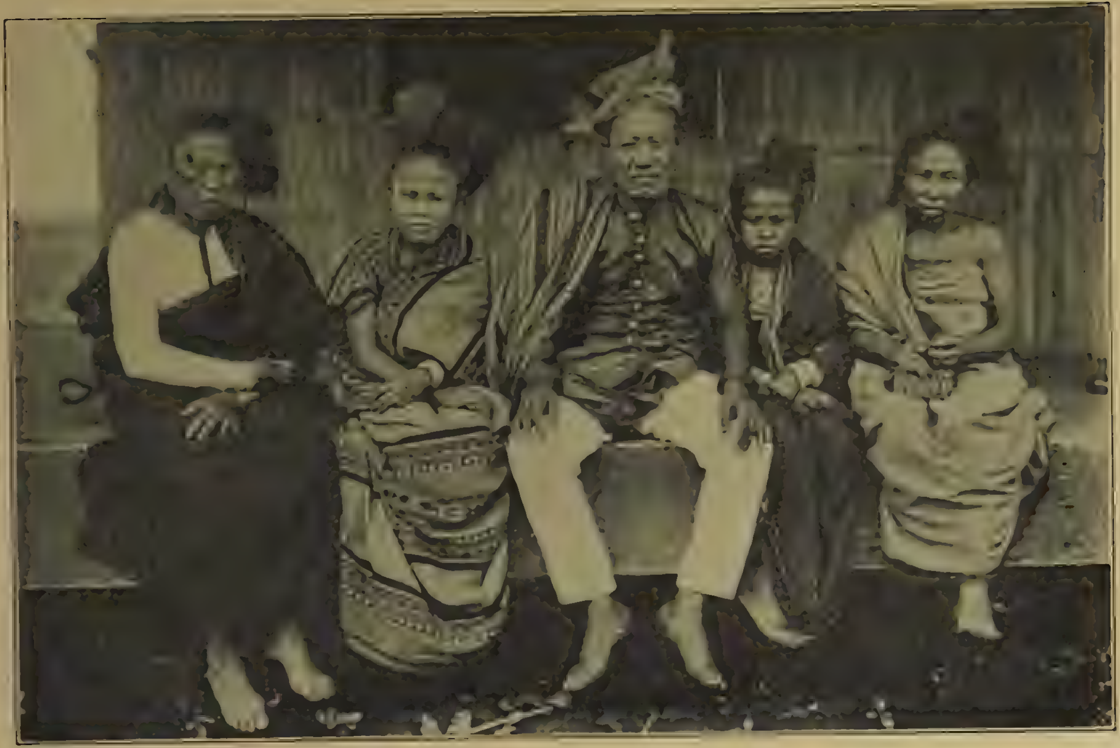
To the south the automobile road runs straight away to Atimonan on the Pacific coast, distant one hundred twelve miles. It passes near Banájao, one of the most beautiful extinct volcanoes of the Philippines; is bordered for long distances by cocoanut groves, and extends for many miles through a most beautiful forest.

No visit to the Philippines is complete without a trip to Baguio, the summer capital. It is reached by train and automobile in less than a day. Here one is just at the edge of the wild man's country and may go to villages of the Benguet Igorots in an automobile. Starting at Baguio, one may take one of the most wonderful horseback journeys in the world over the "Mountain Trail" to Cervantes in the neighbouring sub-province of Lepanto and thence to Bontoc, the capital of the Mountain Province. Here dwell the Bontoc Igorots, who were famous head-hunters until brought under American control. Four or five days more will suffice to make a trip north to Lubuagan, the capital of the sub-province of Kalinga, inhabited by another most picturesque tribe of former head-hunters. They are physically a wonderfully developed people, and their personal cleanliness, brightly coloured clothes, and striking feather ornaments make them especially attractive.

From Bontoc one rides to the eastward over the Mount Polis range and descends along the wonderful terraced mountain sides of the Ifugaos, finding everywhere abundant evidences of the extraordinary industry displayed by the people of this head-hunting tribe. At Quiangan the traveller will be amazed to see beautiful buildings of cut stone, and when informed that they have been erected by Ifugao schoolboys under an American foreman will doubt the possibility of such a thing unless he is fortunate enough to see the boys at work.

From this point one may return to Baguio by way of Sapao, and the Agno River valley, or may continue his journey to the eastward, coming out on the fertile plains of Nueva Vizcaya. Before the return to the lowlands of Pangasinán from this province one may make a short side trip of half a day into the country of the Ilongots, but I do not recommend such an expedition to persons not familiar with the ways of savages who are sometimes inclined to be a bit treacherous. The Ilongots have harmed only one white man, but they still occasionally murder each other, and it is hard always to know what they will do next.

There are comfortable rest houses at frequent intervals along the



A Moro Chief with his Wives and Daughter

excellent horse trails over which one rides in making this trip, so that all one really requires is a good horse and saddle and necessary clothing. Baggage is transported by Igorot carriers or pack ponies. It is always well to take one's own blankets. Good thick ones will be needed, for the Mountain Trail reaches an elevation of seventy-five hundred feet, and at this height the nights are cold.

Until within a short time it has been impossible for tourists to travel with comfort in the Philippines. There was no good hotel even at Manila. This latter difficulty has now fortunately been remedied. The old carriage and cart roads were impassable during much of the year. Their place has been taken, in many provinces, by heavily surfaced automobile roads serviceable at all times. Accommodations on the inter-island boats were atrocious. They are still far from first-class, but are rapidly improving, and on a number of the steamers are now very fair. There is good prospect that a number of new and up-to-date steamers will be put on inter-island routes in the near future.

Meanwhile it can safely be said that the world does not afford more attractive ground for yachting than that to be found in the Philippines. The scenery among the Calamianes Islands and in Bacuit Bay and Malampaya Sound is beautiful beyond description. That of the famous Inland Sea of Japan does not compare with it. Safe, quiet anchorages are to be found at frequent intervals, and the weather during the winter months usually leaves nothing to be desired.[1]

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[1] A scientific work of high quality that is invaluable to any one seriously interested in almost any phase of Philippine life is Warren D. Smith, *Geology and Mineral Resources of the Philippine Islands,* Manila, 1924.

CHAPTER XXVII

Rod, Shotgun and Rifle

The Philippines offer strong attractions to the devotees of the shotgun and the rifle, and they are a fisherman's paradise. Having in my earlier days spent some four years in collecting natural history specimens in the islands I did not need to be enlightened as to the pleasure which might be had in hunting ducks, snipe, shore birds, jungle fowl, and wild pigeons; nor as to those afforded to the hunter of large game by bringing down wild carabaos, hogs, and deer, bagging an occasional man-eating crocodile, or trying to outwit the wily tamarau of Mindoro, which is one of the most difficult of all forest-inhabiting ruminants to track down and kill, and has an uncomfortable habit of hunting the hunter when molested. But now, in view of my neglected early opportunities, I must confess with shame and confusion of face that it remained for Governor-General Forbes to show me, after I had resided in the islands for sixteen years, that I had been missing a sport fit for kings by not sooner taking up fishing in the sea.

To one who has been even temporarily attached to a hundred-pound barracuda through the medium of a split bamboo rod, a tarpon reel, three hundred yards of line, and a good strong spoon hook, or has fought a sixty-pound tanguingui, or even a thirty-pound pampano, to a finish, it seems strange that any one should ever have characterized fishing as a "gentle art."

If good old Sir Izaak Walton had struggled with a big tuna until his fingers and thumbs were blistered or skinned, and every muscle in his body was tired and sore, only to see a huge shark bite his finny prey off back of the gills when it was almost ready to gaff, it is possible that his language in discussing fishing would have been less mild, and his general attitude toward the subject less gently philosophic.

Verily, Sir Izaak missed much by not having been born after modern fishing tackle had been invented and employed in taking the denizens of deep tropical seas. Let no one be unduly dismayed over the diminution of big game fish in the vicinity of Catalina Island, or off the Florida coast, for among the myriad islands of the Philippine Archipelago one may fish to one's heart's content, visiting grounds already well known, or seeking new ones for himself, in the assurance that the supply of marine game fishes will not be perceptibly diminished for many a long year to come.

Soon after his arrival, Governor-General Forbes began to inquire about the opportunities for sea fishing. He received little reliable information and less encouragement, but undeterred, proceeded to find out for himself when and where to fish and what tackle to use in order to obtain the best results. At the outset his efforts netted him few fish or none, but he kept at it as opportunity offered, and, thanks to his preseverance, the sport is now firmly established on a sound basis.

One must have rod, reel, line and gaff suitable for tarpon fishing, and an abundant supply of good spoon hooks, wire leaders and swivels. Live bait and cut bait are as useful here as elsewhere, but game fish are so abundant, and spoon hooks have proved so successful in taking them, that comparatively little use has as yet been made of other lures. One should fish from a power boat which can be slowed down to four miles an hour without stopping, and will safely ride a moderately heavy sea.

When thus equipped, if the fisherman hies him to the edge of a coral reef where the bottom slopes steeply downward, runs the boat so that he sees green water on one side and black water on the other, and pays out fifty to a hundred yards of line, he will not have long to wait before his reel sings the merry tune so dear to the heart of his kind, and he finds himself vainly striving, with both thumbs on the brake, to lower the pitch of that insistent high note by slowing down the speed of the barracuda which has grabbed the spoon, hooked itself securely, and started for the coast of China with the obvious intention of getting there before dark.

A big barracuda may take fifty yards of line in his first rush and he may take two hundred, but one can be certain that when he is finally stopped he will jump clear of the water, and then will jump again just to show that he means it. After that, as he is reeled in, he will jump some more to keep up the interest. Ultimately, having acquired the habit of coming toward the boat, he will continue to practise it until he sees that craft, whereupon he is likely to start off at a rate which makes his first rush seem slow and deliberate. Now and then he will run down on the line for variety's sake, and then is the time for the boatmen to get into action, for if he gets slack line nothing remains but to bid him good-by as cheerfully as possible.

The largest specimen yet taken in the Philippines and actually weighed was a hundred ten pound monster caught on a trolling line trailed behind the coast guard cutter *Polillo,* on which I was making an inspection trip along the west coast of southern Palawan.

The largest specimen yet taken with rod and reel weighed fifty-two and eight-tenths pounds. It was brought to gaff in Biobican Bay by Governor Leo J. Grove of Nueva Vizcaya.

Very numerous individuals weighing between twenty and forty-five pounds have been captured, and the only reason why numbers of much larger specimens have not been taken is that tackle was not strong enough, or the skill of the fishermen was not sufficiently great. Big barracudas have teeth that would do credit to small sharks, and have sawed through or broken many a wire leader.

In the Philippines, as in other civilized countries, there are not lacking narrators of good "fish stories." From Filipino residents of San Juan, Siquijor, I recently heard a tale of a barracuda which towed a native dugout boat all day, jumping frequently, and was finally cut loose after dark by its disgusted would-be captors who found themselves unable to tire it out!

Of tanguingui there are at least two species. The smaller commonly attains a weight of twenty to forty pounds. In the open sea off the coast of Leyte I took a specimen which measured sixty-four inches in length and weighed sixty-five pounds. It proved to be of a species new to science. This magnificent fish, when fresh from the sea, was a sight calculated to cheer a graven image.

Tanguingui fight much as do barracuda, except that they seldom jump out of the water after being hooked unless pursued by sharks. This seems strange, as under normal conditions they leap for the pure joy of the thing, attaining heights which I hesitate to specify lest I be held to have qualified for the Ananias club. I know of nothing more startling in its way than the shock one gets when his eye has missed the upward leap of a big tanguingui but catches the fish as it is dropping back toward the sea, apparently from the clouds.

While barracuda and tanguingui may be taken throughout the year, there seems to be a time when the fish of the latter species "run." At all events they are found in great numbers during April and May in the vicinity of Fortune Island, a short distance south of Manila Bay, but are very scarce, or entirely absent, there during the remainder of the year. I once visited the famous fishing grounds around Tanguingui Island, north of Cebú, in August, only to be assured by a light-keeper that I would find no fish at that season. He said that the barracuda would return in November and the tanguingui in February. His prediction as to the fishing in August promptly came true.

Pampano rank high among the game fish of the Philippines. What will California coast fishermen, accustomed to taking little fellows weighing a pound or two, say to fifty-pound individuals? I can imagine what they would say if not confronted by hard facts, but the truth is that a number of such pampanos have already been taken with rod and reel in the Philippines, and that there are plenty more waiting to be caught. During a trip to Palawan in December, 1911, Captain Tornroth of the coast guard cutter *Polillo* took a forty-nine-pound specimen. The same evening Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Director of Health, took an individual weighing thirty-two pounds. The following August the record was raised first to fifty-three pounds and then to sixty-three and a half pounds, the latter fish being caught by Mr. Frank W. Sweitzer.

The pampano takes the hook with a rush and seldom misses his strike. He never leaps while being played, but helps himself to line very liberally at the outset and runs deep at once. A large specimen is never satisfied until almost directly under the boat with several hundred feet of line out, and will get bottom, snag the line on a sharp point of rock or a branch of coral, and break away, if such a thing is materially possible. A pampano never quits fighting until he is in the boat, and is an adept at turning up his broad side after being hooked and swimming in a circle, resisting to the utmost all efforts to raise him. Under reasonably favourable circumstances it usually takes from twenty minutes to half an hour to land a twenty-five-pound individual. Pampano run in schools and when they once begin to bite the fun is fast and furious.

The sergeant fish is one of the gamest fighters for his weight to be met with in Philippine waters. He keeps up his determined rushes until brought to the side of the boat and leaps frequently while being played, at the same time making vigorous efforts to shake the hook. None of the specimens so far taken have exceeded twenty pounds in weight.

Ocean bonito are often met with in great schools and present a wonderful sight when one drives one's boat among them and sees them leaping high into the air, close at hand, on every side. The largest specimen yet caught with rod and reel is a sixty-pounder taken by Governor Forbes. I have seen numerous individuals which must certainly have weighed a hundred pounds or more.

Red snappers weighing five to twenty pounds also occur in great schools. They are usually caught with bait by sinking in deep water, but at times take the spoon freely. The larger individuals make a game fight. Annually during November and December these fish run in very large numbers from Naujan Lake in Mindoro to the sea. Whether or not they can be captured with rod and line while in fresh water remains to be determined.

The lapu-lapu, or "groupers," of which there are twenty-four known species in the Philippines, do not attain very great size, but are much prized on account of the delicious flavour of their especially tender flesh. Dr. Heiser has taken one weighing twenty-two pounds and I have seen the dried flesh of one which must have weighed approximately forty pounds. The colouring of a number of the species is extraordinarily beautiful. Some are light gray with round blue spots; others carmine red with blue spots over the body and blue lines and bars about the head; others are dark blue with carmine spots. There seems no end to the variety and beauty of the colour patterns, and each new one appears for the moment more wonderful than those which one has seen before.

Lapu-lapu have a special fondness for crevices in the rocks, and for holes in coral reefs, and in consequence are responsible for the loss of much good tackle. One must fight them from the moment they strike and give them no slack. The penalty for any carelessness in this regard is a broken line.

Leather jacks, commonly called *dorados* in the Philippines on account of their beautifully coloured yellow bellies, are extraordinarily abundant at certain seasons of the year when they run into the shallow waters at the heads of bays and sounds, apparently to spawn. When encountered at all they afford good sport for their size, fighting well and frequently making splendid leaps out of the water even after they are brought close to the boat and are apparently tired out. They commonly run from five to fifteen pounds in weight, but occasionally reach eighteen or twenty pounds.

The Philippine giant sea-bass, or jewfish, belongs to the same family as does the California species. While I was on shore at Mæander Reef in August, 1911, numerous hand lines with which sailors were fishing from the *Polillo* were carried away by jewfish. With the permission of the captain, the ship's log line was then pressed into service. I returned to the steamer just in time to assist in landing a hundred-and-thirty pound specimen. A steam trawler, which operated for a short time in the Philippines, took a specimen seven feet three inches in length, which weighed three hundred thirty-four and a fourth pounds.

In Coron Passage during July, 1911, I fought a very large fish, probably a jewfish, for an hour and twenty minutes, at the end of which time his dead weight broke my line when Governor Forbes, who was with me, attempted to lift him by it after he had indulged in a prolonged sulk in deep water. Although I had fought him steadily, I could not see that I had tired him in the least. In the course of the fracas the butt of my rod had made a two by three inch black and blue spot on my right leg and had worn the skin off over a similar area on my left leg, while my abdomen lacked a good deal of epidermis and I was tempted to believe that it lacked some dermis as well. My companions who witnessed the fruitless fight christened this particular fish the "sea carabao."[1]

Belt and socket should, of course, be used in fighting fish of such size. Heavy cots for the thumb and first finger of the left hand and the

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[1] Carabao is the Filipino name for water buffalo.

Lieutenant-Governor Manuel Fortich of Bukidnon.

Lieutenant-Governor Fortich is a Filipino. Various criminal charges, including that of murder, have been brought against him, because he protected the Bukidnons from their Filipino neighbors in Misamis.

thumb of the right hand are very essential. I once got a badly burned thumb because I thought that I was not likely to hook a fish which would make a quarter-inch-thick leather brake heat through. A big ocean bonito undeceived me.

Very exciting sport may be had by harpooning the huge rays which come to the surface in great numbers at certain seasons of the year. Specimens thirty feet across have been taken in the vicinity of the island of Siquijor. When one of these great fishes is harpooned, Filipino fishermen make two or three large boats fast to it as soon as possible for the reason that a single boat might be dragged under. Even so the taking of giant rays is not unattended with danger, for they make most extraordinary leaps into the air, and were one of them to fall on a boat the result would be disastrous.

We have knowledge of the existence of other very large game fishes which we have not as yet so much as seen. One species is taken by the natives of Siquijor, who use a three-quarter inch Manila rope and fish in water of considerable depth. A number of boats work close together and as soon as a fish is hooked all flock to the assistance of the lucky fisherman. A tremendous struggle then ensues and we are assured that if the fish is landed, it makes a meal for a whole village. What this species may be we do not know.

One of the charms of fishing in the Philippines lies in the fact that one can never tell what one is going to strike next. At Mæander Reef I took the first yellowtail ever caught in the islands with rod and line. Doubtless there are plenty more where that one came from. Indeed, yellowtails are common in the market at Zamboanga at certain seasons. Off the coast of Mindoro I took the first dolphin known to have been captured in these waters. On a recent trip I took a large porgy of a species new to the Philippines and likely to prove new to science. As yet we have hardly begun to explore the fishing grounds. What shall we find among the swift currents of the Batanes Islands, and what along the barrier reef of the unexplored east coast of northern Luzón? No one knows!

Although some 1400 species of fish have already been reported from the Philippines, new ones are constantly being added to the list, and it is rather a rare event when a returning party of fishermen fails to present the ichthyologist with one or more puzzles. On my first trip to Apo Reef, Dr. Heiser hooked a tremendous fish which leisurely went its way regardless of his efforts to control its movement. At one time it deigned to come under the bottom of the launch and within forty feet of the surface, where it could be seen with perfect distinctness. It was a long, slender, gamy-looking creature weighing perhaps one hundred fifty pounds, and it had vertical yellow bars on its sides. No such fish is known from these waters. Having viewed the boat to its satisfaction, it proceeded to go back to the reef and to take refuge under its overhanging edge. Vigorous efforts to dislodge it, lasting for half an hour, resulted only in sawing off a heavy wire leader.

One may tire for the moment of catching fish, but with a glass-bottomed boat at his disposal he will never tire of looking at them as he floats over the wonderful coral reefs for which the archipelago is famous. Certainly there are no "sea gardens" anywhere which can excel those of the Philippines. The powerful tropical sun penetrates the marvellously clear sea water to a great depth, revealing marine animal and plant life in endlessly varied and marvellously beautiful forms which beggar description. Former Secretary of War Dickinson is a rather serious-minded man, but when he gazed for the first time through the glass bottom of a boat into one of these wonder houses of nature, he shouted in his excitement and delight for all the world like a small and enthusiastic boy.

In a few moments one may see fish of the most amazing forms and extraordinarily bizarre colours: huge sharks; enormous rays; great sea-turtles; clam shells big enough for children's bath-tubs; sea-urchins; starfish; sea-anemones; jellyfish in endless variety of form and colour; sea-fans; and many other varied forms of marine animal and plant life.

When one grows weary of the water, one may land on snowy coral-sand beaches, bordered by cocoanut palms, may visit old deserted Spanish forts rapidly being invaded by rank tropical vegetation; may gather exquisite orchids; or may for the time being substitute hunting for fishing. In the Sulu Sea he may visit wonderful bird islands where the feathered folk refuse to get out of his way and peck viciously at his legs if he comes too near.

All these delightful experiences may be had without suffering any discomfort from the Philippine climate, concerning which such absurd ideas prevail among the uninformed. From November to March the temperature is delightful, except during the midday hours of bright days, when fish do not bite well in any event, and when sensible people keep off the water.

Thus far I have referred only to those game fishes which I myself have taken, or concerning which I happen to have personal knowledge. I will now briefly summarize what is at present known about the game fishes of the Philippines.

The *albacore* is fairly common, especially during the cooler months.

Amberjacks, reaching a length of two feet or more, are also common.

There are *barracudas* of seven different species, some of which attain a length of six feet and weigh a hundred pounds or more.

Bonitos of four different species have been taken. The "ocean bonito" and the "true bonito" are both abundant and afford fine sport.

The larger individuals sometimes attain a weight of a hundred pounds or more.

There are six different species of *croakers,* also called *roncadores.* Some individuals reach a weight of a hundred pounds.

Groupers, locally known as *lapu-lapu,* are found in great variety, no less than twenty-four species having been recorded.

Hardtails, reaching a length of three feet, are abundant.

Leather-jacks, commonly called *dorados,* are also very abundant. They take the spoon freely and fight well. In weight they commonly run from five to fifteen pounds.

There are several small species of *mackerel* which are excellent table fish and afford fair sport.

Pampanos are found in great variety, no less than thirty species having already been recorded. Individuals weighing as much as fifty pounds are not uncommon.

Porgies of twelve different species have been taken, and some of the individuals have weighed up to thirty pounds.

Of *snappers* we have thirty-four known species. The *red snapper* not infrequently attains a weight of twelve to fifteen pounds, and the larger individuals fight well. At times they take the spoon freely. The *gray snapper* runs up to forty pounds in weight and makes a good fight. The *rivulated snapper,* which takes its name from the form of its beautiful colour pattern, is a good game fish, and I have seen specimens which weighed up to twenty pounds.

Sea-bass of two distinct species are common. Specimens weighing fifty to seventy-five pounds are frequently seen in the markets. The largest specimen as yet recorded from the islands weighed three hundred thirty-four and a fourth pounds.

Spanish mackerel, or *tanguingui,* are common throughout the islands at the proper season. A very intelligent Filipino collector of natural history specimens in the service of the government, who saw my sixty-five-pound specimen landed, assured me that he had previously seen larger ones caught.

Swordfish, nine feet or more in length, may be taken during the cooler months.

Tarpons up to five feet in length may be taken at the proper season, off the mouths of large streams. The species is distinct from that found in Atlantic waters, and the young take the fly freely.

Ten pounders, commonly called *bid-bid* in the Philippines, are not uncommon, and in spite of their name often attain a weight of thirty pounds.

Tunas. The great, or leaping, *tunas* are met with in large schools during the winter months. The natives call them "*cachareta.*" So far as I am aware, none have yet been taken with rod and line, but their capture is, of course, only a question of time.

I believe it certain that the Philippines will become a Mecca for deep-sea fishermen, and to the end that piscatorial pilgrims may not come in vain, reliable data are being gathered and compiled by the Division of Fisheries of the Bureau of Science. The exact locations where exceptionally good catches are made are being marked on a comprehensive series of charts which cover the entire archipelago, and an accurate card record is also kept giving full information as to the localities where, the seasons when and the weather conditions under which exceptional catches have been made. Fishermen seeking fine sport and novel experiences will surely not be disappointed if they come to the Philippines.

While it is possible to find sheltered waters at any season, and to take fish throughout the year, our experience thus far seems to justify the belief that the months from January to August are on the whole the most favourable ones.

Fishermen may establish themselves at some favourable point, such as one of the many excellent camping grounds on Malampaya Sound, and work from this as a base, with no other water transportation than the motor boats from which they fish. Those who wish to have a good movable base of operations and to explore for themselves may, by making seasonable application, secure the use of one of the government coast guard boats at a reasonable cost. These convenient little vessels measure one hundred forty-eight feet over all and draw nine to eleven feet of water, according to the amount of coal carried and its distribution. They are safe in all weathers. Most of them have four good staterooms for passengers, with berths for eight people; but as they are provided with good double awnings and have abundant deck room, a much larger number of persons can be made comfortable, if willing to sleep on deck, using the staterooms for dressing-rooms. As a matter of fact, people who have been long in the islands seldom think of sleeping inside. The coast guard boats readily carry four motor boats on their davits, and two more might be placed on deck forward. All of these vessels have electric light, refrigerating plants and distilling plants.

I know of nothing more delightful than to explore the shores and bays of this wonderful archipelago in such a vessel, fishing and landing when and where one pleases. With the certainty of fine weather during the winter months the nights under the deck awnings are a delight, and nothing will more promptly restore jangling nerves to a normal state, straighten out impaired digestion and bring back vigorous health, than will such a salt water fishing trip in the Philippines.

Ducks and snipe are the stand-bys for the hunters who love the shotgun. A few years ago magnificent duck shooting was to be had on the Laguna de Bay, as well as in the province of Bataan just across the bay from Manila. Unfortunately the ducks on the Laguna were educated by some stupid fellows who shot at them with a Colt automatic gun. The ideas which they then developed as to danger zones seem to have persisted ever since, and it is now difficult to get within range of the great flocks which still continue to frequent this the largest fresh-water lake in the Philippines.

Ducks have been shot in season and out of season around the water-holes in Bataan and in the Candaba Swamp, as well as in the vicinity of the fish pens in Bulacan. The shooting has fallen off rapidly here, and in Nueva Ecija and Tarlac, for the same cause. We are powerless to remedy this condition. Some years ago a law was passed authorizing the secretary of the interior to provide regulations governing the seasons during which game might be shot, but through oversight no penalty was provided for the infraction of these regulations, and the assembly has persistently refused to amend the law in this respect.

On Naujan Lake in Mindoro, and elsewhere in the provinces, magnificent duck shooting may still be had. The whistling tree-duck and the Philippine mallard are the two species which afford the best sport, although pintails, bluebills, widgeons, and blue- and green-wing teal come in on migration as does a tiny goose, smaller than the ordinary duck. Several other species stray into the southern Philippines from the Celebes, while at least one Formosan species sometimes visits the Batanes Islands.

Jacksnipe come to the islands in enormous numbers from Asia, usually arriving about the middle of August in northern and central Luzón and gradually working their way south to Mindanao. The return migration commonly comes during February. The flight of the Asiatic jacksnipe is exactly like that of his American brother. In fact, only an ornithologist can distinguish between the two species. A bag of one hundred birds to the gun is by no means unusual at the height of the season, and a strong sentiment is developing among Americans in favour of limiting the bag.

There are very numerous species of pigeons and doves in the Philippines. All of them are excellent table birds and several of them offer good sport. If one can take up his position under a fruit tree frequented by the great gray and green pigeons, known locally as *baluds,* about the middle of the afternoon he will get a wonderful series of shots at incoming birds flying fifty or more yards up in the air. They approach very rapidly, so that one must lead them a long distance, "pulling them out of sight" in order to bring them down. One may burn many a cartridge before he learns the knack of stopping these powerful, swift-flying birds. During certain seasons the larger pigeons roost, in countless thousands, in trees on little isolated cays remote from the larger islands, where wonderful shooting may be had during the morning and evening flights.

Junglefowl, the ancestors of all our domestic breeds of poultry, are to be found throughout the islands but only in a few places do they offer much opportunity for the sportsman who likes to kill his birds on the wing. Prior to the last eruption they were very numerous on the slopes of Taal Volcano.

A party which happened to visit Cavilli, a small isolated coral island in the Sulu Sea, once found it alive with junglefowl. No one else has ever seen any there. Obviously a great flock flew in and then flew away again.

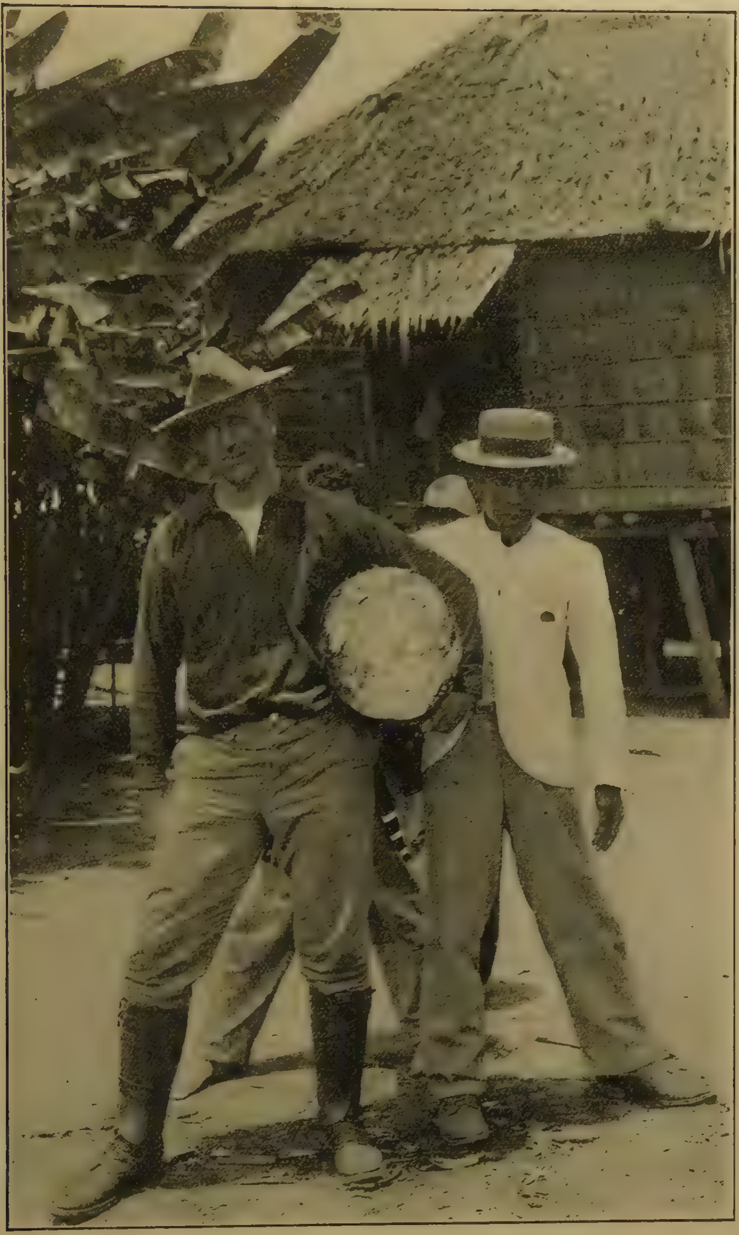
Particularly fine sport may be had on Fuga Island by walking along the edge of the forest in the late afternoon. The birds which are then feeding in the open fly straight for cover and present difficult cross shots.

The larger hornbills are very good to eat, but as easy to hit on the wing as a fair-sized door sailing through the air would be, so do not offer much sport.

Wild hogs are abundant throughout the archipelago. Deer are found on nearly all of the islands, but there are several noteworthy exceptions, such as Palawan and Cebú. The Filipinos are very fond of hunting deer. Sometimes they run them down with dogs and drive them into nets where they lance them—a most unsportsmanlike proceeding. The wealthier Filipinos like to take up their stations at good strategic posts, and then have the country beaten toward them. In this way they sometimes get fifty or more deer in a single drive. I have never been able to see anything very exciting about this method of hunting.

It is very good sport, on occasion, to still-hunt deer. The best deer shooting I have ever had was at what is called the *Cogonal Grande* in the centre of the island of Culion. It is a great circular valley sloping very gradually toward the center. Its higher portions are overgrown with cógon grass which gives the valley its name. Probably it was once the bed of a lake. At all events its centre is swampy at the present time and has grown up into a hopeless jungle of pandanus, bamboo grass, etc., through which runs a maze of deer paths. Numerous little canons lead down from the neighboring hills to this valley and each of them has forest in it.

In the month of December, when the *cógon* is dry, if fired it burns toward the centre on all sides until the blaze reaches the wet swampy portion where the vegetation is not dry enough to burn. If dogs are then put into the little stretches of forest which run down the ravines toward the open valley, they almost invariably drive out deer which run straight



Governor Frederick Johnson of Agusan.

He is holding up the butt of a huge hemp stalk. Governor Johnson continued at his post for a year while a cancer was destroying the bones of his leg, without letting any one know of his trouble. His heroism cost him his life.

for the tangle at its centre, necessarily crossing ground which has been burned bare.

As a result one gets hard cross shots but has the advantage of seeing every bullet strike, as the soil is very dry at this season. This makes interesting shooting. One gets game enough to keep the camp in meat and not enough so that he feels like a butcher.

Many hunters go out at night with bull's-eye lanterns, shine the deer and fire at their eyes. This is not so bad as jacking them from a boat, because a man who hunts on foot necessarily makes a good deal of noise, and they are apt to become alarmed and run away, whereas one can approach in a boat so silently that they do not hear the noise of the paddles or the rippling of the water.

Hunting at night in this way in the Philippines is very interesting. One sees all sorts of nocturnal animals which are never met with by day, and also gets a good opportunity to pick up owls, nighthawks and other birds which are not ordinarily taken except by accident. However, the ordinary hunter is not an ornithologist, and does not care for such opportunities.

Wild hogs are hunted much as are deer. They drive readily. On account of the habit of the old boars of turning and facing dogs when the latter molest them, it is easy to bring them down.

The common people kill wild hogs with spears after the dogs have brought them to bay. This is by no means a safe undertaking, as some of the old boars attain tremendous size, have very formidable tusks and are capable of killing a man in short order if able to come to close quarters with him.

The wild hogs of the Phillippines are very cleanly beasts. They take daily baths whenever possible, and often build for themselves beds of clean, fresh brush. They are extremely intelligent animals, and it is therefore very difficult to still-hunt them. In view of their huge bulk and ungainly proportions the absolute silence with which they move through the forests cannot fail to impress one who sees them stealing quietly along. After being disturbed they make plenty of noise as they rush away.

One of the best ways to still-hunt them is to secrete one's self near a water hole which they frequent for bathing purposes, but their sense of smell is very keen, and if the wind happens to blow in the wrong direction they will not approach the place where a hunter is lying in wait.

Wild hogs are fruit eaters for the most part, and their flesh is delicious. They are enormously abundant on the island of Tawi Tawi, where the durian tree abounds. The Moro inhabitants will not touch them, and as food is very plentiful during much of the year the island swarms with them, and they attain the largest size. Moros say that during the fruit season they become so covered with fat that if pursued for any length of time they fall, overcome by the heat and the running!

When I was in Tawi Tawi in 1901 with Dr. Bourns and a Filipino helper, one of us took a rifle along each morning when we went out to collect birds and in a few moments, after finishing his bird shooting for the day, was able to kill hogs enough to keep not only our party but the local Spanish garrison in meat, while the lard which our servants tried out lasted us for more than a year thereafter.

There are two animals in the Philippines which can with propriety be dignified by the name of "big game." These are the wild carabao, which is still to be found in various parts of the archipelago, and the tamarau, a true buffalo of a species which occurs nowhere in the world except on the island of Mindoro.

The wild carabao is a formidable antagonist, hard to stop and a vicious fighter after he is once wounded. Under ordinary circumstances he is very wary and difficult to approach. It is highly important in hunting him to use bullets with great stopping power. A number of men have been killed in the Philippines by wild carabaos which they had severely wounded. The most recent case which has come to my knowledge was that of a Mr. Barbour, in Mindoro. He was an old hand at the game, and had killed fifty-odd specimens. He shot a bull three times and it dropped apparently dead. Walking close up to it he dropped the butt of his rifle to the ground between his legs and held the barrel with his knees while trying to light a cigarette. Without the slightest warning the injured bull sprang to its feet and drove a horn completely through him, killing him instantly.

There is an interesting and unsettled question as to whether the wild carabaos of the Philippines are indigenous to the islands or are merely the descendants of imported animals which have made their escape from captivity. My own opinion is that both beliefs are true or, in other words, that we have both a native wild race and other carabaos just as wild and just as fierce which are the descendants of tame individuals. The ordinary wild bulls have comparatively short and thick horns, while the bulls of the species found in Nueva Ecija and in northern Luzón generally have long, slender, very sharp, strongly curved horns. I believe that the latter animals belong to the true native race.

Wild carabaos are found not only at various points in Luzón, but abundantly in Mindoro and the Calamianes Islands. They appear in considerable numbers in Masbate, Negros and elsewhere in the archipelago. To the inexperienced hunters who are inclined to try to bring them down my advice is "Don't!"

Few indeed are the men who have killed so much as a single specimen of the tamarau of Mindoro. It is a small jungle-inhabiting ruminant. Its color, when adult, is precisely that of the carabao. It is, however, a much smaller and more active animal. The bulls lose no opportunity to attack carabaos, both domesticated and wild, and in spite of their own inferior size kill them with apparent ease.

The tamarau is extremely muscular and when it charges, which it is prone to do on very slight provocation, bores a hole through the jungle vegetation, coming on with the speed and recklessness of a rhinoceros. Under such conditions it is excessively hard to stop, and when it pushes its charge home, woe be to the unlucky hunter. With rare exceptions it attacks when wounded if it so much as catches sight of a human being. Even when unmolested it not infrequently charges, without warning, when one gets unduly near. It feeds at night, and never lolls around in the water as does the carabao.

At the time I first came to the Philippines to collect natural history specimens in 1887, this animal was known only from travellers' tales and from what purported to be a stuffed individual in the Dominican museum. It was certainly *stuffed,* being about as shapely as a kerosene barrel. Its skin looked so exactly like that of a carabao that uncharitable persons had suggested that it was an artifact.

At this time the most absurd tales about the tamarau were in circulation. I was solemnly assured by one group of persons, who claimed to have seen it, that it had only one horn which grew out of the top of its head. Others were certain that it had two horns and but a single eye. We did not anticipate the good fortune of discovering either a unicorn or a cyclops, but thought that there must be something behind all of these remarkable stories. After undergoing many hardships and performing much hard work, our party succeeded in taking five individuals, the first ever killed and properly preserved.

The best way to hunt these wary and dangerous animals is to pick up a fresh trail early in the morning along some water course where they come to drink during the night, and follow it as noiselessly as possible. One is liable to jump the game at any moment. I shall never forget my astonishment when, on climbing up a steep river bank and diving into a tunnel through *runo* grass, I nearly fell over an old bull. Ordinarily, however, no such luck awaits one. It is frequently necessary to trail the quarry five or ten miles before one comes up with it, and then the usual reward, after crawling through underbrush and wriggling along on the ground, bitten by ants and mosquitoes, torn by thorns and covered with pestiferous land leeches, is to hear a terrific crash in the brush and never so much as catch a glimpse of the animal which makes it. The tamarau sleeps during the day, almost invariably lying down in the densest of jungle growth, facing back upon its own trail. Furthermore, it is uncommonly likely to put a bend in that trail before lying down, so that while one is still a mile or two from it by the line which it followed, it may in reality be not more than fifty or a hundred yards away.

A very skilful tracker is necessary if one is to have much hope of success, and one should not fire, even after the game is in sight, unless he can get a brain shot or can be certain of breaking the spinal column; otherwise, he endangers his own life by shooting, if the tamarau is at moderately close quarters.

I believe that no other ruminant is harder to kill outright. Certainly there is no other approximating the tamarau in size which is so tough. I refrain from chronicling my own experiences, as I am certain that my statements would not be believed, and prefer to leave hunters to find out for themselves how much shooting it takes to put one of these extraordinary beasts out of commission.

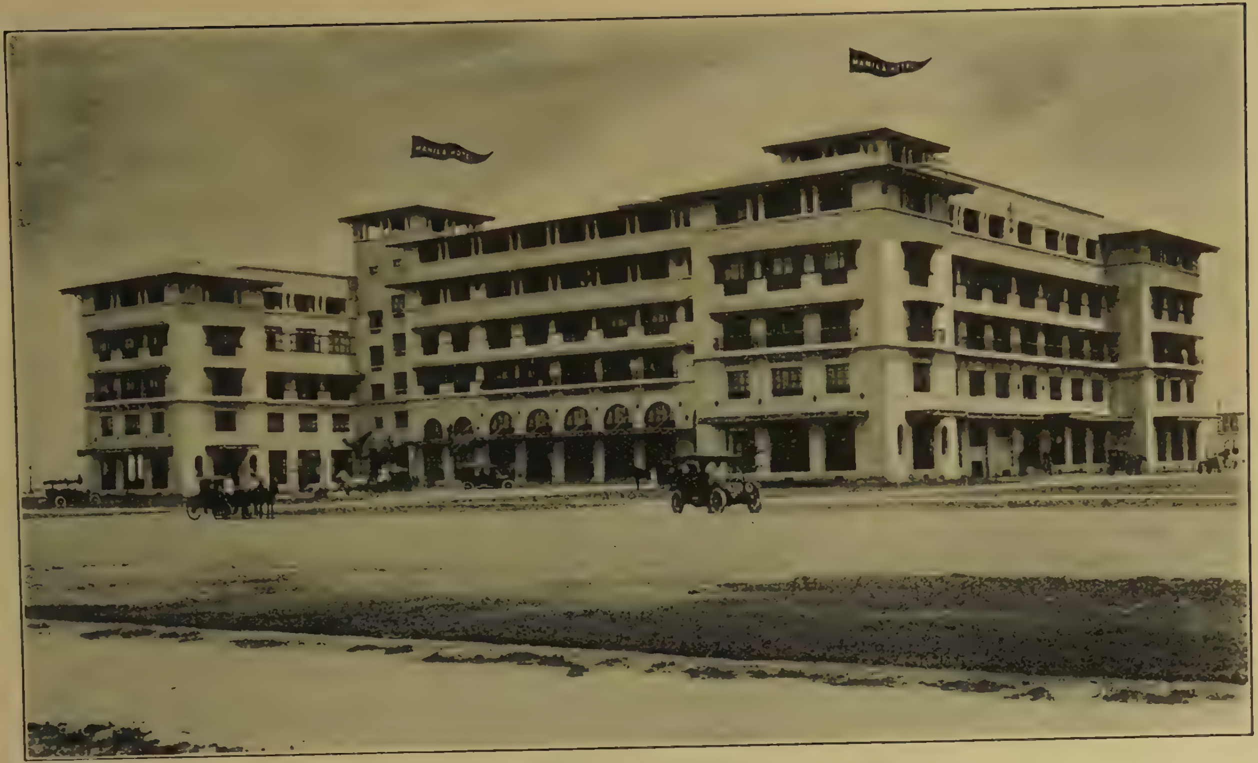
There is one place in Mindoro called Canturai, where tamarau may be taken with comparative ease. It was described to me, in Spanish days, as an extensive open area with a conical hill near its centre, and I was told that by burning the grass and sleeping on the hill one could readily get early morning shots at tamarau which came out to lick up the ashes.

But various other stories had also been told me, and one and all had proved false. I had dug pitfalls for the wary beasts in vain. I had perched in trees, devoured by mosquitoes, and with hard branches cutting into my flesh, waiting for some pugnacious bull to come out and fight a tame carabao fastened at a convenient distance from my hiding place, all to no purpose. Under such conditions a tamarau once came and bellowed around in the bushes, but did not show himself. I had heard tales of men who rode tamarau down on horseback and lanced them, and these yarns I knew to be false. So I never took the trouble to look up the Canturai story, worse luck, for it proved to be true.

American soldiers occupied Mindoro for years before one of them succeeded in killing a tamarau. Finally a party of officers went to Canturai and the first morning they shot seven! Various other persons who have since gone there have had extraordinary luck, although several have narrowly escaped being killed, owing to their folly in following wounded animals into the *cógon* grass.

A tamarau pursued under such circumstances will almost invariably back off at right angles to its own trail, wait for its pursuers to come up, and charge them, giving them no time to fire.

Young calves are as wild as their parents, and I am credibly informed will often endeavor to attack female carabaos if an attempt is made to get them to regard these animals in the light of foster mothers. It is a curious fact that calves, and in fact young animals up to a year or more of age, are of a light reddish colour closely resembling that of some Jersey cattle. Their coats turn dark later on.


MANILA HOTEL
MANILA HOTEL

THE MANILA HOTEL.

The ground on which this fine building stands was redeemed from the bay, by using a part of the dredged material, when the new harbor was built.

Their horns, too, are at first circular in cross-section. Later they become triangular.

When pursued, tamarau cows have a curious fashion of passing their heads under their calves, raising them with the horns pressed down in such a way as to hold them against their necks, with forelegs hanging on one side and hindlegs on the other, and running with them. All in all, they are very interesting beasts, and we still have much to learn about them. No one should attempt to hunt them with anything but a heavy and thoroughly reliable rifle.

Crocodiles of the largest size frequent many of the streams and most of the lakes in the Philippines. They are also to be seen occasionally on sandbars rising out of the sea. Doubtless they will some day be shot for their hides, but as yet they are left undisturbed, unless they display special proclivities for eating human beings, valuable horses or fat cattle. The Filipinos claim that with crocodiles the liking for human flesh is an acquired taste, and that it is only in comparatively rare instances that they become man-eaters, as do tigers. I believe that this is true. Certainly, I have seen a clear pool full of happy Tagbanua children with a big crocodile lying in plain sight at the bottom of it. On the other hand, I have known of individual crocodiles, of evil reputation, each of which have killed numbers of human beings. In one little pool crossed by a trail which I have had occasion frequently to use in Cagayan province ten persons were pulled down and devoured in three years. Most men who use the rifle sooner or later become interested in putting these vicious reptiles out of the way whenever opportunity offers.

Hunters and fishermen, in search of new and exciting experiences, will not fail to meet with them in the Philippines, and the tourist will find there much that is picturesque, strange or wonderful.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PHILIPPINE LANDS

ESPECIAL interest attaches to the subject of Philippine lands for three reasons: first, the very large majority of small landholders in the islands have no titles; second, there are enormous areas of unoccupied, unclaimed, uncultivated land which are doing no one any good at present and ought to be brought under cultivation as rapidly as possible; third, not only insular government officials, but Mr. Root and Mr. Taft have been very unjustly attacked for the land policy pursued in the Philippines.

As regards ownership, some 31,879 square miles may be considered to be private land to which owners have obtained titles or could have done so had they known how to assert their rights. Only about 8,937 square miles of this total amount are estimated to be under cultivation at the present time.[1]

Excepting only private lands and a few acres belonging to municipal or provincial governments or to the insular government as the case may be, the remaining land constitutes the public domain of the Philippine Islands which is the property of the government of the United States, but is administered by the insular government. It is made up of forest land, mineral land, agricultural land, and foreshore and land under water. Fifty-four thousand square miles are estimated to be forest land. The rest is now provisionally classified as agricultural land for the reason that the mineral land and foreshore have never been segregated.[2]

The condition in which private land titles were found at the time of the American occupation was very distressing. It had been a difficult matter to secure title under the Spanish régime and the very large majority of the common people had accordingly put it off until a mythical to-morrow which never came. Even those who had succeeded in obtaining formal documents had in many instances lost them as a result of the vicissitudes of war.

The Public Land Act of the Philippine Commission, passed under the provisions of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, became effective on July 26, 1904.[1] It contained liberal provisions relative to Spanish grants and unperfected titles.

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[1] In 1926 the Bureau of Agriculture estimated that 14,340 square miles, or 12.5 per cent of the land area, were under cultivation. (O. M. Butler, *The Philippine Islands, A Commercial Survey*, p. 5, Washington, 1927.) At the end of that year 4,516,137 parcels, having a total area estimated at 10,691,481 acres (16,706.4 sq. miles) were claimed by private owners. It was estimated by the Director of Agriculture in 1927 that 1,500,000 families cultivated their own land. (Forbes, I, p. 317, n. 1.)

[2] In 1926 the land of the Philippines was classified by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry as follows: commercial forest, 53.7 per cent; non-commercial forest, 9.8 per cent; grass and open land, 18.9 per cent; cultivated, 12.5 per cent; unexplored, 4.2 per cent; mangrove, 0.9 per cent. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, chart no. 9.)

Any citizen of the Philippine Islands or of the United States or of any insular possession thereof over the age of twenty-one years or the head of a family can obtain a forty-acre homestead by five years of cultivation, two years of occupancy and the payment of $10.

The Public Land Act also provided for the issuance of a free patent to a tract not exceeding forty acres in extent to any native of the Philippine Islands then an occupant and cultivator of unreserved, unappropriated, agricultural public land who had continuously occupied and cultivated such land either by himself or through his ancestors since August 1, 1898; or who prior to August 1, 1898, continuously occupied and cultivated such land for three years immediately prior to such date, and who had been continuously since July 4, 1902, until the date of the taking effect of the Public Land Act, an occupier and cultivator of such land.

Most liberal provision was thus made for the small landowner, or would-be landowner, but neither Congress nor the commission reckoned with the ignorance of the common people nor with the opposition to the acquisition of land by poor Filipinos which developed on the part of their richer and more intelligent fellow-countrymen. This latter difficulty has proved to be a quite serious one. The *cacique* does not wish his labourers to acquire land in their own right, for he knows well enough that if they did so they would become self-supporting, and it would cease to be possible for him to hold them as peons, as is commonly done at present. Serious obstacles are therefore frequently thrown in the way of poor people who desire to become owners of land, and if this does not suffice, active opposition is often made by municipal officers or other influential Filipinos, who claim as their own private property land which poor men are trying to get.[2]

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[1] Act No. 926, Philippine Commission, October 7, 1903.

[2] Of the endless cases which might be given I cite the following as a fair sample:—

"Personally appeared before me the undersigned ——, this 24th day of July, 1913, W. A. Northrop, who first being duly sworn, deposes and says:—

"'1. That he is a duly appointed Public Land Inspector of the Bureau of Lands of the Government of the Philippine Islands and that acting in such capacity on the 3d day of June, 1913, he visited the sitio of Buyon, barrio of Maddelaro, Municipality of Camalaniugan, province of Cagayan and there investigated the complaint of homestead entrymen Pascual Valdez and Tomas Valdez whose applications for land in the said sitio of Buyon under provision of Act No. 926 as amended had been entered by the Director of Lands under No. 9253 and No. 9254 respectively, that they were prevented from occupying said homesteads and deriving the benefits therefrom by certain persons living in the barrio of Maddelaro:

"'2. That while so investigating the claim of the said entrymen and their opponents he was told by Placido Rosal, one of the opponents to the homestead entrys, that "it was immaterial to him what decision was made by the Director of Lands concerning the land as, if he (Rosal) lost the land he and others would burn the houses of the entrymen and if necessary kill them"; this in the Spanish language with which he is familiar.

"'3. That at that time he was accompanied by Mr. Blas Talosig of the barrio of Buyag, who was acting as his interpreter in speaking in the Iloco language and that these threats were made in his hearing and that he, W. A. Northrop, was informed by said interpreter that he not only heard them but that he heard similar threats made in the Iloco language by various other persons, henchmen of the Placido Rosal and his family.

"'4. That on the 9th day of June, 1913, said entrymen came to him in the City of Aparri and reported that on the night of the 7th day of June the granary of Eduardo

The Bureau of Lands now interests itself actively and directly in protecting the public lands against such spurious claims, and thus keeps large areas open to claim by the common people.

Absolute ignorance of the law was the commonest of all causes of the failure of the poor to take advantage of its very liberal provisions. Every known resource was exhausted in endeavoring to enlighten them. Pamphlets informing them of their rights were published in all important native dialects, and widely circulated. The schools coöperated in this good work. Provincial and municipal officials were instructed to inform the people of their rights, but in very many cases these instructions were disregarded.

Because of the complete illiteracy of practically all of the members of the non-Christian tribes in Benguet and Lepanto, I caused a survey party to be sent out from the Bureau of Lands to inform them of their rights and to assist them in making the necessary applications. It was from this territory that proportionately the largest number of applications were sent in.

Baclig, resident in the said sitio of Buyon and a son-in-law of Tomas Valdez had been burned and an attempt made to burn his house and that while the entrymen were not in position to prove that said Placido Rosal or his henchmen had started the fires they were sure they were of incendiary origin, as due to the direction of the wind the fires could not have originated from sparks from kitchen fires.'

"Further deponent sayeth not.

(Signed) "W. A. Northrop.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of July, 1913, in Tuguegarao, Cagayan, Philippine Islands, the affiant first having exhibited his cedula, No. 1516, issued in Manila, January 3, 1913.

(Signed) Primitivo Villanueva
"Notario Publico,
"Mi nombramiento expira el
"31 de Diciembre de 1913."

"Extract from a report of H. O. Bauman, chief of Bureau of Lands survey party No. 27. Report dated June 30, 1913:

"In 1905 the applicant (Fernando Asirit) entered an application for homestead and proceeded to clear the remainder of the land not already cleared. Sometime during the following year or two, this Catalino Sagon began to clear a piece of land included in the homestead application. When Fernando Asirit saw the man cleaning the land, he told the man that that particular land was included in the homestead and that the work he was doing was useless. Catalino admitted this to me personally. However, the applicant to show his good faith, paid Catalino a sum of ten pesos for the small area that he had cleaned and took a receipt therefor and Catalino left the land. Now when the private surveyor came in 1910, this Catalino appears and claims this land despite the fact that he never cultivated nor occupied the land and that he received payment in full for the work that he had done in clearing an acre of the land. When the land was surveyed in 1910, Catalino at the request of a politician of Ilagan, made a protest against the land and between the two they frightened the applicant into letting this Catalino have possession of the land. Since 1910, Catalino has not cultivated the land but loaned it out to another person, Frederico Mayer by name. Personally, Catalino did not ever cultivate or live on the land. The politician who has been stirring up this trouble is Gabriel Maramag, third member of the Provincial board. The applicant is an old man seventy years old and this Maramag had the old man fined ₱125.80 for refusing to let these two have his land. They also told him that if he persisted in refusing to let them have the land, they would fine him ₱500. As the old man has no such amount and being thoroughly bulldozed by these cheap politicians, he had no other course to pursue. The co-partner of the third member is the Sheriff Joaquin Ortega against whom the people are very bitter on account of his shady dealings. It might be noted here that these men are under investigation by the Constabulary now for accepting money illegally. Furthermore this Maramag has the plans of the land of a great many men in his house and thus has a hold on them and they cannot do anything without his consent."

In 1922–1923 conditions in certain parts of Nueva Ecija were analogous to those indicated by the above cases. Even the powerful personality of Governor-General Leonard Wood, and all of the authority of his office were unable fully to protect homesteaders from brutal abuse and spoiliation by land robbers whose influence extended into high official circles. For an account of one of the most notorious of the Nueva Ecija cases see, *The Philippine Free Press,* January 4, 1922.

Mayon Volcano.

This beautiful volcano, which in the recent past has destroyed many lives and much property, has now, 1914, been quiescent for some ten years.

The period within which applications might be made was extended from January 1, 1907, to January 1, 1909, yet it is undoubtedly true that when it finally expired the vast majority of those who might have profited by the free patent privilege had failed to take advantage of it because of ignorance that it existed.

With the rapid spread of the English language such a condition would not now arise. At its last session the Philippine Legislature passed an act to renew for a period of ten years the right to secure free patent, but this act, like the one which it amends, is subject to the approval of the President and of Congress. It is to be hoped that such approval will be given. In my opinion every reason which made it advisable to grant free patents in the first instance is still of full force.[1]

The total number of homestead applications received since the Public Land Act took effect is only 19,313, and of these it has been necessary to reject 4,811 because the provisions of law were not complied with. Forty-eight patents have been issued, and there are 8,225 approved applications, while 6,219 not yet approved by the bureau are pending.[2]

The figures for free patents are as follows: Number of applications, 15,885; free patents issued, 722; cases still pending, 11,871; rejected for cause 3,292.[3]

One reason why so many of the free patent cases are still pending is that there never has been, and is not now, a sufficient force of surveyors to keep the work of the Bureau of Lands up to date, all efforts to secure the necessary additions to this force having failed.[4]

Under the Land Registration Act [5] provision was made for the issuing of so-called Torrens titles for which the government is virtually responsible, once they are given out, so all that is now necessary to make it possible rapidly and effectively to remedy the existing situation is the appointment of a sufficient number of judges in the Court of Land Registration.

Government lands of provinces or municipalities are chiefly those needed and utilized as sites for public buildings, plazas and the like. The insular government owns a similar class of lands, and has certain lands in trust, such as the San Lazaro Estate, which was set aside long ago as a source of income for the support of lepers, but the so-called friar lands, which have a history of their own, are its most important holdings.

Under the Spanish régime several of the religious orders acquired large wealth in the form of estates, most of which were brought under high cultivation, although several of the largest, like the San José Estate in Mindoro, and the Isabela Estate in the province of the same name, were nearly or quite uncultivated, and a number of the others contained large uncultivated areas.

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[1] Approval was given.

[2] To the end of 1926, 127,256 homestead applications for a total of 4,593,403.65 acres had been received, and 10,150 titles, covering 284,654.62 acres had been issued. (Forbes, I, p. 327.)

[3] At the close of 1926, 11,088 free titles, covering an aggregate of 87,560 acres, had been issued. (*Ibid.*, I, p. 328.)

[4] On December 31, 1926, 19,571 applications for free patents were pending in the Bureau of Lands. 1,214 applications were received during 1926, of which 53 were definitely acted upon during the year. (*Report of the Director of Lands*, 1926, pp. 301, 303.)

[5] Act No. 496, Philippine Commission, November 6, 1902; effective January 1, 1903.

Field labour was performed exclusively by tenants who were settled on the estates in large numbers and in a number of instances had built up large and well-organized towns. For various reasons bitter hostility arose between them and their landlords. In some parts of the islands the friars were detested by the populace on general principles. Furthermore, the Filipino becomes greatly attached to his home, especially if his fathers have lived there before him. Tenants on the friar estates could be, and not infrequently were, arbitrarily dispossessed, and the possibility that this might occur was a thorn in their flesh.

During the insurrection the confiscation of the friar estates was very seriously considered by the so-called Insurgent government, which nominally took over their administration. As a matter of fact, there was then no real administration of them, and the occupied lands passed under the control of the tenants, who remained in undisturbed possession for years and came to consider themselves the virtual owners of their holdings. We have already seen how hostility to the friars reached its climax at this time. Some were killed outright, and others imprisoned under such conditions as to make death probable, but the majority of those captured were in effect held for a long time for ransom, their liberty being offered on condition of a large cash payment.

Upon the inauguration of civil government and the reëstablishment of law and order the friars naturally endeavoured to reassert their rights. With few exceptions their former tenants absolutely refused to pay rent. The friars threatened action in the courts, and would have been abundantly justified in bringing it, but such a course would unquestionably have led to serious disturbances of public order. Agitators and demagogues had succeeded in firmly convincing many of the tenants that they were the actual owners of their lands, and those of them who knew better were bright enough to take advantage of the peculiar situation.

Hostility between Filipinos and friars had become so general that the return of the latter to their parishes, accustomed as they had been to the exercise of a large measure of control over their parishioners, and with the memory of grave abuses recently suffered fresh in their minds, was deemed to be undesirable, but their permanent withdrawal from the provinces was hardly feasible so long as they continued to hold very large estates there. It was believed to be in the public interest to encourage the several tenants to buy their individual holdings so that they might become responsible landowners rather than remain discontented and ready at any time to become *ladrones*. It was believed that without great difficulty they could be persuaded to attorn to the government, and that if the estates could be purchased at a reasonable price individual holdings could eventually be sold to their occupants. Because of the beneficial influence of such a course on public order and the probable resulting improvement in social conditions, the purchase of these estates was believed to be in the public interest.

Had there been sufficient funds in the treasury the insular government would have been within its right in making this purchase, but as the total sum involved was large, and a bond issue was required to raise it, it became necessary to get the consent of Congress. This was given in sections 63, 64 and 65 of the Act of July 1, 1902. Under the authority thus conferred the commission passed the so-called Friar Lands Act,[1] which provided among other things for the temporary leasing and ultimate sale of their holdings to tenants as well as for the determination of values and the fixing of rentals and purchase prices.

Naturally the first thing to be done was to get tenants to acknowledge the ownership of the government. Until this could be brought about little could be accomplished toward assisting them to buy their holdings. With all possible promptness temporary leases were issued to them. No effort was made carefully to ascertain the real extent or value of their holdings, and unless their statements were upon their face obviously very gravely in error they were accepted as a basis for the first leases issued. The amount of opposition which was encountered was, under the circumstances, surprisingly small, and the progress of the work was unexpectedly rapid.

Planimeter surveys were made as rapidly as possible, and it was soon found, as had been anticipated, that tenants in general had understated both the size and value of their holdings. While the rate of rentals as compared with values remained unchanged, there was a resulting general increase in their amounts, and this caused murmuring, but no really serious trouble resulted. There followed as rapidly as possible the completion of accurate surveys and the fixing of final values which necessitated further changes in rentals. The volume of work was simply enormous. Many of the estates were divided into an incredible number of small holdings with boundaries of the utmost irregularity. An effort was made to get the consent of the tenants to a readjustment of boundaries on a rectangular system, leaving the size of their holdings unchanged but straightening them out. It had to be abandoned. A tenant would be unwilling to part with a given clump of bamboo or a magnificent mango tree planted by his great-great-grandfather. The fact that these valuable possessions occupied salient angles in his boundary naturally did not worry him at all. The definite right to purchase their holdings was from the outset conferred upon lessees so that from the time the first leases were issued the only possible reasons for the failure of a tenant to purchase his holdings would be unwillingness to do so or lack of funds.[1]

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[1] Act No. 1120, Philippine Commission, April 26, 1904. The purchase was made in December, 1903, when somewhat more than 410,000 acres were bought for $7,239,000. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 1, p. 43.)

In passing the Friar Lands Act, which they did during my absence on leave, the commission, none of whose members were posted on land matters, rather thoughtlessly made applicable to the sale of vacant lands the conditions and limitations of the Public Land Act. We had been compelled to purchase some vacant estates and to forego the purchase of several which were thickly occupied, for the reason that the friars insisted on selling the one and absolutely refused to sell the other. We had to take the best bargain we could get. The vacant lands on certain of the estates could not be sold in small tracts. The Friar Lands Act was accordingly amended by the Philippine Legislature, of which the Phillippine Assembly was then the Lower House, and all restrictions on the areas of those lands which might be sold were removed, so as to make it possible to get rid of the vacant friar lands.[2]

Interest was piling up on the purchase price of the latter, and obviously it was best for the government, which had to administer them, and for the people, who had to pay the bill, that they should be disposed of as soon as possible. Ultimately an opportunity presented itself to sell the San José Estate of some fifty-eight thousand acres in its entirety to an individual, and it was thus sold after consultation with the attorney-general of the Philippines and the attorney-general of the United States as to the rights of the government in the premises, and with the approval of the secretary of war and of President Taft first had. The buyer acted as an agent for Messrs. Welch, Havemeyer and Senf, all of whom were heavily interested in sugar growing and desired to establish a modern sugar estate in the Philippines. This fact, when it became known, was the beginning of trouble.

Two very distinct classes of men were interested in imposing the existing legislative restrictions relative to the sale of Philippine lands. The first were influenced by the most honourable of altruistic motives. They feared the monopolization of agricultural lands and the evils of absentee ownership. The other class were the representatives of certain important sugar interests in the United States who wished to keep out Philippine sugar at all hazards and had shrewdly figured out that the simplest way to do this would be to prevent its production on a commercial scale. They therefore sought to restrict the sale of public land

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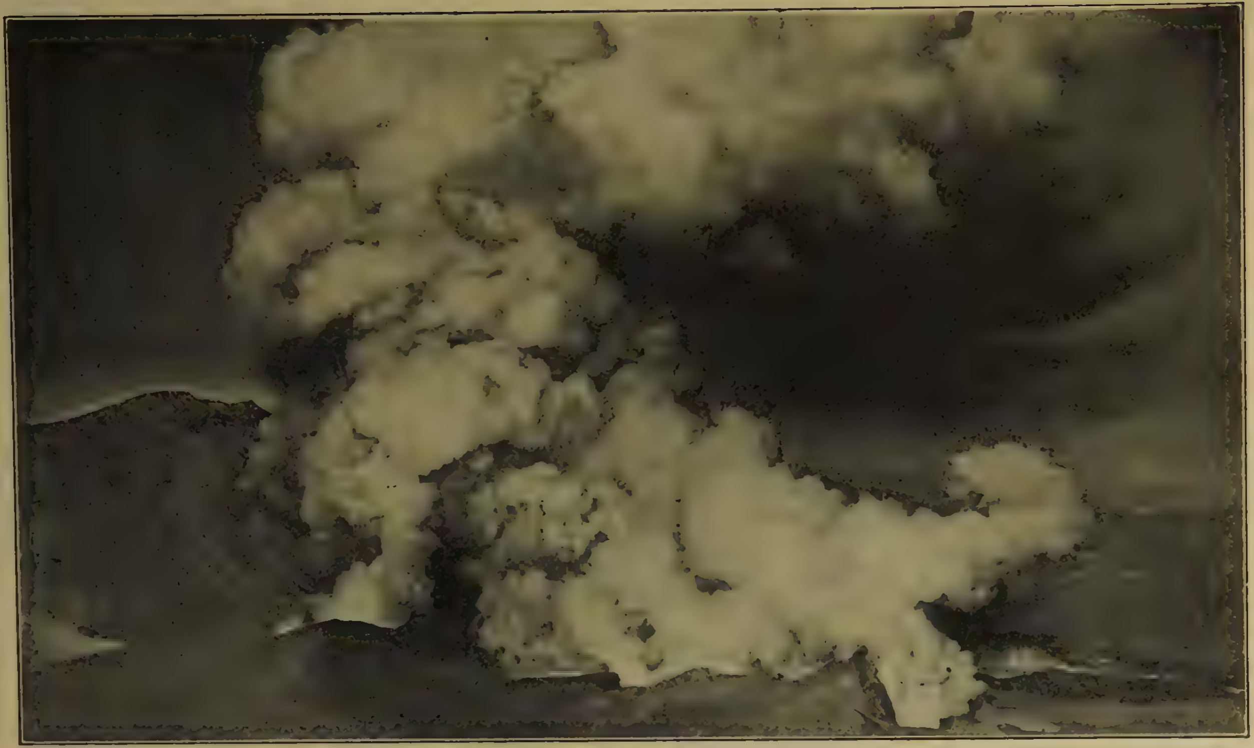
[1] The sale price for each parcel was fixed by a board, upon which the tenants of the estates were represented. Annual payments of eight per cent of this price were required of the purchaser, tour per cent being charged as interest and four per cent credited on the principal. This plan, followed for 25 years, would give the purchaser an unencumbered title to his property.

[2] Act No. 1847, Philippine Legislature, June 3, 1908.



The Crater of Taal Volcano.

This photograph was taken a few hours before the destructive eruption of January 30, 1911, which killed some 1400 people in a few moments.

so as to make it impossible for an individual or an association to buy enough to establish a modern sugar estate. This they succeeded in doing. They even went further, and by limiting the land which a corporation might own and control made it impossible for a corporation to purchase enough land of any sort for such an estate. But that is another story with which we are not here concerned.

They built a fence around Philippine lands which they deemed to be "pig-tight, horse-high, and bull-strong," but we unwittingly cut a small hole through it. The limitations on the sales of land did not apply to land belonging to the insular government which had first imposed certain restrictions on the size of the areas of vacant friar land which might be sold and had then removed them, having the same right to do the one thing that it exercised in doing the other.

The San José Estate was sold to an individual. By him it was sold in part to other individuals who had the undoubted right to acquire as much land as they could get, and in part to a corporation not authorized to engage in agriculture which acquired only such land as it needed to conduct its legitimate business and was therefore within its legal right. The transaction was a perfectly legitimate one from every view point. It spread consternation among the beet-sugar men, and Congressman John A. Martin of Colorado, a state which has extensive beet-sugar interests, made upon the floor of the House a scurrilous attack upon President Taft, Secretary Root and the insular government officials concerned in which he accused them of violating the law and of having formed a gigantic conspiracy with great corporate interests, more especially with certain sugar interests, not only to deprive the friar land tenants of their holdings but to prevent Filipinos in general from acquiring land and to turn the Philippines over to the trusts. Mr. Martin and his fellows insisted that section sixty-five of the Act of July 1, 1902, in itself imposed the restrictions of the Public Land Act on the sale of friar lands; that the commission in imposing these limitations in the first instance had merely voiced the will of Congress and that its act in subsequently withdrawing them was illegal and iniquitous. They apparently lost sight of the fact that if so, the iniquity was shared by the Philippine Assembly. Later they endeavoured to explain the action of the assembly by saying that it did not know what it was doing, and certain members of that body made a similar claim, for political effect. As a matter of fact, I myself explained to the members of the assembly friar lands committee the purpose of the bill with which they were then in full accord.

I requested an investigation. One was authorized by the House. It was made by the Committee on Insular Affairs. Its cost to the United States was very large. The secretary of the interior, the executive secretary, the attorney-general, the director of lands and other witnesses, were called to Washington from the Philippines and taken away from their work at a rather critical time. The result was a complete vindication of the several persons who had been attacked. Congressman Martin failed to make good his charges in any particular, and incidentally members of the committee and such other persons as cared to follow the proceedings were given a valuable demonstration of the manner in which the insular government transacts its business.[1]

There was, however, one unfortunate indirect effect. In view of the difference of opinion among congressmen as to whether Congress had or had not intended to make the limitations to the Public Land Act relative to areas which could be sold applicable to friar lands the secretary of war issued an executive order providing that their sale should be subject to such limitations, pending an expression by Congress of its will in the matter. Congress has never acted.[2]

There are large tracts of vacant friar lands which cannot be sold for years to come, if subject to existing restrictions, either because they are situated in very sparsely inhabited regions where there is no demand for them on the part of would-be small landowners, or because the price as fixed by law is materially in excess of that of equally good, adjacent, unoccupied public lands which can be had subject to identical conditions as to areas purchasable. As the Philippines are "land poor," the inadvisability of such a policy would seem to be sufficiently evident. The argument against large estates is without force, both because the amount of land concerned is relatively insignificant, and because there are already in the islands so many large estates, owned in many instances by Filipinos, that the addition of a few new ones more or less would not perceptibly change the existing situation.[3]

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[1] The report of the committee and the full record of the investigation, with most of the documents germane thereto, are available in House Report No. 2289, 61st Congress, 3d Session. The investigation instigated by Mr. Martin is discussed on pages 37, *et seq.*, *supra.*

[2] In 1912 a bill introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. W. A. Jones of Virginia restricting in various ways the sale of the friar lands failed to pass the Democratic House. In 1914 the Philippine Legislature limited sales of friar lands to 40 acres to an individual and approximately 2,500 acres to a corporation. (Act No. 2379, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914.)

[3] The situation with reference to the friar lands on December 31, 1927, is shown by the following table from the *Report of the Government-General,* 1927, p. 254:

Status of friar lands sold and unsold.—The following table shows the actual status of all the lands sold and unsold within the 23 friar lands estates at the close of the year 1927:

Disposition	Number of lots	Area in hectares	Value
1. Total of lands sold and fully paid up.....	23,113	18,600.3539	₱2,699,475.12
2. Total of lands sold and partially paid up.	26,166	114,015.7660	16,326,090.50
3. Total of lands vacant and unsold........	2,060	21,099.0627	2,055,397.00
4. Total of lands technically vacant and temporarily reserved for the Bureaus of Agriculture and Forestry	.....	1,054.9961	46,463.00
Total	51,339	153,715.1826	21,080,962.62

The vacant and unsold lands amounted to only 10.7 per cent of the total. Thirty-eight irrigation systems have been constructed at a cost of $2,725,810 with a view to making certain of the friar lands more productive and thus expediting their final acquisi-

The facts as regards forest lands are set forth in sufficient detail in the chapter on the Philippine forests.

The existing legislation relative to mineral lands is defective, or objectionable, in several minor particulars, but on the whole is reasonably satisfactory except for the provision that a person may locate but one claim on a given vein or lode. Such a provision would have very greatly hampered the development of the mining industry in the United States and it greatly hampers it in the Philippines. Recommendations that Congress amend the law relative to mining claims have been persistently made by the commission and have been persistently ignored, probably for the reason that Congress is too busy with other matters to give much attention to such requests from the Philippines.

We now come to the subject of public agricultural lands. I have already called attention to the fact that little advantage has been taken of the liberal provision of the Public Land Act relative to free patents and homesteads. There has been some agitation in favour of a homestead of one hundred sixty acres instead of the forty acres now allowed. Personally I do not attach great importance to this matter. Five acres is as much as the average Filipino will cultivate[1] and if he has forty there is abundant room for him to distribute his cultivated area as to let much of his land "rest," which he is very fond of doing. To increase the size of the homestead would help a very limited number of Americans, but a better way of accomplishing this would be to allow them to buy what they require, within reasonable limits.

No one who has not travelled widely in the Philippines can be adequately impressed with the insignificance of the areas now under cultivation as compared with those which would richly repay it. The country is failing to produce food enough for eight millions of people,[2] yet if advantage were taken of the opportunities which nature so bountifully affords it could readily feed eighty millions.

Under such conditions the present restrictions on the sale of public lands, which make it impossible for an individual to buy more than forty acres, or for a corporation or association of individuals to buy more than twenty-five hundred acres, are simply absurd. What we want is not the indefinite preservation of our present vast trackless wastes of the richest public agricultural land, but productive farms. Every opportunity should be extended to each native of these islands who desires to obtain land and cultivate it with his own hands.

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tion by individual purchasers. (*Report of the Director of Lands*, 1926, pp. 120–122.) The land purchase bonds sinking fund amounted to $4,524,423 on December 31, 1926. (*Report of the Auditor for the Philippine Islands*, 1926, p. 139.) By Act No. 3326, Philippine Legislature, December 4, 1926, the area of friar land which may be sold to an individual was increased to 365.8 acres.

[1] The best evidence of what the average Filipino cultivates is found in the free patents. Of the 15,885 free patents applied for the average area is declared to be 7¾ acres; 4,025 free patents have been actually surveyed; their average area is only 5 acres.

[2] More than 12,000,000 in 1929.

The same statement holds for persons who wish to secure land and to employ others as labourers. Large estates on which modern machinery and modern agricultural methods are employed are greatly needed. The methods employed by Filipino owners of such estates are primitive.[1] The natives believe what they see, and learn far better by example than in any other way. Absolutely no harm has resulted from the establishment of large sugar plantations on the San José Estate in Mindoro and the Calamba Estate in Luzón. On the contrary, both of these great farms have supplied abundant labour at increased wages to a very large number of needy people; have taught labourers much about sanitary living, and have given them very valuable object lessons in agriculture. Both are frequently visited by intelligent agriculturists glad of the opportunity to acquire the practical knowledge which can there be so easily obtained by observation.

It may be a revolutionary statement to make, but if I personally controlled the public lands of the Philippine Islands, I would without hesitation give them to persons who would cultivate them, making the amounts conceded dependent strictly upon the ability of their would-be owners to cultivate, and restoring to the public domain any lands not promptly and properly utilized.

The money which the government now derives from the sale of public lands is a bagatelle compared with the benefit which would result to the country if cultivated areas were widely extended, and there is abundant labour here to extend them very rapidly. All that is needed is the introduction of modern machinery, modern agricultural methods and capital.

The existing provisions of the Public Land Act relative to leases are very liberal, but the average man wants to own land before he spends much money on it.

There are several serious omissions in the provisions of the act of Congress relative to the sale of public lands. No authority exists for their sale for residence purposes, business purposes, or cemetery purposes, except within town sites. The need of land for cemetery purposes became so acute that I deemed it wise to stretch the law a bit in meeting it. Many of the old cemeteries were situated in the midst of dense centres of population, or immediately adjacent to sources of public water supply. Their areas were usually grossly inadequate properly to accommodate the very large number of bodies requiring to be buried. Shockingly unsanitary conditions resulted, and it became necessary for the Bureau of Health to close many of them. Because of the trouble between the Aglipayan and Catholic churches, it was often

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[1] In many instances this situation has changed greatly since 1914. There are now many Filipino estates upon which modern methods are employed, while well-equipped sugar centrales have been built in most of the regions where sugar is grown on a large scale.

A Bit of the Págsanján Gorge.

impossible for representatives of the Catholic church to purchase private lands for cemetery purposes. Their old cemeteries were closed, yet they could not open new ones, although able and willing to pay liberally for the necessary land. Under these circumstances I ruled that public land could be sold to them, and that occupation by caretakers, and such cultivation as is ordinarily given in beautifying cemeteries, would be held to constitute occupation and cultivation within the meaning of the law, so that title could eventually pass.

In closing let me emphasize the fact that the only method of informing the common people of the Philippines relative to their rights in the matter of acquiring public lands thus far found practicable has been to send special land inspectors from house to house, to convey the information by word of mouth. A considerable number of such inspectors are now employed, and more are badly needed.

The total area of all public lands sold to Americans or foreigners since the American occupation is seventeen thousand acres; that of all public lands leased by such persons, seventeen thousand three hundred ninety acres. This is the answer to those who claim that there has been exploitation of the public domain.

The needs of the Philippine Islands in the matter of land legislation may be briefly summarized as follows:—

More judges in the Court of Land Registration so that the cadastral survey work may be expedited, and the poor man may be able to obtain title to his holdings promptly and at small expense.

The employment of more surveyors on public land work.

A renewal of the privilege of obtaining free patents on the old conditions during a period of at least ten years.

The employment of more public land inspectors to inform the poor and ignorant of their rights, and to assist them in obtaining them.

More liberal legislation relative to the size of the tracts of public land which may be purchased, and the number of mining claims on a given vein or lode which an individual may record.

Authorization for the sale of public agricultural lands outside of town sites for residence purposes, business purposes, and for cemeteries.[1]

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[1] A brief survey of developments concerning Philippine public lands since 1913 indicates that some of the needs mentioned by Worcester have been met, while others still remain to be cared for. Early in 1913 the legislature passed a cadastral act designed to procure a cadastral survey of all of the lands of the archipelago. (Act No. 2259, Philippine Legislature, February 11, 1913.) The Bureau of Lands was prepared at that time to survey 100,000 parcels per annum for submission to the Court of Land Registration. In 1914, however, this court of six judges, who were experts in this highly specialized type of work and devoted all of their time to it, was abolished and its work transferred to the ordinary courts of first instance. (Act No. 2347, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914.) These courts were overcrowded with other business, and between 1914 and 1920 decreed titles to less than 100,000 parcels of land. The abolition of the Court of Land Registration is generally believed not only to have slowed up the work of the cadastral survey, but to have disproportionately increased the congestion of the courts of first instance by imposing on them a type of work, the determination of land titles, which most of their judges are not technically prepared to perform with dispatch. In 1929 provision was made for ten additional auxiliary judges of first instance

to try only land registration and cadastral cases. (Act No. 3433, Philippine Legislature, October 25, 1927.)

The inability of the courts as heretofore organized and staffed to keep up with land registration work is well illustrated by the situation in 1926. During that year 44 cadastral cases, involving 33,857 lots, were filed for adjudication. During the same year only 20 cases, involving 15,977 lots, were finally decided. At the end of the year 338 cases, involving 295,659 lots were pending in court. Since 1910 a total of 336 cases, aggregating 264,886 lots, have been finally disposed of by the courts. There were, therefore, two more cadastral cases pending at the end of 1926 than had been decided during the previous 16 years. (*Annual Report of the Director of Lands,* 1926, pp. 84–86.) The total number of land registration cases pending at the close of the year increased from 850 in 1914 to 3,234 in 1926. (Forbes, I, p. 329.) These figures make it evident that the courts constitute the neck, and the very narrow neck, of the bottle with reference to the cadastral survey and the registration of all land titles.

Although the Bureau of Lands, which was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources in 1916 (Act No. 2666, Philippine Legislature, November 18, 1916), is still under-staffed in view of the work which it is called upon to do, steady progress is being made in the cadastral survey. In 1921 it was provided that the Director of Lands might assign cadastral surveys to private surveyors when necessary for promptness. (Act No. 2989, Philippine Legislature, February 24, 1921.) Certain features of this law having made it almost unworkable in practice, it was repealed in 1926 by Act No. 3327 which, it was thought, would facilitate surveys by private enterprise. The latter act also created a fund of $50,000 which, under proper regulations, may be loaned to surveying corporations. (*Annual Report of the Director of Lands,* 1926, p. 13.)

The lack of competent surveyors of which Worcester speaks has been overcome, to a considerable extent, through the operation of a training school inaugurated in 1906. In 1925 this school, which had been a part of the Manila School of Arts and Trades, was incorporated with the College of Engineering of the University of the Philippines.

In 1919 the laws relative to lands of the public domain were amended and compiled in a statute known as "The New Public Land Act" (Act No. 2874, Philippine Legislature, November 29, 1919), and in 1925 this act was again amended. (Act No. 3219, Philippine Legislature, January 19, 1925.) These new acts liberalized the old law in such a way as to facilitate homesteading, and the purchase and lease of public land for agricultural, commercial, residential, educational and scientific purposes. The privilege of obtaining free patents accorded to Filipinos who, prior to August 1, 1898, had settled on unappropriated public lands and who had complied with certain conditions as to residence and cultivation, has now been extended to December 31, 1938. (Act No. 3346, Philippine Legislature, Approved by the President of the United States February 10, 1927.)

The Wood-Forbes report declared that "the land title situation in the Philippines is a serious one." Inefficient administration of the Bureau of Lands, lack of funds, an increase in the number of land problems which the government has to handle, and the abolition of the Court of Land Registration with the consequent transfer of land cases to the already overburdened courts of the first instance were blamed. The report recommended that an adequate court of land registration should be established. (*Wood-Forbes Report,* p. 26.)

Since 1921 the situation thus depicted has altered in only one respect. Under the able administration of Director Jorge B. Vargas the Bureau of Lands has become an efficient organization, within the limits imposed by the disproportion between the immensity of its task and the paucity of the funds at its disposal. Yet in 1926 the Bureau was utterly unable to cope with the task imposed upon it. In that year 13,473 homestead applications were made, and 2,054 entries were approved; 1,572 patents were issued; and there were 55,021 applications pending action! (*Report of the Director of Lands,* 1926, pp. 34–35.) Between 1904 and 1927 a total of 127,256 homestead applications, involving 4,593,403.65 acres, had been received, and only 10,150 titles, to 284,654.62 acres, had been issued. (Forbes, I, p. 327.)

Until much greater appropriations can be made for the work of the Bureau of Lands, and until adequate judicial machinery is provided for dealing with land cases, both the settlement of the public domain and the acquisition of sound titles to land already occupied by hundreds of thousands of owners will proceed very slowly. The continuance of such a condition probably constitutes one of the chief obstacles to that economic development which is now recognized as being the prerequisite of all progress in the Philippines.

A valuable volume which deals with the land problem, and every other phase of economic life in the Philippines is Hugo H. Miller, assisted by Charles H. Storms, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines,* Boston, 1913.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Philippine Forests

Would that I had adequate words in which to describe the wonders of the Philippine forests, through which I wandered almost daily for four years, and which I love to revisit whenever the opportunity presents itself! Their majestic stateliness and magic beauty defy description. I have seen them swept by hurricanes when huge branches crashed down and mighty trees thundered to earth, imperilling life and limb, and I have seen them in the still noons of the tropics when not a leaf stirred. At times they are vocal with songs of birds and ceaseless din of insects, and again they are as silent as the grave. Who could do justice to the endless variety and beauty of tree-trunk, leaf and flower; the exquisite drapery of vines, ferns and orchids which covers the older forest monarchs; the weird masses of aërial roots which lead superstitious natives to believe some trees to be haunted, and small wonder; the ever changing light and shade bringing out new beauties where one least expects to find them; the endless differences in the flora due to variations in altitude and in the distribution of moisture?

In Mindoro, Palawan and Mindanao we find tropical vegetation in its absolute perfection; in the highlands of northern Luzón we meet our old friends, the pine and oak, while beside them grow strawberries, raspberries, huckleberries, jacks-in-the-pulpit and other friends of our childhood days.

Surely the Philippine forests should be preserved, but not for their beauty alone! In them the people have a permanent source of wealth, if they can only be made to realize it and to take proper measures to protect it. Certainly no other country has a greater variety of beautiful and serviceable woods. Some of them are so close-grained and hard that they successfully resist the attacks of white ants, and prove almost indestructible even when buried in the earth. Others will not stand exposure to the weather, but last indefinitely under cover and are excellent for inside framing and finishing. We have the best of cabinet woods, such as ebony, *camagon*, *narra*,[1] *acle*, and *tindalo*. From some of our trees come valuable gums, such as *almaciga*[2] and gutta percha. Others produce alcohol, tan barks, dyewoods, valuable vegetable oils or drugs. The so-called "Singapore cane," so highly prized by makers of wicker furniture, grows abundantly in Palawan. Great areas are covered with a bamboo which makes an excellent paper pulp.

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[1] Frequently and wrongly called rosewood.

[2] Damar.

In short, the Philippine forests should be like money in the bank for the inhabitants of the islands.[1] There are in this world wise people who under ordinary circumstances spend only the interest on their money; and there are others who spend the principal while it lasts. To which class do the Filipinos belong?

It has been said that the civilization of a people may be measured by its forest practice, and in a sense this is true, for forestry as we know it to-day, and as the leading nations of Europe have known it for a long period, means the limiting of immediate gain in the hope of future reward, direct and indirect; in fact, it means present-day sacrifice for the sake of an unborn posterity. A wise national forest policy therefore involves not only foresight, but statesmanship and patriotism, which in their most advanced degree are to be found only among the people of the most enlightened nations. The manner in which a people regards its forest resources may be taken as fairly indicative of its outlook in general. What then has been the policy of the Philippine government and what the attitude of the people toward these resources?

There is little room for doubt that practically the entire land area of the Philippines from the plains at sea-level to the highest mountain-tops was originally covered with forest growth. At the time of the American occupation two-thirds of this wonderful heritage had ceased to exist. This would be all very well if any considerable portion of the vast deforested areas were cultivated, or put to any permanent profitable use, but such is not the case. According to the best estimates which it has thus far been possible to make, only about fifteen per cent of the land from which the original forests have been stripped is to-day under any form of cultivation. The remainder is covered with commercially worthless second-growth forest, and with several giant grasses which are collectively known as *cógon.*

The *cogonáles* [2] make up approximately sixty per cent of the deforested area, or forty per cent of the land area of the entire archipelago. They are not good for grazing unless fed down very closely. They are difficult to bring under cultivation because of the vitality of the grass roots and the acidity which they impart to the soil. *Cogonáles* are often the breeding places of swarms of locusts which devour growing crops in neighbouring fields. They have been produced by the shiftless form of agriculture known as *caiñgin* making.

A large majority of the inhabitants of the Philippines will not fight,

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[1] In 1926, 86,003 square miles, or 74 per cent of the land of the archipelago, was classified as forest, or timber land. Only 61,409 square miles, or about 54 per cent, were classified as commercial forest, however, the balance being unexplored lands, mangrove swamps, second growth timber and other lands reserved by the Bureau of Forestry. (*The Philippine Islands: A Commercial Survey,* p. 5.) The estimated stand of timber in 1926 was 486,844,000,000 board feet. (*Ibid.,* p. 61.)

[2] An extensive open region covered with *cógon* is called a *cogonál.*

A GIANT TREE FERN.

for any length of time, the tropical weeds and grasses which invade their cultivated fields, and rather than attempt to do so prefer to clear forest lands, slaughtering the trees indiscriminately and burning them where they fall. An area so cleared is known as a *caiñgin*. It is usually planted with *camotes*, corn, rice or some similar quick-growing crop. Cultivation is carried on in a haphazard way, but is soon abandoned when a jungle growth of grass, weeds and seedling trees begins to spring up. At the end of the first, the second or, at latest the third year the *caiñgin* maker abandons his clearing and starts a new one. Fires sweep over the abandoned areas, killing everything except the *cógon* grass which takes possession and holds it against all comers. The forest destruction thus wrought in the past is appalling. Within limits, it still continues, although unlicensed *caiñgin* making is now forbidden by law.[1] In cutting timber for domestic use and for the market, the Filipinos have in the past been absolutely indifferent to the matter of reproduction, making a clean sweep in those places where merchantable tree species could be readily and cheaply obtained. The eventual outcome of such practices can be easily foreseen.

Six weeks after the Philippine Commission became the legislative body of the islands, it passed an act for the reorganization of the Forestry Bureau,[2] which had previously been created by military order, continuing as its chief Major George P. Ahern, who had held this position under the military régime, and who is to-day in length of service the ranking bureau chief of the insular government.[3]

Major Ahern was thus intrusted with the management of some fifty-four thousand square miles of forest land, and was charged with the duty of investigating the forest resources of the Philippines, and of developing and protecting them. These two latter objects are by no means incompatible. Vastly more timber falls and rots in the Philippines than is cut and marketed, and the forest wealth of the islands may be developed in such a way as actually to improve the areas that are cut over by removing old trees, and thus giving light and air to younger ones which then rapidly grow up and take their places.

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[1] Between 1915 and 1925, inclusive, 14,794 illegal *caiñgins* were detected by the agents of the Bureau of Forestry. (Figures furnished by the Bureau.)

[2] Act No. 16, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1900. In 1916 the Bureau of Forestry was transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources. (Act No. 2666, Philippine Legislature, November 18, 1916.) The basic legislation with reference to Philippine forests is the "Forest Act," Act No. 1148, Philippine Commission, May 7, 1904. In 1902 the Hon. Gifford Pinchot made an investigation of the forest resources of the Philippines, and presented a report which contained recommendations on policy, organization and procedure for the Bureau of Forestry. Mr. Pinchot's recommendations were followed, in the main, in the organization and operation of the Bureau.

[3] Major Ahern, who resigned in 1914, was succeeded by Mr. William F. Sherfesee, and he, in 1917, by Mr. Arthur F. Fischer, both men having been promoted after successful service in the Bureau. Under the able and vigorous leadership of Director Fischer, the Bureau has continued the high standards of technical research and practical forest administration which years ago gained for it a world-wide reputation. Men who acquired their first wide forestry experience and made their reputations in the Philippine forestry service are now to be found in important forestry positions throughout the Orient, and in other parts of the world.

The stand of hardwood timber in the Philippines is now probably the finest in the world. The United States and Europe are ready to purchase every foot of the selected grades of lumber that we can ship. China offers a practically inexhaustible market for the cheaper grades. Stumpage charges are moderate. Yet in spite of all these advantages the islands do not, as yet, produce lumber enough to supply their own needs. This condition is rapidly changing, however, and if adequate measures are not adopted for the conservation of the forests, we shall sooner or later be confronted with the danger of their devastation by the lumberman.[1] Under the direction of the Bureau of Forestry the trees which are to be felled are in many instances marked, and in any event care is taken to prevent the cutting of any which have not attained to certain prescribed diameters, while the leaving of enough adequately to provide for reproduction is obligatory.

Up to the time of the American occupation forest operations had been limited to a very small number of well-known species of demonstrated commercial value. The total number of tree species which had then been identified was about twelve hundred. The number identified up to the present time is approximately twenty-five hundred. A large amount of important work has been done in determining what ones of the commercially unknown species are valuable, and in what ways they may best be utilized.

One of the most important functions of the Bureau of Forestry has been to investigate unexplored and unknown forests, and ascertain definitely the stand of commercially valuable trees, at the same time giving proper consideration to the practicability of getting lumber from them to the market at reasonable expense. As a result of this work the bureau has been able to furnish much accurate and valuable information to persons desiring to engage in the lumber industry.

Some forests have been found to be very valuable, while others are practically worthless either on account of the absence of the better tree species or because of difficulties which render it impossible or unprofitable to transport lumber from them to a market.

At the time of the American occupation the methods employed in felling trees and converting them into lumber were primitive in the extreme. The small Malay axe, the edge of which is hardly wider than that of a good-sized chisel, was in common use. Once felled, trees were necessarily cut into short lengths, as all logs had to be hauled by carabaos. The logs were ultimately cut into lumber by hand with whip-saws operated, as a rule, by two men each. There was not a modern sawmill in the Philippine Islands. The few mills which existed were of the most antiquated type, and with one or two negligible exceptions were confined to Manila.

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[1] In 1927 the Philippines exported 149,060 cubic meters of lumber valued at $2,629-560.50, and 21,692 cubic meters of timber, valued at $164,256.50. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 94.) During 1926 the home market consumed 146,000,000 board feet. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, p. 199.)

To-day there are about sixty steam sawmills in operation and orders have been placed for others, some of which will have a capacity of one hundred thousand board feet of lumber per day.[1] The actual investment in logging equipment and sawmills runs into the millions of dollars.[2] Logging was formerly closely restricted to the most valuable species, so situated that they could be rolled into the water or hauled to the beach by carabaos. Large tracts are now being logged with modern machinery under conservative forest methods, and the logging railway and the skidding engine are rapidly coming into use.

Three forest reserves, similar in purpose to the national forests of the United States, have been set aside to insure a permanent timber supply in certain regions and to afford permanent protection to streams capable of furnishing irrigation water upon which may depend the prosperity of the inhabitants of neighboring plains. One hundred and forty-nine communal forests have been created for as many municipalities, in order permanently to provide them with timber and firewood. The interests of the Filipinos themselves have been given first consideration, and the inhabitants of towns for which communal forests have not been set aside may freely cut and gather from any public forest, without license and without payment, all timber of the second and lower groups which they require for domestic use, while gratuitous licenses can be had for first-group timber to be employed in the construction of permanent houses.[3]

Within recent years the revenue derived from forest products has steadily increased, in spite of the fact that the government charges have been materially reduced.

The public forests of the Philippines are not sold, but are developed under a license system. Small operators usually work under ordinary yearly licenses for definite small areas. Exclusive licenses, or concessions as they are popularly called, are generally in the form of twenty-year exclusive licenses to cut and remove timber and other forest products from certain specified tracts.[4] The land itself is in no way affected by such licenses. Merely the timber and minor forest products are included. When a lumberman is seriously considering an investment in the Philippines, he himself, or an experienced representative, should state to the director of forestry approximately the extent of the investment he contemplates. He will then be given information about several tracts which promise to answer his needs, and arrangements can be made for an experienced forester to accompany him over the tracts in question so that he may size up conditions for himself. All maps, estimates and other detailed information which may have been collected on the tracts will, of course, be placed at his disposal, and he can count upon the heartiest governmental coöperation and assistance in making a success of his enterprise. It should be understood, however, that in no case does the director of forestry guarantee the correctness of the estimates or other data which he furnishes. These are given to the applicant for what they are worth, and in every case he is advised to take such steps as may be necessary to satisfy himself as to whether or not they are correct. If the lumberman then decides to apply for a concession, he makes a formal application in writing to the director of forestry for an exclusive twenty-year privilege for the tract he has selected. His application is then forwarded by the director of forestry with recommendations to the secretary of the interior, who may approve the issuance of an exclusive license if he decides that such a course is in the public interest. For an area of more than a thousand hectares (approximately twenty-five hundred acres) proposals for bids to secure the desired privilege are published in the *Official Gazette* and other papers. At least six weeks intervene between the appearance of the first advertisement and the opening of the bids, but in order to give interested parties in the Philippines ample time to correspond with their principals in Europe or America, this period is usually extended to about four months. The advertisement also enumerates certain minimum requirements which principally specify the minimum amount of capital which must be invested within a certain given time and the minimum cut during the several succeeding years, together with certain requirements regarding logging and milling equipment. Formal bids are finally submitted, and the license is ordinarily granted to the bidder who gives the best assurances of developing the tract most thoroughly and promptly. The right to reject any and all bids is expressly reserved.

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[1] In 1925 there were 41 mills in operation and a number of new mills have been installed since that date. The total amount of timber cut from private and public forests in 1927 was 489,935,816 board feet. This cut represents a steady increase from 280,601 board feet in 1923. The gross revenue of the Bureau of Forestry derived from forest charges and forest services rendered to private parties amounted to $365,172.19. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, p. 199; *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 57; information furnished by the Bureau of Forestry.)

[2] It was estimated that in 1926 the investment in mills operating under forest concessions was $8,000,000. (*The Philippine Islands: A Commercial Survey*, p. 189.) A description of the lumber industry in the Philippines has been published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce as Trade Promotion Series No. 24, *The Lumber Industry of the Philippine Islands, With Special Reference To Export Species.*

[3] At the end of 1925 there were 1,322 communal forests, comprising 446,115.4 acres. (Data from Bureau of Forestry.)

[4] Subject to renewal for a similar period.

In fixing the annual production there is taken into consideration, so far as possible, the amount of over-mature timber on the stand and the amount of the annual increment, with the object of rendering the investment a permanent one instead of merely permitting the operator to strip and abandon the area he holds. In preparing regulations under which the operator is required to work, first care is given to the future condition of the area, in order that the land after logging may be potentially as valuable as before, and no consideration of immediate profit is allowed to interfere. Nevertheless, the logger in the Philippines

Scene on a Bird Island.

will find that in comparison with similar conditions elsewhere he will have few restrictions to contend with, and in practically no cases are these such as seriously to increase the cost of his operations. It is to permit such permanent use of the land that concessions are granted over such large areas, often consisting of a hundred square miles or even more.

As local residents are given the right to cut what lumber and firewood they may need for their private use in the territory covered by exclusive licenses, this system is not open to objection, especially as there are more than sufficient forest areas to accommodate all applicants desiring exclusive licenses. The director of forestry has the right to reduce cutting areas if outputs do not come up to requirements, so that a dog-in-the-manger policy is rendered impossible.

It would seem that the policy which we have followed would meet with the almost unanimous approval of the Filipinos, but as a matter of fact it has been far from popular with them. The forest reserves have been set aside against the protest of the very people who will profit by the conservation of their resources, and would be the first to suffer from their destruction. The native press, and the Filipinos generally, have opposed the opening up of timber tracts by modern logging methods, despite the fact that such tracts are usually inaccessible to persons operating with old-fashioned equipment, and the further fact that the establishment of important lumbering enterprises means additional employment for well-paid skilled and unskilled labor, increase in the money in circulation, decrease in lumber imports and the ultimate development of a lucrative export trade. Fear of American capital can hardly be cited as an explanation of this phenomenon. Of three concessions granted last year only one, which was subsequently abandoned, went to American capitalists.

Thus far the Filipinos have made no attempt to share in the development of their forests on any save a very small scale. Of the total amount of lumber sawed in the islands only about ten per cent is produced in mills owned or controlled by them. It is useless to argue that the timber should be saved for future generations, for if not cut at maturity trees fall and rot.[1] So far as concerns conservation, the attitude of the Filipinos is even less satisfactory. There is abundant evidence on which to base a prediction as to the policy which they would follow in practice, if the compelling hand of an enlightened nation were withdrawn.

There is a singular indifference to the results of wanton forest destruction, not only on the part of the persons guilty of it but on that of the municipal, provincial and judicial officials who should prevent it by enforcing the law. Even when the employees of the Bureau of Forestry have laboriously gathered conclusive evidence against *caiñgin* makers it often proves excessively difficult, or impossible, to secure conviction. The existing opposition to forest protection springs from a desire on the part of the Filipinos to consume their capital as well as their interest, without thought of the morrow, or of the permanent advantage to their country as a whole which would result from conservation of its forest wealth. If they were left to their own devices the forests would once more blaze with *caiñgin* fires set by the poor peasant at the command of the influential *cacique*. Unfortunately that is now only too often the way in which *caiñgins* come to be made. The rich landowners compel ignorant dependents to make them, furnishing seed for the first agricultural crop. Under this arrangement the poor labourer runs all the risk of being prosecuted, does all the work, and often gives half or more of his crop to the *cacique* as a return for the seed loaned him. After the *caiñgin* is abandoned the *cacique* claims the land as his own, and through his influence in provincial politics can often succeed in delaying, or avoiding, prosecution even if detected in his wrong-doing.

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[1] Lumbermen actually operating concessions stated to the Thompson group in 1926 that in many regions much of the timber is over-ripe, and when cut is found to be pithy or rotten at the heart. At two mills quantities of such logs were observed. To allow such timber to stand is not conservation: it is sheer economic waste.

What the result would be were all restraint withdrawn, and were the Filipinos permitted to destroy their forest resources at will, may easily be inferred from what has happened in the past, as well as from the difficulties encountered in enforcing the present law. Cebú, the most thickly populated large island in the archipelago, is already practically deforested, and until recently many other islands have been rapidly approaching the same unfortunate condition.

Under conservative forest management the existing annual output of lumber might be increased fivefold and the unfortunate results from reckless cutting, which have so frequently occurred in the past and which not infrequently still occur, might be completely avoided. If these very desirable ends are to be attained, the force employed by the Bureau of Forestry must be materially augmented. It has been conclusively demonstrated that every increase in the number of its employees is promptly followed by a sufficient increase in the insular revenues derived from forest products to more than offset the expense involved in the payment of the additional salaries and travel expenses. For every extra peso that the government expends in this way it takes in about two, and if this can be done, and the enormous forest resources of the islands developed and conserved at the same time, there *ought* to be no trouble in securing the necessary legislation.

I long endeavoured to bring about the establishment of a fixed relationship between the amount annually collected on forest products and the amount allotted for the work of the Bureau of Forestry. Obviously the working force of the bureau must be increased as the lumber industry develops, or adequate supervision cannot be exercised. Increasing the working force of the bureau makes possible investigations which stimulate the development of the lumber industry, and lead to a largely increased output.

The collection of revenue on forest products from government lands is made by the Bureau of Internal Revenue under the general supervision of the secretary of finance and justice. I have recently learned, to my amazement, that every large sawmill owner in the islands is allowed to make the statement of the output of his mill upon which collections are based; a procedure very like allowing importers to assess their own customs dues. The inevitable result is that the government is robbed right and left. Finding that an attempt was made to justify this procedure on the ground that it was impracticable to have lumber measured at the mills, as the Bureau of Internal Revenue has not sufficient employees for this purpose, I endeavored to remedy this extraordinary situation.

Under existing law, timber may be measured in the round, in the square, or after it has been manufactured into lumber. Measurement in the round is quick and simple, and it has the further advantage that loss due to wasteful sawing falls on the lumberman, while if the sawed lumber only is measured such loss falls on the government. I therefore drafted and submitted to the commission a law providing that all timber should be measured in the round, with proper allowance for defects. Had the law passed, I could have had employees of the Bureau of Forestry measure the logs brought into each of the several mills which collectively turn out ninety per cent of the sawn lumber of the islands, and so could have effectively prevented frauds upon the government.

A system which practically allows the individuals interested to fix the amounts which they shall pay the government for its timber naturally meets with the unqualified approval of the lumbermen. I therefore expected that they would strenuously object to the proposed change in law. To my surprise there was no complaint while it was pending before the commission, which passed it.

Then, and only then, I learned that certain lumbermen had quietly done their work where they believed, rightly, that it would be effective, and that the bill would not pass the assembly. An effective lobby, headed by a Filipino representative of the largest Filipino lumbering concern in the islands, had been organized against it, and so a measure having no other object or effect than to prevent frauds on the government and increase its revenue, was killed, for the time at least, consideration of the bill being "deferred," by the assembly, with the result that a large number of foreign mill owners will be allowed to continue to make an illegitimate profit, and a very limited number of Filipino mill owners will do the same.

The commercial outlook for the Philippine lumber industry is very encouraging. No more greedy lumber market exists than Manila has offered during the past few years, this condition being due primarily to the stimulus given to all lines of industrial development by the economic policy of the insular administration. Prices are high, and the supply is still unequal to the local demand. Forest products to the value of $696,407 were last year imported into the Philippines when we should have exported them in large quantities.[1] A lumber company properly equipped and managed, and operating on a suitable tract, can place lumber in its Manila yards at a cost of half or even less than half the price at which the same lumber readily sells. The export trade, which should be very profitable, has as yet scarcely been inaugurated. Tan bark, dyewoods, valuable gums and rattans find a ready sale. It may reasonably be expected that the world's demand for forest products of all kinds will increase as the years go by, and that the resources of older countries will become depleted, or at least inadequate to supply steadily growing needs. Forest growth in the Philippines is rapid, and under suitable conservation methods reforestation comes about quickly. With continued enforcement of existing law, and with adequate supervision over cutting and reforestation, the cost of which should be paid by the lumber industry itself, the forests of the islands should become an important permanent source of revenue and wealth. Filipinos ought to become holders of forest concessions instead of labourers on the concessions of others. Whether any considerable number of them will care to do so remains to be seen, but at all events their forests should be conserved, so that the opportunity may be ever before them. At the present time *caiñgin* makers destroy far more timber in the course of a year than lumbermen use.

In the hope of awakening an interest among Filipinos in forest conservation and development, and of being able to train an adequate Filipino working force, a forest school has been started at Los Baños, in the immediate vicinity of one of our forest reserves, where practical instruction can advantageously be given. It is anticipated that the graduates of this school will be of great use in bringing about a radical change in the attitude of the Filipinos toward forest conservation.[2]

It is an astonishing fact that the Bontoc and Lepanto Igorots have been the only ones of the very numerous Philippine peoples to see for themselves the benefits derivable from forest conservation. When I first visited their country I noted that all the trees in certain pine forests

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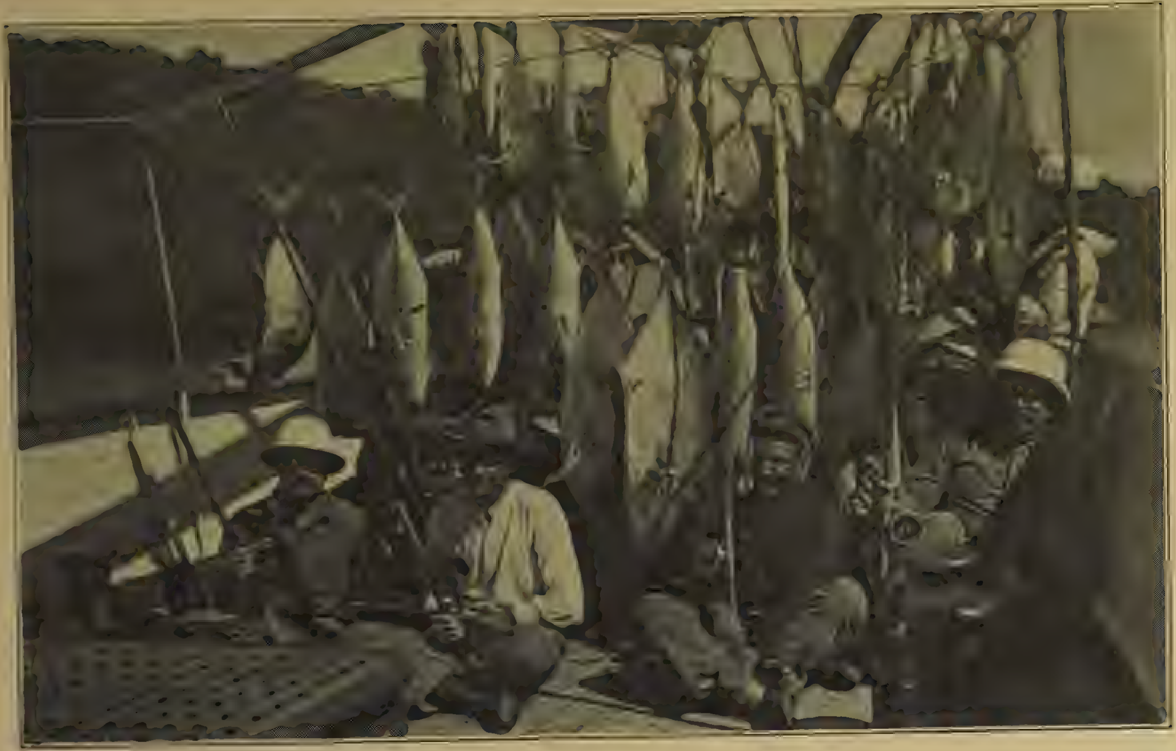
[1] 1912.

[2] This school was established in 1910. In 1916 it became the College of Forestry of the University of the Philippines. The Director of the Bureau of Forestry is also the dean of the college. Under the able direction of Dean Arthur F. Fischer, the institution has performed invaluable services for the Filipino people both in forest research and in providing trained foresters for the management and maintenance of the forest wealth of the archipelago.



A DAY'S CATCH.

These fish were taken in Malampaya Sound in a day by four fishermen working from two boats with only three rods.

were carefully trimmed of their lower branches, and on inquiry found that trees might not be felled until they reach a certain size, although branches might be cut for firewood. The prevention of fires, which are very destructive in pine forests, and the care of young trees, were also adequately provided for! The Bureau of Forestry now employs Igorots as fire wardens in Benguet and Bontoc.

If the policy were adopted of appropriating annually an amount equivalent to sixty per cent of the forest revenues for the work of the Bureau of Forestry, the proper conservation and development of the great potential source of wealth intrusted to that bureau would be adequately provided for. The commission has agreed to such an arrangement; ten per cent of the total forest revenues to be expended in the provinces under its exclusive legislative control, and fifty per cent in the other provinces. Appropriations for the territory occupied by non-Christians are now made on this basis. No appropriation bill has been passed by the assembly since this policy was agreed to by the commission. It remains to be seen whether the former body will favour the expenditures necessary to support the work of forest conservation and development, with the reasonable certainty that such work will not only assure to them and to coming generations a permanent source of wealth, but will more than pay for itself in dollars and cents.[1]

[1] The following table shows the development of the Bureau of Forestry through 1925:

TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONNEL, SALARIES, EXPENDITURES AND REVENUES OF THE BUREAU OF FORESTRY

(From the Bureau of Forestry)

Year	Total Number of Employees	Total Expenditures	Revenues
1900	32	.... *	.... *
1905	154	₱77,928.37	₱343,300.08
1910	67	43,977.69	271,581.74
1915	169	80,634.56	425,817.22
1920	336	153,694.98	1,009,879.13
1921	304	148,747.90	1,013,151.16
1922	349	136,539.98	949,279.61
1923	370	136,523.11	1,062,437.38
1924	384	148,275.28	1,277,799.05
1925	423	168,488.94	1,260,369.86

* No data.

CHAPTER XXX

Improved Means of Communication

The improvement in means of communication which has taken place in the Philippines since the American occupation is almost revolutionary. I well remember my tribulations in the Spanish days, resulting from the inadequacy of the mail system. There were long delays in receiving letters sent from Manila to the more important towns in the archipelago, but if, as was usually the case with us, one was living in a small and more or less isolated provincial town, he was fortunate to get his letters at all. They would be forwarded from place to place by irresponsible native carriers, and under the most favourable circumstances were likely to be greatly delayed in transmission. There was little respect for the privacy of letters. On one occasion I arrived at Joló, confidently expecting a large mail, only to be disappointed. A week later my companion, Dr. Bourns, was calling upon a German resident of that place. Lying in a waste-basket he saw a letter written in a hand which he recognized as that of one of my friends. He thereupon called upon the German to deliver any other letters he might have for me, and some were produced, but others had been thrown away! We found that our mail had begun to come prior to our arrival, and as the Spanish postmaster did not know any persons named Bourns or Worcester he turned it over to this man to see whether he could make out whom it was for. The latter opened the letters, read them, and threw them away.

But this was not the worst of it. There was a time when for months I received no letters, and my companion no newspapers or magazines. Then the arrangement was reversed. I got my letters but no papers or magazines, while he had papers but no letters.

Under the Spanish régime letter carriers in Manila received the munificent salary of $46 per annum, but were authorized to collect a charge of three-quarters of a cent on every article of mail delivered by them, except letters from foreign countries and letters passing between persons living in Manila.

The Spanish government did not admit general merchandise to the mails, but accepted only samples and medicine. We admit all classes of merchandise except certain objectionable things and certain articles dangerous to the mails or to those handling them. We have increased the maximum allowable weight of mail packages to eleven pounds, and on January 1, 1913, established a "collect on delivery" service under which merchants and others may send goods through the mails and have the charges thereon collected from the addressee before delivery. These are important and valuable extensions of the service, and greatly benefit the Filipinos as well as the merchants by bringing people throughout the islands into touch with shops from which they can order the goods they need.[1]

It is difficult to determine the difference in the amounts of business done under the Spanish and American systems for the reason that the Spanish figures are in many cases obviously unreliable. The latest available statistics, for the fiscal year 1893, show an enormous discrepancy between the amount of mail matter claimed to have been transported and the revenue received, which should theoretically have been about twice as large as seems to have been collected. It is believed, however, that the following figures are fairly reliable.

The number of post-offices has increased from four hundred sixty-six to five hundred ninety. It is anticipated that one hundred fifty additional post-offices will be established in smaller municipalities and out-of-the-way places within the present year, and as it is these places are receiving postal service through the employment of competent letter carriers, who are collecting and delivering their mails. Only sixty-five of the Spanish post-offices were in charge of officials employed by the general government. The remaining four hundred one were looked after in a way by local municipal officials. All postmasters are now paid by the general government.[2]

The mails are being carried with much greater frequency than ever before. During 1913 there were 273 contract routes on which mails were carried a total of 873,957 miles at a cost of $40,440.75. In 1927 there were in operation 570 routes, the distance carried was 2,787,947 miles, and the cost was $116,809.35.[3]

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[1] The development of the collect-on-delivery service is shown by the following figures:

Year	No. of articles mailed	Amount to be collected
1918	49,909	$ 279,797.99
1921	70,504	424,778.01
1925	225,057	1,384,883.56
1927	141,483	998,400.34

Data from the Department of Commerce and Communications, and the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 281.

[2] The following statement shows the increasing number of post-offices and postal employees:

Year	1901	1905	1911	1919	1925	1927
No. of personnel....	130	612	1898	3025	3413	3588
No. of post-offices...	23	414	572	873	936	943

In 1927, of the 943 post-offices, 557 were money order offices, 916 postal savings banks, and 444 telegraph offices (including 40 radio stations). Data from Department of Commerce and Communications and the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 280.

"It is significant to note that the postal service realized a net profit of $313,132.34 in 1927." (*Ibid.,* p. 267.)

[3] To avoid incessant reference to footnotes, much of the recent data concerning the present activities of the postal system will be included in the text. Unless otherwise

In 1893 nine parcel post packages were sent to foreign countries. In 1912, 2,640 such parcels went abroad; during 1927, 17,077 international parcel post articles were received in Manila and 8,775 parcels were dispatched to foreign destinations. In 1893 the number of registered articles transmitted between Philippine post-offices was 29,078; in 1912 it was 535,137; in 1927, 1,622,811 articles were accepted for registration. The increased use of newspapers is shown by the fact that in 1893 the weight of newspapers mailed for delivery within the Philippines was 121,070 pounds, while in 1912 it was 687,568 pounds. This difference is no doubt largely due to the severe restrictions imposed upon the press under the Spanish régime as compared with the freedom which it enjoys to-day. In 1927 there were 165 publications registered as second class with the postal authorities, and these sent a total of 41,420,400 copies through the mails. In 1914, 75 publications held second class mailing permits.

The Spanish postal administration paid little attention to complaints by Filipinos relative to losses of articles transmitted through the mails. Now the most trivial complaint is painstakingly investigated, and only in rare cases is there failure to recover the value of lost or stolen articles from the postal employee responsible. The sanctity of the mails which now prevails is an important factor in the increased use which the people make of them. It is claimed that under the Spanish régime few matters of importance were intrusted to the mails by Filipinos because their letters were so frequently opened and inspected by officials.

The Spanish government provided no postal money-order service whatever, and the transmission of money by mail with safety was impossible. We have 265 money-order post-offices and during 1912 issued 160,524 money-orders payable in the islands, the total sum of which was $5,592,205.85. We also issued 68,229 orders amounting to $1,764,608.02 payable in the United States, and 2607 orders amounting to $68,364.83 payable in other countries. In 1927 the total number of orders issued was 1,173,465, and the value was $26,341,418.85. These amounts were transmitted largely by Filipinos, who now do a considerable mail order business with merchants in the United States.[1]

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indicated the information for 1926 or 1927 is to be found in the reports of the Department of Commerce and Communications, published in the *Report of the Governor-General* for those years, respectively. [Ed.]

[1] In 1906 a postal savings bank was created as a part of the Bureau of Posts. (Act No. 1493, Philippine Commission, May 24, 1906.) The growth of this institution is shown by the following table:

Year	No. of offices	No. of Accounts	Amount of deposits
1907	243	2,329	$ 415,210.06
1918	394	78,124	2,899,795.04
1921	642	130,810	3,018,725.30
1925	678	176,056	2,429,739.49
1927	916	229,500	3,424,583.30

Data from Department of Commerce and Communications, and the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 284.

After the Hunt.

A further great convenience not furnished by the Spanish government is the payment of money-orders transmitted by telegraph. During the last fiscal year there were forwarded 8333 such orders, covering payments amounting to $1,128,229.79. In 1927 there were 77,814 transfers, with an aggregate value of $6,281,707.32.

The improvement in the telegraph service has been quite as marked as that in the mail service. In 1897 there were only 65 telegraph offices in the islands, 49 of which were on the island of Luzón, 9 on Panay, 4 on Negros and 3 on Cebú. The total length of all telegraph lines was some 1750 miles. There were no cables or other means of telegraphic communication between the islands.

Practically all of the old lines were destroyed during the revolution which began in 1896, so that the lines now existing must be considered as having been built since the American occupation. There are 282 telegraph offices with 4781 miles of land line and in addition 1362 miles of marine cable and 7 wireless stations in operation. Every provincial capital, with the exception of Basco in the remote Batanes Islands, and Butuan in Agusan Province, now has telegraphic facilities as does almost every other place of commercial importance in the Philippines. The advantage of prompt telegraphic communication with such outlying points as Puerto Princesa, Joló, Zamboanga, Davao, Surigao and the east coast of Samar is enormous, while the extension of the cable service to Catanduanes has been a great boon to the hemp growers of that island. The latest available figures relative to the telegraphic business conducted by the Spaniards are for the year 1889, during the second six months of which there were handled 33,697 commercial telegrams. During the fiscal year 1912 our business of the same class reached a total of 496,643 telegrams. This class of business has been increasing from 25 to 30 per cent yearly for several years.[1]

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[1] In 1926 the Department of Commerce and Communications reported as follows concerning telegraphic communications: "From 98 telegraph offices operated by the Civil Government in 1907, the number has grown, after a period of less than 20 years, to 418 (August 1, 1926). The telegraph and cable lines, then totaling 2,685.07 miles in length, have, during the same period, been increased to 8,346.55 miles,—extending from Aparri to Cotabato, with a network of other lines reaching almost every important point in the Archipelago, and which, together with 35 wireless stations, form an extensive system of communication, bringing closer together the numerous islands or isolated regions of the country." During 1927, 1,276,778 paid telegrams were handled.

At the close of the year 1918 there were ten radio stations in operation. By the end of 1926 these had been increased to 37 stations operated by the Philippine government, which also had a number of additional stations under construction and was adding to the installations in existing stations. The government stations link up isolated islands and regions throughout the Archipelago, from Basco, Batanes, near Formosa in the north, to Bongao, Sulu, in the Celebes sea east of Borneo. In 1925 the government was operating six ship stations, and there were 22 inter-island commercial steamers equipped with radio apparatus. All told there were, in that year, 66 stations for the receipt and transmission of messages open to the public, excluding those owned and operated by the Army or Navy, and the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Approximately 121,000 radio messages were handled by the government stations during 1925.

Official messages between the Philippines and the United States and press dispatches are regularly transmitted via the U. S. Naval Communication Service, while commercial overseas business is handled by the station of the Radio Corporation of the Philippines, which opened its transoceanic service in June, 1927. There is also direct radio

The expenditures of the Spanish government for all postal and telegraphic service for the fiscal year 1895 amounted to $484,960.50. Those of the Bureau of Posts for 1912 were $1,072,684.48; in 1927 they were $1,729,449.65. No statement of the Spanish revenues can be found. Our revenues for 1912 were $627,724.70; in 1927 they were $2,042,582. The personnel of the Spanish service for 1895 shows only 31 positions paying salaries of more than $500 per year, most of which were filled by Spaniards. There are now 96 positions paying salaries of more than $500 per year filled by Filipinos. Filipino post-office employees receive salaries 50 to 100 per cent larger than those of employees of similar rank during the Spanish régime. Think how much these figures mean in increased opportunity for employment of Filipinos, and in increased communication not only between the people in the islands but between them and the outside world.

In a number of instances the telegraph lines which are controlled by the Bureau of Posts are supplemented by provincial telephone systems, which are of great value in maintaining quick communication with towns not reached by telegraph wires. Such lines are especially useful in the Mountain Province, Mindoro, Palawan, Nueva Vizcaya, and the sub-province of Bukidnon, where messengers who travel by land have to go on horseback or on foot.

The table on the opposite page shows the growth of the postal and telegraph business of the Islands.

As I have elsewhere remarked, the Philippines have a coast line longer than that of the continental United States. A very large percentage of the municipalities are situated on, or close to, the sea and the maintenance of adequate marine transportation is therefore a matter of vital importance to the peace and commercial prosperity of the archipelago. In the early days of American occupation conditions were most unsatisfactory. Most of the boats in the coastwise trade were antiquated, foul and had no decent facilities for transporting passengers. As the number of vessels was too small to handle the business of the country, ship-owners occupied a very independent position. The freight rates on such things as lumber and currency were practically prohibitive. It was a common thing for vessels to refuse to receive hemp, sugar and perishable products that had been brought to the beach for shipment, giving as an excuse the fact that they were employed in the private business of Messrs. Smith, Bell & Co., Warner, Barnes & Co., or whoever happened to own them, and could

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service over the Insular government station at Zamboanga with Mindanao, and Sandakan, British North Borneo.

In 1926 there were two broadcasting stations in the Philippines, and in that year the legislature passed an act vesting in the Department of Commerce and Communications authority to regulate and control radio in the Islands. (Act No. 3275, Philippine Legislature. November 19, 1926; data furnished by Department of Commerce and Communications; *Report of the Governor-General,* 1926, p. 244.)

Post-Office and Telegraph Statistics

FISCAL YEAR	MONEY ORDERS SOLD		POSTAGE RECEIPTS	TELEGRAPH RECEIPTS	
	Amount	Increase (+) or decrease (—)		Amount	Increase (+) or decrease (—)
		Per cent			
1900	$1,526,310	....	$117,848	......	.....
1901	1,514,435	— 1	122,833	......	.....
1902	1,854,927	+22	126,375	......	.....
1903	2,842,587	+53	132,445	......	.....
1904	3,102,606	+ 9	121,714	......	.....
1905	3,444,053	+11	121,648	......	.....
1906	3,687,127	+ 7	198,583	[1] $ 56,351	.....
1907	3,229,446	—12	198,546	118,360	+110
1908	3,645,123	+13	220,306	136,138	+ 15
1909	4,008,678	+10	245,482	139,208	+ 2
1910 [2]	4,890,835	+22	282,317	168,402	+ 21
1911	6,132,582	+25	313,549	184,555	+ 9
1912	7,425,173	+21	349,407	236,679	+ 28
1913	8,272,858	+ 6	380,942	283,305	+ 4

not transport freight for the public as the volume of their private business would not permit it. However, if the owners of the freight were willing to sell it to the ships' officers for a fraction of its value, they encountered no difficulty in transporting it!

Furthermore, there existed the danger of Moro raids, the necessity for checking the operations of smugglers, and that of preventing the ingress of firearms, which in the hands of irresponsible persons might cause great damage and expense to the government and the public.

In view of these facts it was decided to establish a fleet of twenty coast-guard vessels, which were not only to do police duty and to assist in the transportation of troops, but were to carry freight and passengers when opportunity offered. Fifteen such vessels were ordered from Messrs. Farnham, Boyd & Co., of Shanghai, and five from the Uraga Dock Company of Japan. The Japanese vessels proved unsatisfactory, and only two were accepted, making the total fleet seventeen. As the condition of public order improved the coast-guard boats became available to a constantly increasing extent for commercial service.

Prior to July, 1906, there were practically no established steamship routes over which commercial vessels operated on regular schedules. With the exception of the service between Manila, Cebú and Iloílo, vessels traded here and there without regular ports of call or fixed dates of arrival or departure. The policy which guided their owners was one of privilege and monopoly, and by agreement between them competition was rigidly excluded. Trade was discouraged and the commercial development of the islands seriously retarded.

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[1] First year for which statistics are available.
[2] First year after Payne Tariff Bill took effect.

In accordance with a plan formulated by Mr. Forbes, then secretary of commerce and police, the coast-guard vessels were placed on regular commercial routes and were operated on schedules which gave efficient service to all important islands of the archipelago. Ten routes were maintained and many isolated points, and small towns or villages which offered so little business at the outset as to make them unprofitable, and therefore unattractive as ports of call for commercial vessels, were put in close communication with the larger towns and distributing centres, so that the small planters could market their products with little trouble. This promptly led to increased production and trade, and greater prosperity through the islands.

Business increased to such an extent that in July, 1906, it proved practicable to withdraw the government vessels and turn these routes over to commercial firms which entered into a definite contract with the government to maintain an adequate service. Their vessels were allowed substantial subsidies, amounting in the aggregate to $100,000 per year, in order to assure the prompt despatch of mail, adherence to schedule, and efficient service. The ten old coast-guard routes were divided into fourteen new commercial routes which gave excellent service to all parts of the islands.

Secondary routes were then arranged and coast-guard cutters were placed on them. A number of these were in turn given over to commercial vessels after they had developed enough trade to be commercially profitable. Three such routes are now maintained by the Bureau of Navigation, and it is planned to establish two more in the near future.

The importance of the change thus brought about by the government in transportation facilities can be appreciated only by those who have had actual experience with the intolerable state of affairs which previously existed. Meanwhile conditions on the inter-island steamers have been enormously improved by the enforcement of proper sanitary regulations, and insistence that staterooms be decent and food reasonably good.[1]

Of the original cutters two were for a long time under charte

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[1] No record is available of the amount and value of the traffic borne by coastwise vessels. The accompanying table, however, shows the increase which has occurred in the inter-island trade:

Coastwise Entrances

(Furnished by Department of Commerce and Communications.)

Year	Number	Tonnage
1900	3,268	458,465
1910	9,263	1,075,124
1920	16,402	1,644,401
1925	19,001	2,245,919

Typical Scene at the Edge of a Hardwood Forest.

by the military authorities for use as despatch boats and transports; two are employed as lighthouse tenders, and two have been assigned to the Bureau of Coast Surveys for coast and geodetic work; one collects lepers and takes them to the Leper Colony at Culion. The cable-ship *Rizal,* operated by the Bureau of Navigation, has succeeded in repairing and keeping in repair the marine cables throughout the islands.[1] Such cables are especially subject to injury in Philippine waters on account of the strength of the currents between the islands, the frequency with which stretches of sea bottom are overgrown with sharp coral, and the common occurrence of earthquakes. When not otherwise engaged the *Rizal* carries commercial cargoes if opportunity offers. She has proved useful for bringing in rice when a shortage of this commodity, which is the bread of the Filipino people, threatened, and for handling cargoes of lumber of sizes such that regular inter-island steamers could not load it.

In addition to the vessels above mentioned, the Bureau of Navigation owns and operates a fleet of launches, some of which are sea-going, and a number of dredges which are employed in improving the harbours and rivers of the islands as funds permit. The bureau also owns and operates its own machine shop and marine railway, and repairs its own vessels.

A section of the machine shop is set aside for lighthouse work, and in it lighthouse apparatus of every description is fabricated and repaired. While lighthouses and buoys are not means of communication they are aids to it.

The thousand and ninety-five inhabited islands and approximately two hundred and fifty ports of varying importance, depending as they do entirely upon water transportation for communication with each other and with the outside world, had no wharfage whatever available for large vessels, and no publicly owned wharfage within ten yards of which even the larger inter-island steamers could be berthed. Manila had no protected anchorage, and during the season of southwest monsoons and typhoons vessels were sometimes compelled to lie in the harbour for weeks before they could unload, a fact which gave the port a deservedly bad name.

The Spaniards had commenced harbour work at Manila in 1892, twenty-five years after preliminary study began and sixteen years after prospective plans had been submitted. Their operations were stopped by the insurrection in 1896, at which time the present west breakwater had been about half completed, but as the completed portion was at the shore end and in shallow water it afforded no protection to ships. There had been constructed twenty-four hundred feet of masonry wall partly enclosing one of the basins provided for in the Spanish

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[2] The *J. Bustamente,* a larger vessel, replaced the *Rizal* in 1915.

plans, and fourteen hundred eighty-five feet of wall lining canals connecting the proposed new harbour with the Pasig River. These also were temporarily useless, because there had been no dredging in front of them, or backfilling in their rear.

Outside of Manila practically nothing had been done to facilitate the loading and discharge of vessels, or to protect them from the elements.

We now have at Manila a deep-water harbour dredged to a uniform depth of thirty feet and enclosed by two breakwaters having a total length of nearly eleven thousand five hundred feet. Two hundred and sixty-one acres of land have been reclaimed with the dredged material. Two steel piers extend from the filled land into the deep-water harbour. One of these is six hundred fifty feet long and one hundred ten feet wide, the other six hundred feet long and seventy feet wide. Both are housed in, the sheds covering them having a total area of ninety-two thousand square feet. These piers and sheds are practically fireproof, and the largest ocean-going steamers on the Pacific can lie alongside them. Additional work planned, which should be undertaken when funds permit, includes two more piers; and bulkheads to connect the inner ends of the present piers, so as to give inter-island steamers opportunity to unload.[1]

At Cebú the sea-wall has been completed to a length of two thousand sixty feet and the channel in front of it dredged in part to ten and a half and in part to twenty-three feet at low water. Some ten and a half acres of land have been reclaimed with the material removed. Streets and roadways have been built on the reclaimed area, and a wharf eight hundred twelve feet in length, designed as an extension to the wall, is now fifty per cent completed. The harbour at Cebú should ultimately be dredged so as to give thirty feet of water along the piers.[2]

At Iloílo the dredging of a fifteen-foot channel up to the custom-house was completed in March, 1907. Seven hundred and eighty-three feet of river wall and twelve hundred ninety feet of reënforced concrete wharf, both to accommodate vessels of eighteen feet draft at low water, have been built along the south bank of the middle reach of the river. The lower reach has been dredged to twenty-four feet at low water, the middle reach to eighteen feet and the upper reach to fifteen feet, while two hundred ten thousand square metres of land have been reclaimed and two hundred six thousand improved with the dredged material. Wharves for ocean-going steamers should ultimately be constructed at this important port.[1]

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[1] The Manila harbor is now being dredged to a depth of 40 feet and work is being rapidly rushed on the south breakwater. The port has five piers and one wharf, with berths for eleven large vessels. Pier Seven, completed in 1926, is one of the finest and best equipped piers in the world. The Insular piers and wharves are under the administrative supervision of the Manila Harbor Board, and are operated by the Manila Terminal Company, under contract. Detailed information concerning the port of Manila compiled primarily for shippers, but also of general interest, may be obtained from a handsomely illustrated booklet, *The Port of Manila,* published in 1925 by the Harbor Board. Inter-island shipping still berths at the wharves of the Pasig River.

[2] By 1925 Cebú had 4,921 feet of docks where deep-water cargo could be handled quickly and cheaply. Since 1925 a jetty has been constructed at the western end of the harbor to check sand drift, and has proven a success. Work is also being pushed on a reclamation project which will add 1,335 feet of concrete wharf and a large area of ground space to the harbor facilities. The rapid development of Cebú as the commercial metropolis of the rich Visayan Islands has made it difficult to provide harbor facilities adequate for handling the city's growing commerce. Nearly one-half of the total Philippine exports of copra and about 30 per cent of the total hemp exports are from Cebú, and it seems probable that these proportions will continue to increase as the great resources of the southern islands are further developed. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 276; *Cebú, Philippines Islands,* Cebú, 1925.)

At Paracale, in Ambos Camarines, a reënforced concrete pier four hundred ninety feet in length has been built. It extends out to a depth of fifteen feet at low water.

At Bais, Negros, a timber pier for vessels of sixteen feet draft, with a stone causeway approach a mile and a half in length, and a warehouse for the temporary storage of sugar, have been constructed.

Channels have been blasted through the coral reefs surrounding the islands Batan, Sabtang and Itbayat in the Batanes group, where the annual loss of life had previously been great, owing to the occurrence of sudden storms which often made it impossible for people to return to their towns through the surf. The port of Pandan, in Ilocos Sur, has been improved by means of a stone revetment twenty-nine hundred seventy-five feet in length along the north bank of the Abra River, thus maintaining the channel in one position and affording vastly better means of loading and discharging cargo for the important town of Vigan. A self-propelling combination snag boat, pile driver and dredge for the improvement of the great Cagayan River has been built, and is now in operation on that stream. Very numerous other works of repair and construction have been carried out. Some 80 surveys have been made in minor ports to determine the feasibility of improvements, and in many cases plans have been prepared for proposed work.[2]

The Spaniards had devoted much time and study to a project for coast illumination. At the outbreak of the insurrection in 1896 they had twenty-eight lights, fourteen of which were flashing and fourteen fixed minor lights, while four additional stations were under construction. Then all work was stopped, and when systematic inspection was made by American lighthouse engineers five years later, extensive repairs were found to be necessary. The repairs were made as promptly as possible, and new construction then began. To-day there are a hundred forty-five lights in operation, and the waters of the Philippine are among the best lighted in the world. One hundred and eleven buoys of various classes are being maintained.

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[1] The harbor facilities at Iloilo have been greatly improved in recent years and the importance of the city as a commercial center has steadily increased. Nearly 70 per cent of all of the sugar exports are from Iloilo. Large quantities of copra and lumber are also shipped from Iloilo.

[2] During 1927 the Bureau of Public Works was carrying on 14 important harbor projects as parts of a program to provide adequate port facilities in every part of the Islands. Despite the efforts of the government to keep pace with the demands of commerce, however, the impression received during extensive travels through the archipelago is that outside of a few relative large centers dock and wharfage facilities are entirely inadequate for the commercial development of the country. In many ports of actual or potential importance passengers and freight still have to be transferred from ship to shore by lighters and carried through water and up the beach by porters. This condition is commented upon in Mr. L. P. Hammond's *Survey of Economic Conditions in the Philippine Islands,* pp. 42–43.

The following table shows the progress made in the construction of lighthouses:—

LIGHTHOUSES IN OPERATION[1]

Year	Lighthouses	Year	Lighthouses	Year	Lighthouses
1902	57	1911..........	142	1920..........	182
1903	66	1912..........	145	1921..........	185
1904	76	1913..........	145	1922..........	185
1905	89	1914..........	151	1923..........	190
1906	105	1915..........	160	1924..........	191
1907	117	1916..........	171	1925..........	194
1908	129	1917..........	179	1926..........	193
1909	139	1918..........	180		
1910	143	1919..........	182		

In all nearly $7,000,000 have been expended in the improvement of ports and harbours, and about $750,000 in the construction of lights.

At the time of the American occupation, knowledge of the waters of the archipelago was in a most unsatisfactory state. There was not even an accurate chart of Manila Bay. Navigating officers followed certain well-known trade routes which experience had shown to be safe, but did not dare to leave them. Uncharted dangers were soon discovered at Iloílo and in other important ports, and the necessity for a systematic survey of the waters became immediately apparent.

On September 6, 1901, the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey was organized. The work is conducted under a joint agreement such that it is supervised by the superintendent of coast and geodetic surveys at Washington, who is represented in the Philippines by an officer called the director of coast surveys. The latter reports to the head of the insular government so far as concerns the expenditure of funds furnished by that government, which has the power of approval over his assignment to duty. There is a division of expenses between the two governments. The United States has paid approximately fifty-

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[1] This table, and a number of tables to follow, are derived from the "Progress Barometer" published in the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1925, appendix D, pp. 38–46. The "Barometer" is prefaced by the following note: "Statistics contained herein, up to and including 1912, were obtained from the progress barometer compiled during administration of Governor-General Forbes. The figures for 1913 to 1920, inclusive, were furnished the Wood-Forbes mission by bureau chiefs concerned. The figures for 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924 have been obtained from the annual reports of the respective bureaus and companies." (*Ibid.,* p. 38.) The 1925 figures are given in the "Barometer" in the *Report of the Governor-General* for that year. Extensions since that year in the tables herein published have been made by the editor from official reports.

A Typical Forest Scene.

From the buttressed roots of great hardwood trees, like the one here shown, beautiful table tops are obtained.

five per cent of the total cost, and the insular government has paid the balance.[1]

The Bureau is engaged in a systematic survey of the coasts, harbours and waters of the Philippine Islands and of the topography of the shore-line. It determines positions astronomically and by triangulation, investigates reported dangers to navigation, and observes tides, currents and the magnetic elements. Five steamers are now engaged in this very important work. It is estimated that fifty-four per cent of the surveys of the coast and adjacent waters have already been completed. When one remembers that the coast-line of the Philippines is longer than that of the continental United States, one realizes that this is a remarkable achievement.[2]

The Bureau has published one hundred twenty-four charts covering the entire boundaries of the islands, and six volumes of sailing directions which are kept constantly up to date by additions whenever new facts of importance to mariners are ascertained.[3] The greater part of the information thus made available represents results obtained by the Bureau, but these are supplemented by the most reliable data that can be obtained from other sources.

The following table shows the number of miles of coast surveyed at the end of each year, beginning with 1901:—

Number of Miles of Coast Surveyed[4]

Year	Miles	Year	Miles	Year	Miles
1901	89	1910..........	1,637	1919..........	97
1902	487	1911..........	1,229	1920..........	153
1903	632	1912..........	1,316	1921..........	442
1904	713	1913..........	945	1922..........	422
1905	494	1914..........	1,500	1923..........	337
1906	626	1915..........	775	1924..........	280
1907	1,495	1916..........	507	1925..........	499
1908	1,573	1917..........	404	1926..........	272
1909	1,017	1918..........	198	1927..........	392

Not only have all important waterways through the islands been surveyed and lighted, but travel and the transportation of merchandise on land have been enormously facilitated by the construction of additional railways and of a system of first-, second- and third-class roads and of trails.

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[1] The U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey has stated that up to 1929 the United States had paid about 58 per cent of the total cost of surveys.

[2] In 1917 the number of ships operating was reduced to three. It was increased to four during 1919 and 1920, but since the latter date only three ships have been operating. The decrease in the coast mileage of the surveys after 1914 is accounted for in part by this reduction in the working force, and in part by the fact that the first surveys were made in the most important localities which, in general, were more accessible and less exposed than areas surveyed in recent years. It is estimated that about 87 per cent of the first surveys have been completed. (Information furnished by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1929.)

[3] The Bureau, in 1929, publishes 145 charts for the Philippine Islands. The sailing directions are now published in two volumes: Part I, covering Luzón, Mindoro and the Visayas; and Part II, covering Palawan, Mindoro, and the Sulu archipelago. (*Ibid.*)

An interesting account of the work of the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey will be found in the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, pp. 304–307.

[4] From Progress Barometer.

Prior to 1907 the only railroad line in operation in the Philippines was the so-called Manila-Dagupan Railway, which was 122 miles long.

The following tables show the steady increase in mileage since that time and also the steady increase in railroad revenues:—

MANILA RAILROAD CO.[1]

Calendar year	Mileage in operation	Revenues	Increase (+) or decrease (—)	Calendar year	Mileage in operation	Revenues	Increase (+) or decrease (—)
			Per cent				*Per cent*
1907 [2]....	122	$ 825,823	....	1917	621	$3,578,075	+43
1908	208	961,936	+16	1918	621	4,689,756	+31
1909	213	1,023,812	+ 6	1919	621	5,401,164	+15
1910	336	1,334,555	+30	1920	621	5,983,200	+11
1911	353	1,768,193	+33	1921	653	6,137,149	+ 3
1912	443	2,171,804	+23	1922	649	6,105,398	— 1
1913	477	2,601,979	+20	1923	649	5,752,763	— 6
1914	501	2,496,367	— 5	1924	649	5,700,263	— 1
1915	550	2,240,172	—10	1925	659	6,316,830	+11
1916	621	2,505,367	+12				

All data pertain to calendar years ended Dec. 31.

PHILIPPINE RAILWAY CO.[1]

Calendar year	Mileage in operation	Revenues	Increase (+) or decrease (—)	Calendar year	Mileage in operation	Revenues	Increase (+) or decrease (—)
			Per cent				*Per cent*
1909	43	$ 56,491 [a]	....	1917	131	$474,269	+25
1910	59	135,399	+140 3/10	1918	131	508,029	+ 7
1911	131	326,972	+141 3/10	1919	131	606,006	+19
1912	131	376,511	+ 15 3/10	1920	131	750,297	+24
1913	131	320,587	— 15 3/10	1921	131	687,010	— 8
1914	131	361,219	+ 12 3/10	1922	133	643,232	— 6
1915	131	362,407	+ 3/10	1923	133	618,672	— 4
1916	131	378,306	+ 4 3/10	1924	133	722,536	+17

[a] Covers a period of 6 months.
All data pertain to calendar years ended Dec. 31.

The north line of the Manila Railroad Company, which is the successor to the Manila and Dagupan Railway Company, now extends to Bauaug in the province of La Union.[3] It has laterals terminating at Camp One, on the Benguet Road; Rosales in Pangasinán; Mangaldang in Pangasinán; Cabanatuan in Nueva Ecija; Camp Stotsenberg in Pampanga; Florida Blanca in Pampanga; Montalban in Rizal, and Antipolo in Rizal.

The main south line of this road extends from Manila to Lucena in Tayabas. It has branches [1929] to Guinayangan, Tayabas, with short lines in Camarines Sur and Albay which are reached by ferry across the Gulf of Ragay; to Cavite in the province of the same name; to Naic in Cavite; to Pagsanján in La Laguna, and to Batangas in the Province of Batangas.

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[1] Progress Barometer.

[2] The only railroad line in operation prior to 1907 was 122 miles of the main line of the Manila Railroad Company.

[3] During 1929 the line was under extension to San Fernando.

The Philippine Railway Company has built and is now operating a line on Panay which extends from Iloílo to Capiz, and a line on Cebú which extends north from the city of the same name to Danao and south to Argao.[1]

The development of the road system is even more important than that of railroads.

The tables on this and following page show the mileage of first-, second- and third-class road, and the total number of permanent bridges and culverts, in existence at the end of each year, beginning with 1907:—

TOTAL MILEAGE OF ROADS IN EXISTENCE[2]

Year	First-class roads	Increase	Second-class roads	Third-class roads	Year	First-class roads	Increase	Second-class roads	Third-class roads
		Per cent					*Per cent*		
1907....	303 [a]	..	...	....	1918....	2,542	9	1,253	1,944
1908....	423	40	...	....	1919....	2,796	10	1,234	1,932
1909....	609	44	...	....	1920....	2,920	4	1,266	1,914
1910....	764	25	641 [a]	2,074 [a]	1921....	2,998	3	1,268	1,883
1911....	987	29	664	1,837	1922....	3,089	3	1,312	1,824
1912....	1,143	16	1,342 [b]	1,999	1923....	3,187	3	1,361	1,753
1913....	1,303	14	1,264	1,938	1924....	3,407	7	1,316	1,676
1914....	1,593	22	1,258	1,787	1925....	3,520	3	1,466	1,640
1915....	1,906	20	1,294	1,896	1926....	3,633	3	1,622	1,541
1916....	2,137	12	1,271	2,138	1927....	3,749	3	1,884	1,443
1917....	2,323	9	1,278	2,109					

[a] No accurate statistics before 1907 and 1910, respectively.
[b] Increase due to change in definition.

The years preceding 1914 are for 12 months ending June 30, 1914; and following years are for 12 months ending December 31.

NOTE.—First-class roads in this table include not only first-class roads officially designated but also first-class roads not officially designated as such.

The old Spanish road system was quite extensive and very well planned, but the amount of really good construction was very limited. The system of maintenance was faulty, and the abandonment of maintenance during the insurrection against Spain and the war with

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[1] In 1917 the Philippine government purchased the Manila Railroad and has since operated it. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1915, p. 32; 1916, pp. 23–24.) In addition to extending its lines, the road has increased and improved its rolling stock and its service. From the financial standpoint, its operation has also been a success, and the road is gradually paying off its indebtedness. The following figures are taken from *Report of the Auditor of the Philippines,* 1926, pp. 300, 301:

Manila Railroad Company of the Philippine Islands

Operating income	$2,400,661.97
Gross income	2,497,110.57
Net income	1,186,403.03
Interest paid on funded debt (deducted from gross income)	1,310,241.55
Applied to sinking and other reserve funds	150,206.02
Applied to investment in physical property	871,064.08

The Philippine Railway Company is controlled by American capitalists. The Panay line is 73 miles in length and the Cebú line 60 miles. The debit balance of the Philippine Railway at the beginning of the year 1925 was $1,504,650.01.

[2] Progress Barometer.

TOTAL OF PERMANENT BRIDGES AND CULVERTS IN EXISTENCE[1]

Year	Number	Increase	Year	Number	Increase
		Per cent			Per cent
1907..........	3,280[a]	....	1918..........	7,426	+ 1
1908..........	3,631	+11	1919..........	7,491	+ 1
1909..........	3,865	+ 6	1920..........	7,521	+ 4
1910..........	4,372	+13	1921..........	7,481	— 5
1911..........	4,842	+11	1922..........	7,562	+ 1
1912..........	5,177	+ 7	1923..........	7,586	+ 0
1913..........	5,654	+ 9	1924..........	7,613	+ 4
1914..........	6,206	+10	1925..........	7,779	+ 2
1915..........	6,640	+ 7	1926..........	7,753	— .3
1916..........	7,156	+ 8	1927	7,831	+ 1
1917..........	7,370	+ 3			

[a] No accurate statistics before 1907.

The years preceding 1914 are for 12 months ending June 30; 1914 and following years are for 12 months ending Dec. 31.

the United States resulted in the almost complete destruction of many roads which were in fairly good condition at the time public order became seriously disturbed. The total value of Spanish work on existing roads is estimated at $1,800,000. The total value of all American work up to June 30, 1911, is estimated at $6,100,000.

The imperative need of better highways throughout the islands was brought home by the difficulties encountered by the army during the insurrection, and the first act of the Philippine Commission, passed on the twelfth day after the commission became the legislative body of the islands, appropriated $1,000,000 ($2,000,000 Mexican) for the construction and repair of highways and bridges.[2]

Much of this money was very advantageously expended by the military, who contributed a large amount of transportation free of cost. Unfortunately, while the necessity for roads was at this time fully appreciated, there was failure to appreciate the extraordinary rapidity with which tropical rains and vegetation destroy good roads in the Philippines. We further failed to appreciate the absolute indifference of the Filipinos themselves as to whether roads once built are or are not maintained.

One of the first large pieces of work undertaken was a road from Calamba on the Laguna de Bay to Lipa, an important town in the province of Batangas, and thence to the town of Batangas itself. This road ran for its entire extent through a rich agricultural district. I passed over it when the dirt work had all been completed, and when all but two short stretches were surfaced. I certainly had vigorously impressed upon me the necessity of surfacing. Over that portion of the road which had been so treated an automobile could have been driven at sixty miles an hour. Over the remainder of it, built by the same engineer, shaped up in the same way, and as good a dirt

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[1] Progress Barometer.

[2] Act No. 1, Philippine Commission, September 12, 1900.

Old-style Road across Lowlands.
Tracks of this sort become completely impassable during the rainy season.

New-style Road across Lowlands.
Roads like this are passable at all times.

road as could be constructed, four mules could not haul the ambulance in which we were riding without our assistance. We had to get out and literally put our shoulders to the wheel, or tug at the spokes, in order to enable the faithful beasts to extricate the ambulance from the morasses into which the two unsurfaced stretches had been converted.

Needless to say, the surfacing was completed as soon as possible, and then came what the Filipinos call a great *desengaño*.[1] I venture to say that from the time the road was finished until it was completely destroyed there was never a shovelful of dirt nor a basketful of gravel placed upon it. In 1908 I attempted to drive over it in one of the two-wheeled rigs known as *carromatas*, which will go almost anywhere. I was upset twice in as many miles and gave up the attempt.

For a considerable time the destruction of roads almost kept pace with their construction, and until 1907 the small amount of provincial funds available usually resulted in failure to attempt repairs until both surfacing and foundation had been badly injured or destroyed. The remnants of old Spanish roads still existing, and the new roads constructed by Americans, were in danger of being wiped out. It was then decided that further insular aid for road construction should not be given until the indifference of provincial officials could be overcome, and funds provided for proper maintenance. It was further decided that roads and bridges should be considered as on a basis similar to that of other government property, and that maintenance must take precedence over new construction. Regulations providing for it were outlined and incorporated in a proposed resolution which was submitted to the several provincial boards with the information that further insular funds would not be appropriated for any province until its board passed this resolution, thereby agreeing to provide road and bridge funds by means of the so-called double cedula tax, and perpetually to maintain the heavily surfaced roads then in existence within its limits.

The cedula tax is an annual personal or poll tax. The amount originally fixed by the commission was one peso, but legislation was subsequently enacted empowering provincial boards to increase it to two pesos, the additional amount to go for road and bridge work. Most of the provinces promptly took the suggested action, and the few which at first stood out were soon compelled by popular opinion to follow suit. It is not too much to say that real progress in permanent road and bridge construction in the Philippines dates from 1907 when the present regulation relative to maintenance was put into effect.

Provision was made for a yearly provincial maintenance appropriation of not less than $282 per mile of duly designated road. Stone kilometer posts were erected beside all improved roads. During the rainy season one *caminero*, or roadman, is stationed on each kilometer section. During the dry season one *caminero* cares for a two-kilometer section. These men are constantly at work cutting the encroaching vegetation from the lateral banks, keeping drains clear, and immediately filling depressions in the road-bed as they appear, using for the purpose material stored in specially constructed bins placed at regular intervals and kept filled with broken stone and gravel. Heavy repair work which may be necessary after great typhoons or floods must be specially provided for.

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[1] Literally "disillusion."

The inspection of each kilometer of road is made as follows: daily, by the sub-foreman; bi-weekly, by the foreman; monthly, by the district engineer; and trimonthly by the division engineer. Under this system, in spite of unfavourable climatic conditions the reconstructed or newly constructed Philippine roads are to-day maintained far better than are most of the roads in the United States, and one may drive automobiles over them at top speed. Numerous freight and passenger automobile lines have already been established.

The average cost in 1914 of constructing heavily surfaced roads, including bridges which are apt to be numerous and expensive, is $8250 per mile. Only first-class bridges, of concrete, masonry or steel, are permitted on main roads in the lowlands. Arbitrary enforcement of this rule is the one thing about the present road system which in my opinion affords grounds for legitimate criticism.

While no one can dispute the wisdom of constructing bridges of hard materials whenever this can be done, it is possible to carry too far the policy of limiting construction to such materials, and in my opinion it has been carried too far in a number of instances. Years ago a good automobile road was constructed from Cagayan de Misamis to and beyond the barrio of Agusan, which is the point of departure for the main trail into the sub-province of Bukidnon. Numerous small streams on this road were bridged with reënforced concrete, but proper allowance was not made for their terrific rise during heavy rains in the highlands and almost without exception the bridges were destroyed during the first severe typhoon. Funds are not yet available for their reconstruction with strong materials. Meanwhile nothing has been done. The road is therefore impassable during heavy rains, as the streams cannot then be forded. Meanwhile, our "temporary" wooden bridges on the connecting trail system, constructed before the bridges on the coast road were built, remain intact, and render it possible always to cross streams much larger than any of those which intersect the coast road.

Of course if the hard and fast rule governing bridge construction in the lowlands is once departed from, its enforcement may become difficult. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that existing regulations should be so modified as to authorize and encourage the construction of temporary bridges in such cases as that above cited.

The enormous change which road construction has produced in ease of travel, and in reduced cost of transporting farm products, cannot be appreciated by one unfamiliar with conditions in Spanish days. Then the ordinary country road was a narrow ditch sloping in on both sides toward the bottom, this condition being brought about by failure to provide proper drainage so that there was tremendous erosion during the rainy season, at which time these so-called roads became converted into deep quagmires by the action of very narrow-tired solid wooden cart wheels, most of which were fixed upon their axles. It was not unusual to see carts in mud up to their bodies, seeming to float on it while being pulled by floundering carabaos. Many of the roads were so bad that wheeled vehicles could not be used even during the dry season, and their place was taken by so-called *cangas,* or bamboo sledges, which also caused rapid road destruction. When all else failed, the Filipino mounted his faithful carabao, which could swim the unbridged streams if the current was not too swift, and could successfully negotiate deep quagmires, and thus he journeyed from place to place, leaving the transportation of his products until the coming of the dry season.

The use on improved roads of *cangas,* and of carts with narrow-tired wheels or with wheels fixed on their axles, is now forbidden by law. The carts permitted to be used have broad tires that help to smooth the roads instead of cutting them to pieces.

As already stated, this road system is supplemented in the wilder parts of the archipelago, so far at least as the special government provinces are concerned, by a trail system which is rapidly being extended. The trails, which are at first built only wide enough to permit the passage of horses, are on grades such that they can be converted into roads by widening and surfacing, and are gradually widened in connection with the maintenance work so as to permit the passage, first of narrow-tired carts, and later of carts of ordinary width. Indeed, one such trail extending from Baguio, in Benguet, to Naguilian, in the lowlands of the neighbouring province of Union, has already been sufficiently widened to permit the passage of automobiles, and the same thing can be done with any of the others when occasion requires.[1]

It has been most interesting to note to what an extent the construction of good roads and trails and the cultivation of the land in their vicinity have gone hand in hand. The prosperity of the country has been enormously increased by the carrying out of the present sensible road policy for which Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes is primarily responsible. The policy of the Forbes administration contemplated the steady continuance of road and bridge construction and maintenance until a complete system, which had been carefully worked out for the entire archipelago, should have been finished.

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[1] As has been said, the Naguilian "trail" is now a broad, hard-surfaced highway, while other trails are gradually being developed into roads.

What would result if road and bridge work were turned over to a Filipino government? Judging from their absolute failure to maintain any roads until the insular government assumed control in 1907, and from the present neglect of municipalities to care for the sections of road for which they are responsible, we are justified in saying that new construction would promptly cease; maintenance would be neglected; existing roads would be destroyed; bridges would be left up in the air by the destruction of their approaches, and would ultimately go to pieces, and the whole system would come to rack and ruin.

To be sure, the Filipino politicians loudly assert that they are heartily in sympathy with the present road policy of the government, but this is largely because the securing of government aid for roads in their respective provinces increases their popularity with the people, and the probability that they will be reëlected. If it were left for them to determine whether money should be expended for this purpose or for some other which would more immediately inure to their private benefit, there can be no two opinions as to the result.

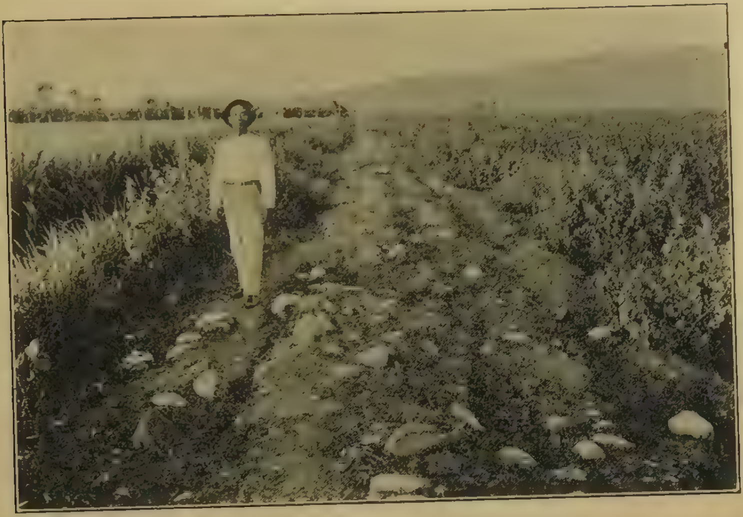
The continuance of American control for the present is absolutely essential, if proper means of communication and aids to navigation are to be established and maintained in the Philippine Islands.[1]

[1] The Wood-Forbes report stated with reference to the condition of the roads in 1921: "We have to record that this system (of construction and maintenance) has not been consistently maintained; the roads are falling into disrepair, some are impassable and the system of maintenance is carried on spasmodically. In certain districts money has been spent for new roads instead of keeping up the old ones, which is unwise. We regret to say that a tendency has crept in to revert to building bridges and other structures of wood, and a uniform policy of permanent construction has not been maintained. This practice, in the long run, is poor economy.

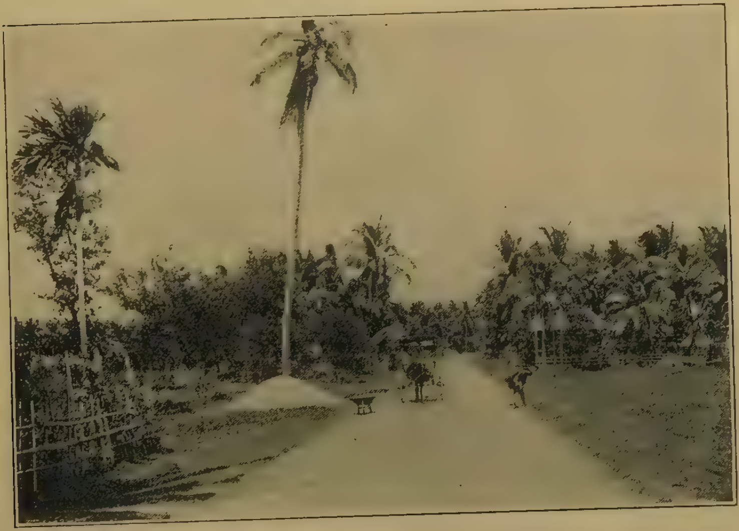
"Heavy trucks have been purchased for carrying passengers and freight, and regular routes have been established on the highways. These trucks, in some cases, are much heavier than the roads were designed to carry, and much of the deterioration noted is attributable to this fact." (*Wood-Forbes Report*, p. 41.)

Since 1921 greater emphasis has been placed upon maintenance than during the preceding period, and the condition of the roads has materially improved. At the same time, numerous new road projects have been undertaken, and between 1921 and 1927 the total mileage of first class roads has increased from 2920 to 3749.3. In 1927 there were also 1883.9 miles of second class, and 1443.3 miles of third class roads in use. The present policy of the government as to maintenance was indicated by the expenditure of $2,964,647 for the repair of existing roads and bridges, as compared with $3,003,272 for new construction. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 169.) The most important road project to be completed during this period was the great Santa Fé highway connecting the Cagayan Valley with the central plain of Luzón. It is now possible to motor from Manila to Aparri, via Bayombong. The opening up of the rich, but isolated and backward Cagayan Valley to modern automobile traffic undoubtedly will have a great effect upon the economic and social development of that region.

One of the most interesting phenomena of recent years in the Philippines has been the development of the motorbus traffic. This system of transportation had its beginnings in the islands in 1911 when the Benguet Automobile Line was established to operate between the northern terminal of the Manila Railroad and the city of Baguio. By 1915 travel by motorbus had become so popular that the competition of the bus lines was an important factor in placing the Manila Railroad Company in a position where it was glad to sell out to the Philippine government. By 1918 approximately 300 persons and companies were operating public utility automobiles and motorbusses. In



Typical Old-style Country Road.



Typical New-style Country Road.

Note the deposit of surfacing material. Also the *caminero*, or road tender, at work. During the rainy season, one man looks after each kilometer of road, keeping it constantly in repair. During the dry season one man cares for two kilometers.

1925 there were more than 1,000 such operators, running 2796 cars over the roads of almost every important island of the archipelago. During 1925 approximately 77,000,000 passengers were carried one kilometer by motorbusses, while approximately 2,000,000 tons of freight were carried the same distance during that period.

The bulk of the motorbus business is in the hands of some fifty companies and in some cases there has been ruthless competition over profitable routes. The Public Utility Commission is vested with powers to fix rates for motorbus transportation, but there is a feeling that its powers over other aspects of the business should be increased. It is obvious to the observer in the Philippines that motorbusses have become a vitally important factor not only in the economic, but also in the social and political life of the Philippines. They are proving themselves effective instruments in breaking down the barriers which have existed from time immemorial between the peoples of the several provinces and regions of the archipelago.

The increasing burden thrown upon the roads by the growing automobile traffic is further revealed by the registration of 17,765 passenger cars and 7,798 trucks in 1927, as compared with 9,888 and 2,787, respectively in 1922. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1924, pp. 118, 119, and 1927, pp. 173, 174.)

Concrete pavements seem to offer the only satisfactory solution of the road problems created by the rapid increase of motor traffic in the Philippines. The Bureau of Public Works stated in 1927 that, "It has become evident on roads subjected to very heavy motor traffic that water-bound macadam surfacing is inadequate and economically expensive to maintain. The construction of hard-surface pavements would be the proper solution of this problem, but on account of the limited amount of funds provided and the policy of making available the largest possible kilometerage of road as quickly as possible, work has been confined thus far to the construction of short experimental sections of such pavements." (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 272.)

There is not a cement plant in the world more perfectly situated for the cheap production of high grade cement than the government-owned plant at Cebú. The proper operation of this plant and the utilization of modern road making machinery would give the Philippines a system of concrete roads at a cost which would compare favorably with the cost of similar construction in any other country.

CHAPTER XXXI

Commercial Possibilities of the Philippines

If the commercial possibilities of any region are to be attractive to Europeans or Americans, it must have a just and stable government; a reasonably healthful climate; fairly good means of communication and transportation; forest, agricultural, mineral or other wealth, and labour with which to develop it. Proximity to main lines of travel and to markets is also an important consideration.

The present [1] government of the Philippines is highly effective and the state of public order leaves little to be desired. Doubt has been expressed as to the stability of the existing régime, but it is at the very least safe to assume that the United States will never withdraw from the islands without leaving behind a government which will assure to the residents of the archipelago, foreign and native, personal safety, just treatment and security of property rights.

Health conditions are now excellent, and the death rate among whites at Manila is lower than that in many European and American cities. If one will only vary the monotony of the continuous warmth by making an occasional trip to Baguio, and take reasonable precautions as to food, drink and exercise, there is no reason why one should not die of old age.

Means of communication by land are now fairly good and steadily improving. The seas are well lighted and the main lines of sea travel have been carefully surveyed. The islands have many beautiful harbours and, as we have seen, at Manila, Cebú and Iloílo extensive harbour improvements have already been made. The rapid extension of highways, and the construction of additional railways, are facilitating and cheapening land transportation.

The natural resources of the country are unquestionably vast. I have already devoted a chapter to the discussion of the forests and their wealth. As to the mineral resources, while we have much still to learn we already know that there are excellent lignite, some coking coal and extensive deposits of high-grade iron ore and of copper. One flourishing gold mine is now giving handsome returns, and several others seem to lack only the capital needed to develop them on a considerable scale in order to make them pay; dredges are operating for gold with great success in the vicinity of Paracale in eastern Luzón, and there are other gold placer fields in the islands which are worthy of careful investigation. The prospect of obtaining in quantity a high-grade petroleum with paraffine base rich in low-boiling constituents is very good.

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[1] October 1, 1913. The statements in this paragraph, however, are equally true in 1929.

Three important economic surveys of the Philippines have been published during the past three years: M. A. Pugh, *Resources and Trade of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1926. United States Department of Commerce, Trade Information Bulletin No. 410); O. M. Butler, *The Philippine Islands: A Commercial Survey* (Washington, 1927. United States Department of Commerce, Trade Promotion Series, No. 52); and Lyman P. Hammond, *A Survey of Economic Conditions in the Philippine Islands With Particular Reference to Present and Future Development* (Manila, 1928. Submitted to the Governor-General).

Mention should also be made of the *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, published by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry in Manila in 1924.

Difficulties in the way of the development of the mining industry are to be found in the disturbances of geological formations which are inevitably met with in volcanic countries, in the dense tropical vegetation which in many regions covers everything and renders prospecting difficult, and in the unevenness of the rainfall which in some parts of the archipelago results in severe floods at one season and in the lack of sufficient water to furnish hydraulic power at another. But we are at least free from the troubles incident to freezing cold, and in my opinion a prosperous mining industry will ultimately be built up in the Philippines.

Agriculture has always been, and will doubtless long continue to be, the main source of wealth. In the lowlands may be found conditions of soil and climate favourable to the growing of all important tropical products. Owing to the position of the islands with reference to the northeast and southwest monsoons, practically any desired conditions as regard humidity and the distribution of rainfall can be found. There are regions which have strongly marked wet and dry seasons, and regions in which the rainfall is quite uniformly distributed throughout the year. In some provinces the heaviest rains come in January, while in others they come in July or August. The Philippine Weather Bureau has gathered an immense amount of very valuable rainfall statistics and is constantly adding to its present store of knowledge. Father José Algué, its distinguished director, can always be depended upon to furnish any obtainable information.

But this is not all. We are not confined to tropical products. In the highlands of Luzón and of Mindanao practically all the vegetables and many of the grains and fruits of the temperate zone may be produced.

When well fed, properly directed and paid a reasonable wage, the Filipino makes a good field labourer. Much of his so-called laziness is unquestionably due to malnutrition. A diet made up largely of rice, especially if that rice be polished, does not develop a maximum of physical energy. When threshing machines were first introduced it was impossible to get Filipinos to handle the straw. The work was too strenuous for them. We soon discovered that by picking fairly strong men, and feeding them plenty of meat, we could make them able and willing to do it.

Some extraordinary misstatements have been made as to Manila's position with reference to main lines of travel and to markets. As an *entrepòt* to the great markets of Asia, Manila has certain definite advantages over Hongkong. Health conditions are vastly better, and there is far less danger that crews of vessels will become infected. Ocean-going steamers come alongside piers and unload directly into great sheds which protect goods during storms. The pier sheds have direct connection with the electric railway system of the city, so that freight can be quickly and cheaply transported under cover. The Manila breakwater affords excellent protection during typhoons, whereas Hongkong harbour is periodically swept by storms which cause great damage to shipping and very serious loss of life.

Hongkong is a free port, but the construction of bonded warehouses at Manila for the reception of goods intended for reshipment would largely make up for the fact that Manila is a port of entry. The reply to the claim that Manila is far from markets and established lines of travel is simple. Look at the map and compare it with Hongkong!

Let us now consider more in detail the resources of the Philippines. The first thing that impresses one who studies their agriculture is the extremely primitive state of development to which it has attained.[1] Rice is the bread of the people and is produced in large quantities, but as a rule land is prepared for planting it by ploughing with what is little better than a crooked stick, which may or may not have

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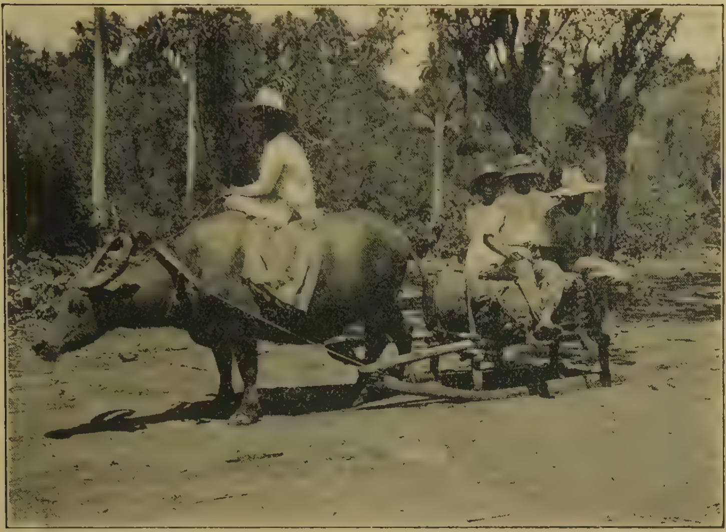
[1] The following table shows the trend of production in five of the most important Philippine crops:

ACREAGE PLANTED TO PRINCIPAL CROPS IN PHILIPPINES, 1910-25

(thousand acres)

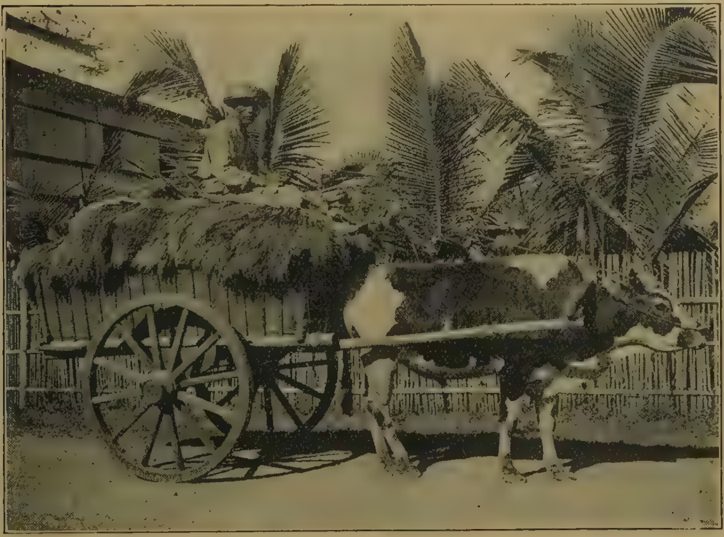
Year	Rice	Corn	Abaca	Coconut	Sugar Cane
1910	2,946	712	1,174	406	205
1911	2,579	747	999	515	297
1912	2,666	841	1,069	570	406
1913	2,820	943	910	552	435
1914	3,076	1,043	1,081	608	419
1915	2,794	1,095	1,131	653	428
1916	2,819	1,069	1,109	669	444
1917	3,029	1,058	1,207	744	459
1918	3,381	1,034	1,266	819	508
1919	3,413	1,064	1,274	911	495
1920	3,669	1,327	1,382	981	488
1921	4,135	1,344	1,354	1,033	596
1922	4,105	1,359	1,223	1,099	595
1923	4,141	1,378	1,269	1,128	562
1924	4,295	1,318	1,199	1,138	561
1925	4,262	1,290	1,128	1,166	591

Table 3, Katharine Snodgrass, *Copra and Coconut Oil,* p. 60. (Stanford University, 1928.)



. A CANGA, OR CARABAO SLEDGE.

Sledges of this sort, which were formerly in common use, promptly destroyed good roads.



A new-style cart, with broad-tired wheels, which does not injure the roads.

an iron point, and by subsequent puddling with a muck rake, both instruments being drawn by carabaos. As the ground cannot be worked in this fashion until the rains come on, and the young plants should be set in the ground very shortly thereafter, the period during which the soil can be prepared is brief, and the amount brought under cultivation is correspondingly small. Rice is usually planted in seed beds and transplanted by hand, the object of this procedure being to give it a start over the weeds which would otherwise swamp it. It is a common thing to see a crowd of men, women and children setting it to the music of a small string band, with which they keep time. Organizations which have the reputation of maintaining a rapid rhythm are quite in demand because of the increased amount of rice set!

Ordinarily, in the lowlands at least, comparatively little attention is paid to subsequent weeding, and when harvest time comes the crop is usually gathered by cutting off the heads one at a time. Threshing is frequently performed in the open air on a floor made of clay and carabao dung. Often the grain is trodden out under the feet of the owners themselves; sometimes it is stripped off by drawing the heads between the teeth of an instrument somewhat resembling an inverted iron rake; again it is beaten off against stones; a more advanced method is to drive horses, carabaos or cattle over the straw until the grain has been loosened from the straw. The *palay*[1] is usually winnowed in the wind, although crude fanning mills are sometimes employed for this purpose. The threshing takes much time, and while it is in progress great loss results from the depredations of rats and wild hogs, from unseasonable rainstorms, and from the carrying off of the grain by the threshers. A large part of the *palay* employed for local domestic use is husked by pounding it in wooden mortars and winnowed by tossing it in flat baskets. As a result of such methods the Philippines, which ought to export rice, are compelled to import it, the figures for selected years since 1899 being as follows:—

RICE IMPORTS[2]

Year	Tons (metric)	Value in U. S. Currency
1899	58,389	$ 1,939,122
1903	307,191	10,061,323
1908	162,174	5,861,256
1913	179,205	7,940,857
1918	183,731	8,216,792
1923	66,449	3,706,430
1924	151,108	9,262,918
1925	101,191	6,413,219
1926	70,483	4,533,755
1927	12,164	1,074,884

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[1] Unhusked rice.

[2] *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 146.

American influence has already made itself strongly felt on the rice industry and small steel ploughs, of suitable size to be drawn by single animals, are coming into very general use. A steadily increasing amount of rice is harvested with sickles instead of with small bladed knives. Modern threshing machines are rapidly discouraging the employment of the threshing methods of biblical days, and their operation in the large rice-producing regions is a good business for persons with limited capital, as the returns are immediate and the investment is small. The customary toll taken for threshing is one-eighth of the output.

While under my direction, the Bureau of Agriculture began the introduction of modern threshing machines. The amount of grain obtained from a stack of given size when thoroughly machine-threshed before there had been time for waste was so much greater than that to which the Filipinos had been accustomed that they thought that there must be a *deposito* of grain hidden away somewhere within the machine, and insisted on sticking their heads into it in search of this supposed source of supply! Many small, mechanically driven hulling machines are now in use and the number of regular rice mills, with up-to-date machinery for hulling and polishing, steadily and quite rapidly increases.[1]

The rice industry has at present two great needs: the first is irrigation, the second, careful seed selection. The average Filipino depends directly on rainfall for irrigation water, and although there may be a stream close at hand, he does not trouble to turn it on to his land unless conditions happen to be exceptionally favourable. The result is that dry years cause a very heavy, and largely avoidable, loss to the islands. A dependable supply of irrigation water would make two crops a certainty where one is now more or less of a gamble. The insular government is spending considerable sums on irrigation work, and in my opinion it offers a wide field for profitable private investment.[2]

There are in the Philippines many different varieties of rice, each with its peculiar advantages and disadvantages. There is no possible doubt as to the opportunity which lies before the skilled plant breeder to increase the crop, and shorten the time required for its production, by the methods which have been so successfully applied to wheat and other grains.

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[1] The number and size of rice mills have increased greatly during the past decade. In 1926 there were 820 mills in operation. A few employed from 50 to 100 laborers, but most of them were small plants requiring only a few hands. This business is largely in the hands of the Chinese.

[2] At the end of 1927 there were 16 government irrigation systems in operation. They had cost $5,938,200 and irrigated 150,731 acres of land. Six additional projects were under construction, 12 complete preliminary studies and estimates were made and 66 other projects were under consideration during the year. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, pp. 277–278.)

Finally, in the highlands of Bukidnon, in Mindanao, there are immense areas which can be cultivated and planted with motor-drawn machinery. After taking off the first crop it would be readily possible to plough, harrow and seed in one operation, and here, if anywhere, modern harvesters and threshers can be employed to good advantage. In short, rice can be grown in Bukidnon as wheat is grown in the United States, and the company which goes into this business on a large scale should make money.

Abacá, commonly called Manila hemp, was for many years the most important Philippine export. The plants from which it is produced resemble bananas so closely that the uninitiated cannot distinguish them. They furnish the longest and strongest cordage fibre in the world. The Philippines have practically a monopoly on its production. Abacá culture is carried on in a very primitive way. The plants require well-drained soil and for this reason the Filipino often puts them out on steep mountain sides. The forest is felled, the timber is burned on the ground and the young plants are set before weeds have time to encroach. The bolo is usually employed for subsequent "cultivation," which consists in the occasional chopping down of weeds. Fortunately the shade in an abacá plantation is so deep that it materially impedes the growth of other plants.

The fibre is obtained from the leaf petioles which make up the stem. At the present time practically all of it is stripped by hand. This is a slow and tedious process, involving very severe physical exertion to which the average Filipino is disinclined, and serious losses often result from inability to get the crop seasonably stripped. Stripping is greatly facilitated if the knife under which the fibre bands are drawn has a serrated edge, but in that case the fibre is not thoroughly cleaned, soon loses its original beautiful white colour, and diminishes in strength owing to decay of the cellular matter left attached to it. The production of high-grade fibre or of comparatively worthless stuff is chiefly a matter of good or bad stripping.

Abacá requires evenly distributed rainfall and constant high humidity for its best development, and should not be planted in regions subject to severe drought, which greatly reduces the crop and may kill the plants outright. Experience has shown that it richly repays real cultivation.

The trunks are heavy, and water makes up a large part of their weight, but they are full of air chambers, float readily and could be rafted or sluiced to a central cleaning plant wherever conditions are favourable for so transporting them. The one great desideratum of the industry is a really good mechanical stripper which will turn out clean, high-grade fibre in large quantity at small cost. At least one machine has been brought reasonably near perfection. In my opinion all that is now necessary is to put a skilled mechanic into the field with it under service conditions, and keep him there until such minor difficulties as remain have been successfully overcome. Stripping mills could readily be established in regions like that along the lower Agusan River, where climate and soil are ideal and water transportation is always available. A reasonable number of such plants in successful operation would go far toward revolutionizing the hemp industry, the development of which is at present greatly handicapped by the production of enormous quantities of badly cleaned fibre, which does not sell readily, whereas first-class abacá is without a rival and always sells at a high price.[1]

The table below shows the value and amount of hemp exports during selected years from 1899 through 1927.

HEMP EXPORTS[2]

YEAR	To all countries		To the United States		
	Tons	Value	Per Cent of Total Exports	Tons	Value
1899	59,840	$ 6,185,293	45.1	23,066	$ 2,436,169
1903	132,242	21,701,575	54.7	71,654	12,314,312
1908	115,829	17,311,808	52.7	48,814	7,684,000
1913	144,576	23,044,744	43.3	63,715	11,613,943
1918	169,260	58,191,550	51.3	86,823	32,734,201
1919	121,247	26,851,526	54.0	65,509	16,195,478
1920	141,485	35,862,000	47.3	67,041	20,614,026
1921	100,401	12,984,692	34.4	34,558	5,457,058
1922	172,026	19,540,914	48.5	83,544	10,331,776
1923	190,441	24,951,575	43.3	82,469	12,635,311
1924	177,311	29,950,458	43.5	77,219	15,267,237
1925	151,024	35,521,646	39.6	59,922	18,200,649
1926	154,042	32,142,038	40.1	61,858	16,301,100
1927	148,825	29,687,129	32.6	48,546	12,261,475

Copra, or the dried meat of the coconut, has now become one of the most important exports of the islands, which lead the world in its production.[3] The table on the opposite page shows the rapid increase in copra exports. An extraordinary drought, which seems to have extended throughout the Far East, is largely responsible for the decrease in

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[1] The increased use of sisal and other inferior fibers for binder twine and other purposes, and the successful cultivation of abacá in the Netherlands East Indies and elsewhere have seriously threatened the supremacy of Manila hemp, which has been based upon the existence of a natural monopoly rather than upon efficiency of production. In 1925 the Philippine Legislature sought to protect the native hemp industry by prohibiting by law the exportation of seeds of abacá and its derivatives. (Act No. 3251, December 1, 1925.)

[2] Continued since 1913 from *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, Table No. 89.

[3] For a recent study of the Philippine copra and coconut oil industry, see Katherine Snodgrass, *Copra and Coconut Oil*, Chapter VI, Stanford University, 1928; also E. O. Goldthwaite, *Trade in Philippine Copra and Coconut Oil*, Washington, 1925.

COPRA EXPORTS[1]

YEAR	To all countries		To the United States		
	Tons	Value in U.S. Currency	Per Cent of Total Exports	Tons	Value in U.S. Currency
1899	14,047	$ 656,870	4.7	......	......
1903	97,630	4,472,679	11.2	61	$ 9,173
1908	76,420	5,461,680	16.6	2,968	228,565
1913	113,055	11,647,898	21.9	7,460	720,245
1917	92,180	8,327,250	74.0	34,253	6,117,451
1918	55,061	5,118,514	99.9	55,061	5,118,505
1919	25,094	4,414,688	9.2	2,313	409,123
1920	25,803	3,716,870	5.5	1,433	191,204
1921	150,335	13,673,456	35.2	52,928	4,327,777
1922	173,051	14,103,076	51.6	89,358	7,247,507
1923	207,131	19,246,999	62.4	129,258	11,989,931
1924	156,761	15,351,882	68.5	107,257	10,498,165
1925	146,708	15,868,702	79.1	116,158	12,581,549
1926	174,021	18,586,732	74.1	129,081	13,816,395
1927	199,381	19,155,740	19.1	157,827	15,248,256

exports during the last fiscal year, its effect having been felt long after it had passed.

Coconut oil is very extensively used in making high-grade soaps, and is now also employed in the manufacture of butter and lard substitutes. Their quality is excellent, they keep well in the tropics, and being non-animal in their nature are not open to the æsthetic or religious objections which some people entertain toward oleomargarine and true lard. Lard made from coconut oil is of course especially appreciated in Mohammedan countries. There is a steady demand for the shredded coconut used by confectioners. The press-cake which remains after the oil has been extracted is a valuable food for fattening animals.

A rich, palatable and nutritious "milk," on which "cream" rises in a most appetizing manner, is made by wringing out fresh shredded coconut in water. Whether or not it can be preserved and utilized as a commercial product remains to be seen, but the experiment would be worth trying.

Thus far coconut cultivation has been conducted in a very haphazard way. In fact, the existing groves are hardly cultivated at all. Nuts or young trees are put into the ground in whatever fashion seems good to the individual planter, and are invariably set too closely. There may be a little initial cultivation, but usually nothing is done except to cut down weeds and brush with a bolo, and often even this is neglected. The trees, once established, are left to shift for themselves, and are soon contending with each other for root space and air. The owner cuts notches in their bark in order to facilitate climbing. Water gathers in them and starts decay.

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[1] Continued since 1913 from *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, Table No. 89.

If under such circumstances coconut growing is so profitable that to-day plantations can hardly be bought at any price, what will happen when carefully selected seed nuts are put out at proper intervals and growing trees are given high cultivation? In considering the profits resulting from coconut culture, estimates are sometimes based on twenty nuts to the tree per year, while forty are considered a very liberal allowance.[1] This number is even now largely exceeded throughout extensive areas in the Philippines under the unfavourable conditions above described. The effect of good cultivation can be determined, in a measure, by the condition of trees which chance to be so situated that the ground near them is kept clean. The results of fertilization can be estimated by observing the condition of trees standing near native houses. I recently endeavoured to have the nuts on a series of such trees counted from the ground. This proved impossible. In fact, it was necessary to cut out a bunch of nuts in order to make it possible for a climber to scramble over the great masses of fruit, and get among the leaves. I therefore bought the nuts on several trees and had them thrown down. The trees were in a little Manobo village, and the ground around them was cultivated. The two which seemed to be bearing most heavily could not be climbed, as bees had taken possession of them. The third best tree had three hundred ninety-seven nuts on it; the fourth only three hundred twenty-three, but its output had been reduced by tapping a number of its blossom stalks for tuba. All the nuts were very large. The meat from an average specimen was carefully dried and we found that one hundred fifty-six such nuts would make a picul of copra. A common estimate of the average number of nuts required for a picul is three hundred.

Of the whole number of nuts on these trees a few would have failed to develop, owing to lack of room, but it is fair to suppose that the first would have ripened three hundred fifty nuts and the second two hundred seventy-five. Actual observation has shown that it takes nuts two hundred thirty-eight to two hundred fifty-nine days to mature in Mindanao.

Coconut trees attain a great age, and a producing plantation in the Agusan valley would be a mine of wealth.

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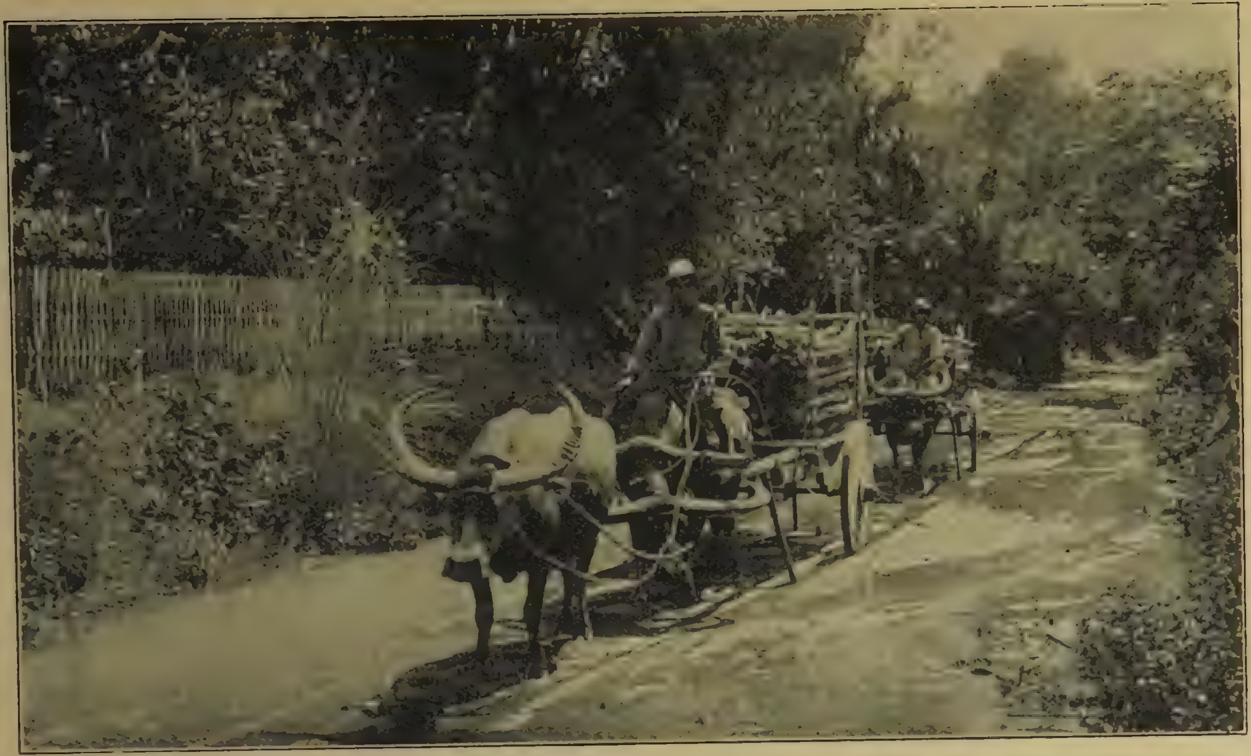
[1] The yield of nuts per tree is still low in the Philippines, averaging only 30 nuts. In certain districts the yield is much higher, and individual plantations where scientific methods are applied to cultivation are away above the average, both in the number of nuts and in their size and weight. The planting of an excessive number of trees per unit of ground, and the fact that a large proportion of the trees have been planted within the past ten years and are not yet in full bearing largely account for the low average yield per tree. In Mindanao certain plantations have sustained an average of 200 nuts per tree per annum, with sporadic cases of much higher yields. Between 1910 and 1926 the acreage and number of trees practically trebled, the increase being more rapid than that of any other important crop except sugar. Between 1911 and 1925 copra production increased from 260,853,000 pounds to 798,551,000 pounds. (Snodgrass, *Copra and Coconut Oil,* Chapter VI.)



Road Destroyers at Work.

Carts of this type, with solid wooden wheels fixed on their axles, were admirably suited to destroy roads. Their use is now prohibited.

The time required for the trees to come into bearing varies from five to seven years with differing conditions of soil and climate, and with the altitude above sea-level. I have seen individual trees heavily loaded with nuts at four and a half years. The owner of a coconut plantation must wait for his returns, or grow something else meanwhile. Quick growing catch crops may at first be raised between the rows if soil conditions are favourable, but it must be remembered that coconut trees thrive on soil so sandy that it will produce little else of value. They require abundant water and plantations should be well open to the breeze. Such conditions are frequently found along the seashore, which doubtless explains the belief so common among natives throughout the tropics that the coconut will not grow where it cannot "hear" or "see" the sea. The trees do equally well on open inland plains.

They have few enemies or diseases in the Philippines, the bud rot which has caused such destruction in other countries being almost unknown there. They resist wind storms admirably, and even typhoons seldom uproot them, but violent gales injure the leaves and blow down the fruits, thus temporarily checking production. While coconut growing is profitable on suitable soil throughout the islands, it can be carried on most safely to the south of the typhoon belt.

At present practically all Philippine copra is either sun-dried or smoked. The latter process hardens the outer layer of the meat before it is thoroughly dried within, and also causes the deposit of more or less creosote. The resulting product moulds and decays readily, and has given Philippine copra an evil name, but this will not seriously interfere with the sale of a good article from the islands, as its quality will be readily determinable.[1]

Until within a very short time the crudest and most antiquated hand machinery has been used in the local manufacture of coconut oil. Soon after the American occupation a modern oil mill was established at Manila. It prospered until it burned, which it rather promptly did for the reason that it was constructed of Oregon pine, which speedily became soaked with coconut oil, and was ready to flash into flame at the touch of a lighted match or of a cigarette butt. A new mill of iron, steel and reënforced concrete has now been erected. It is equipped with the latest machinery and labour-saving devices, and is reported to be operating on a wide margin of profit.

The market for coconut oil seems to grow more rapidly than the supply increases. There is abundant room for more oil mills in the Philippines, especially as the machinery used in extracting coconut oil is equally well suited to the milling of castor beans, peanuts and sesamum, all of which can be produced in any desired quantity.[1]

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[1] Mechanical driers are now (1929) in successful use on a good many plantations, and their employment is increasing.

Sugar and tobacco are the remaining principal agricultural products. Both can be very advantageously grown. All that has been said relative to primitive methods in rice, hemp and coconut production can be repeated with emphasis in discussing sugar culture. The machinery and methods employed might almost be called antediluvian, and it is a wonder that sugar could ever have been produced at a profit under such conditions as have prevailed. Deep ploughing was unknown. There was not an irrigated field of cane in the islands. The most modern of the estates was equipped with a three-roll mill, and with some vacuum pans which the owner did not know how to use. The soil was never fertilized, and no sugar grower dreamed of employing a chemist. Forty to sixty per cent of the sugar in the cane was thrown out in the bagasse, and that extracted was full of dirt and promptly began to deliquesce. Philippine sugar could never have competed successfully in the world's market under such conditions.

Fortunately one modern central has already been established, and several others are in process of construction. Up-to-date mills could well afford to grind cane for Filipinos, giving them outright as much sugar as they had previously been able to extract from it and making a very handsome profit out of the balance. But as yet most Filipinos have not learned the benefit of coöperation, and are too suspicious to contract their crops of cane to a mill. It follows that mill owners must control, in one way or another, land enough to produce cane sufficient to keep their mills in profitable operation. As we have seen advantage has been taken of this fact by unscrupulous sugar men in the United States who have secured legislation limiting the amount of land which corporations authorized to engage in agriculture may own, with the deliberate intention of thus crippling the sugar industry in the Philippine Islands. It is iniquitous so to handicap an important industry in a colonial dependency, and this legislation should be stricken from the statute books.

Fortunately there is no law limiting the right of individuals to contract their crops, nor is it apparent that such a law could be enacted. Furthermore, there is no law limiting the amount of land which an individual may hold, nor is it likely that any will be passed. It would therefore seem that while vicious legislation may interfere with the rapid development of the sugar industry in the Philippines, it cannot destroy it. The table on the following page shows the amount and value of sugar exports during selected years 1899 to 1918.[1]

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[1] The average annual value of the coconut oil exported during 1914, 1915, and 1916 was $3,121,806; during 1925, 1926, and 1927, it was $22,251.529. (*Statistical Bulletin,* 1924, p. 78; 1927, p. 144.)

In 1919 forty-one modern coconut oil mills were in operation, the business having expanded in mushroom fashion in response to war time demand for coconut oil. During the post-war depression most of these mills were closed, but since 1923 the business has recovered and in 1927 more oil was exported than during the banner year of 1919.

In 1922 the first desiccated coconut was exported from the Philippines, having been manufactured in a mill established by Dean C. Worcester. In 1927, 33,370,655 pounds of this product, valued at $2,840,286, were shipped to the United States alone. (*Ibid.,* 1927, p. 97.)

It is said that the tobacco which now produces the famous Sumatra wrapper originally came from the Philippines, which now have to im-

[1] The growth of the sugar industry has been one of the outstanding phases of the economic development of the Philippines since 1912. Following the construction of the modern central on the San Jose Estate in Mindoro, the "one modern central" referred to above, Hawaiian capitalists in 1912 erected the first coöperative sugar central at San Carlos, and Californians established another modern factory at Calamba. The success of the two enterprises last mentioned stimulated the erection of modern centrals in other localities by American, Filipino and Spanish capitalists.

During the war the Philippine National Bank financed the erection of six large mills. The result was that in 1928 there were operating in the Island 36 modern centrals with a combined annual milling output of approximately 600,000 metric tons of sugar. Sixteen of these centrals, grinding 49.12 per cent of the total production, are controlled by Filipino capital; 10 centrals with 27.63 per cent of the total production by American capital; and nine centrals with 22.07 per cent of the total production, by Spanish capital. The total investment in the sugar industry was estimated in 1928 as $190,137,540.54, and in 1927 sugar constituted, in value, about 32 per cent of the total exports of the Islands. In the same year almost 92 per cent of the sugar exports, 499,342 long tons, valued at $42,886,987, went to the United States.

Two among the many interesting facts connected with the remarkable growth of the Philippine sugar industry are that the increased production has been due almost entirely to the increase in yields per acre, rather than to increased acreage; and that a large proportion of the sugar milled by the 36 centrals is grown by small planters who have entered into contractual relations with the owners of the centrals. The land laws of the Philippines, and other factors, make it seem probable that the future expansion of the business will be accomplished chiefly by increasing the number of individual small planters, although the application of scientific methods will undoubtedly further raise the rate of yield. The benefits of continued growth, therefore, will be enjoyed by a large number of small landowners and their dependents rather than concentrated among a few great proprietors.

The Payne-Aldrich tariff act of 1909, while putting Philippine sugar on the free list, limited the amount which might be imported into the United States free of duty to 300,000 tons per annum. This limitation was removed by the Fordney-McCumber tariff act of 1922, and the Philippine Sugar Association has estimated that if the present unlimited privilege is continued the sugar production of the Islands will increase to a possible maximum of 1,000,000 tons during the next ten years. In 1928, however, the American beet sugar interests supported by investors in the Cuban fields made a determined effort to limit the quantity of sugar which might enter from the Philippines duty-free to 500,000 long tons per annum, which is approximately the amount now imported. Their proposal, embodied in a resolution introduced into the House of Representatives on February 23, 1928, by representative Charles B. Timberlake of Colorado (House Joint Resolution No. 214), failed to be adopted by the second session of the 70th Congress, but was being powerfully supported in the 71st Congress by representatives of the American sugar industry and Cuban investors.

Former Governor-General Henry L. Stimson appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means in opposition to the measure, and is reported to have stated that: "Such a limitation would be inevitably interpreted as a betrayal of trust by the United States toward a dependent people, and such betrayal would not only violate American principles of government which had been initiated by a Republican administration and carried out without a difference of opinion by all parties, but it would arouse widespread criticism in the Orient as well as in other parts of the world with which we desire commercial relations, and would inflict a lasting blow upon our credit and good name." (*New York Times,* April 21, 1929.) Secretary Stimson certainly has not overstated the case, if he has been correctly quoted.

Practically every interest in the Philippines has joined in opposition to the proposal to limit the free importation of sugar into the United States. In January, 1925, it was announced that Major-General Frank McIntyre, the retiring Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs had been appointed Philippine trade commissioner in the United States, primarily for the purpose of opposing the Timberlake Resolution or any similar measure; and in the spring of 1929 a commission of leading Filipinos journeyed to Washington for the same purpose. The case against limitation was admirably set forth by the Philippine Sugar Association in a booklet, *Facts and Statistics About the Philippine Sugar Industry,* published in Manila in 1928. This document contains a large quantity of well arranged and clearly presented information concerning the sugar industry in the Islands. The data employed in this footnote are to be found in the above publication, in the *Statistical Bulletin,* 1927, and the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927.

To a very considerable extent the future economic, social and political development of the Philippines is dependent upon the continued development of sugar production, which, in turn has become increasingly dependent upon free access to the American market.

SUGAR [1]

YEAR	TO ALL COUNTRIES		TO THE UNITED STATES		
	Quantity (metric tons)	Value in U.S. Currency	Per Cent of Total Exports	Quantity (metric tons)	Value in U.S. Currency
1899	57,447	$ 2,333,851	15.9	2,340	$ 143,500
1903	111,647	3,955,828	9.9	34,433	1,335,826
1908	151,712	5,664,666	17.2	48,476	2,036,697
1913	212,540	9,491,540	17.8	83,951	3,989,665
1918	273,258	15,804,390	38.8	106,080	8,279,390
1919	136,060	15,207,850	23.6	32,159	3,858,967
1920	180,340	49,619,260	68.7	123,947	39,348,934
1921	289,876	25,518,727	51.9	150,478	16,876,178
1922	362,071	25,582,555	67.6	244,851	20,010,245
1923	271,982	34,518,123	84.7	230,554	20,377,150
1924	357,830	41,868,086	84.0	300,867	37,490,750
1925	546,832	45,514,002	84.8	463,988	41,416,841
1926	441,231	32,229,634	77.3	341,305	29,162,469
1927	553,324	50,295,959	91.8	508,317	47,886,986

port it. This condition of things is mainly due to lack of system and care in tobacco growing. Seed selection is almost unknown; worms are not picked; fertilization is not practised; the system under which each labourer settles on the land, plants as much or as little as he pleases, and manages his crop in his own way, is in vogue, and it is an eloquent testimonial to the merits of soil and climate that the tobacco so grown is good for anything.

The truth of the latter statement, and the extremely difficult situation in which the Philippine sugar industry would be placed by the limitation of its duty-free importations into the United States are clearly shown by the following table:

DESTINATION OF PHILIPPINE SUGAR EXPORTS FOR 1917-1927

(Long tons of 2,240 lbs.)

Year	Total U.S.	Total Exports	Japan	China	England and Europe	Total Other Countries	Grand Total
1917.....	70,719	34%	21,993	110,274	6,574	138,841	209,560
1918.....	105,648	41%	36,866	115,715	500	153,081	258,729
1919.....	41,014	28%	37,836	60,542	5,065	103,443	144,457
1920.....	133,141	71%	24,297	28,760	....	53,057	186,198
1921.....	151,507	52%	49,739	89,599	....	139,338	290,845
1922.....	237,989	68%	47,495	64,880	....	112,375	350,364
1923.....	221,168	85%	21,511	15,839	....	37,350	258,518
1924.....	299,005	84%	12,975	43,464	....	56,439	355,444
1925.....	452,745	84%	14,512	68,565	....	83,077	535,822
1926.....	334,019	83%	16,810	49,621	....	66,431	400,450
1927.....	499,342	92%	7,706	37,507	....	45,213	544,555
Total...	2,546,297	72%	291,740	684,766	12,139	988,645	3,534,942
Average..	236,876	72%	26,521	62,251	1,103	89,875	326,751

Facts and Statistics About the Philippine Sugar Industry, Table IX. Compiled from reliable private sources.

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[1] Continued since 1913 from *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, Table No. 89.

An Old-style Culvert.

Many a good horse has been killed by breaking through a structure like this.

The domestic consumption of tobacco is very large. Practically every one smokes. Exportations are increasing. The following tables will give an adequate conception of the recent growth of the tobacco industry.[1]

YEAR	CIGARS [2] MANUFACTURED AND		Total
	Consumed in Philippines	Exported	
1906	74,184,537	94,341,542	168,526,079
1909	86,800,520	117,849,381	204,649,901
1913	96,193,811	209,457,618	305,651,429
1920	96,196,683	414,603,650	510,800,333
1923	84,329,254	339,219,783	423,549,037
1924	92,889,622	260,971,462	358,861,084
1925	99,570,603	259,588,712	359,159,315
1926	108,045,100	249,623,076	357,668,176
1927	108,967,193	208,498,436	317,465,629

YEAR	CIGARETTES [2] MANUFACTURED AND		Total
	Consumed in Philippines	Exported	
1906	3,509,038,750	21,062,834	3,530,101,594
1909	4,122,385,209	53,250,328	4,175,635,537
1913	4,449,340,088	51,431,838	4,500,771,926
1920	4,911,121,300	128,663,141	5,039,784,441
1923	4,418,187,090	33,426,606	4,451,613,696
1924	4,617,721,346	40,507,262	4,658,228,608
1925	4,801,149,350	47,851,465	4,849,000,815
1926	4,903,210,975	51,361,152	4,954,572,127
1927	4,924,494,088	70,528,824	4,995,022,912

TABLE SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF LEAF TOBACCO EXPORTED DURING SELECTED YEARS SINCE 1909 [3]

	CALENDAR YEAR			
	1910	1911	1912	1927
	Pounds	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	*Pounds*
Exported in the leaf:				
To the United States...	12,269	4,946	93,928	157,203
To other countries	26,469,800	28,354,636	28,041,374	51,856,535
Total................	26,482,069	28,359,582	28,136,302	52,013,738

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[1] Cigar manufacturing was greatly stimulated by the free admission of Philippine cigars into the United States. For a number of years prior to 1929, however, cigar exports to the United States had steadily decreased. In thousands, the figures are as follows: 1908, 1.182; 1910, 61,256; 1920, 316,863; 1927, 167,301. On the other hand, 542,053,520 American cigarettes, valued at $1,320,514, were imported into the Philippines in 1927. (Data from letter of Mr. H. B. Pond, President of the Pacific Commercial Company, *Facts and Statistics About the Philippine Sugar Industry*, pp. 85-86.)

[2] Continued since 1913 from *Statistical Bulletin*, 1924, p. 52; and *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 78.

[3] 1927 data derived from *Ibid.*, 1927, pp. 94, 98.

Bananas form an important part of the food of the people, yet there is not such a thing as a real banana plantation in the islands. The average Filipino has a few plants around his house, but with many of them even this is too much trouble, and they prefer to buy the fruit at a comparatively high price in the local markets. Good bananas sell readily in Manila at half a dollar a bunch, and the best varieties bring even a higher price. The latter may be bought at ten cents a bunch in the Agusan River valley, where conditions are ideal for their successful cultivation. I recently measured a series of trunks there which ran from forty inches to four feet in circumference.

There are numerous varieties of bananas in the Philippines, and some of them are of unrivalled excellence, but fruit of uniform quality is unobtainable, if desired in any considerable quantity. In the course of a brief morning visit to the Zamboanga market I have seen fifteen to twenty different varieties of bananas on sale there, of which a considerable proportion were full of tannin and fit only for cooking. A banana plantation gives returns at the end of a year from the time of planting, and the fruit ought to be grown on plantation scale for the markets of Cebú, Iloílo, Manila and Hongkong.

Throughout extensive areas conditions are ideal for rubber production, and Para, castilloa and ceara trees all thrive. Those of the latter species reach their most perfect development in Bukidnon, where they grow at an astonishing rate and produce hemispheres of foliage which look almost solid. A plantation of these trees should be not only beautiful to look upon but very profitable.[1]

Conditions in the highlands of Luzón, in the subprovince of Bukidnon, and in other portions of Mindanao, are admirably adapted to the production of coffee. Indeed, one of the few known wild varieties is indigenous to the Philippines. The coffee at present produced is grown in violation of every accepted principle of coffee culture, but is nevertheless excellent in quality, and any surplus not required for local consumption is eagerly bought up for shipment to Spain. In Bukidnon the opportunity for growing coffee upon a large scale is excellent.

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[1] For a number of years following 1923 rubber was the Philippine product uppermost in the minds of both Filipinos and Americans. In 1925 the United States Department of Commerce issued a report which stated that on the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, and Jolo there were regions comprising more than 1,500,000 acres with favorable climatic conditions within which large areas with suitable soil and topography could be selected for rubber planting. It was estimated that a maximum plantation force of 100,000 might be mobilized in the Philippines, and that this number would be sufficient to care for 500,000 acres, capable of producing when mature 70,000 tons of rubber per year. The present laws do not permit the importation of Chinese labor and Filipino public opinion is strongly opposed to altering them. The existing land laws, designed to retain a diffused land ownership, do not lend themselves to large capital operations in rubber plantations, and the efforts of one great American tire manufacturer to obtain their modification failed. Nevertheless, moderate-sized plantations are possible with foreign capital, and moreover the small native planter, with proper encouragement, might become an important rubber producer. *Possibilities of Para Rubber Production in the Philippine Islands.* (Washington, 1925.) In 1926 there were 16 rubber plantations in the Islands. The experience of the larger and more securely established of them, especially of the American Rubber Company on the Island of Basilan, indicates that rubber can be profitably produced in the Philippines in competition with the plantations of the Middle East or any other area now in production. See also, G. P. Ahern, *The Philippines as a Source of Rubber Supply* (Report of Conference of Rubber, Automotive, and Accessory Manufacturers, Washington, February, 1923); and, *Report by Colonel Carmi A. Thompson On the Conditions in the Philippine Islands,* pp. 8–9 (Washington, 1926), printed as Appendix VI, *infra.*

There is little doubt that tea could be advantageously produced in the Philippine highlands, especially in northern Luzón.

Throughout extensive regions the soil and climate are ideal for growing cacao, from which is made the chocolate of commerce. It has numerous insect enemies, and careful scientific cultivation is needed to obtain the best results.

A determined and very successful effort is being made by the Bureau of Education to interest the Filipinos in raising corn, which is a far better food than is rice. They are being taught how to grind and cook it for human food, and its use, which has long been common in islands like Cebú, Negros, Siquijor and Bohol, is rapidly increasing. It can be grown to good advantage in the Philippines, and at existing prices its production upon a commercial scale for human consumption would be profitable, but there is another good use to which it can be put. The supply of fresh pork is not equal to the demand, and there would be a ready market, at a high price, for a largely increased amount. Corn-fed hogs are practically unknown in the islands. They ought not to be.[1]

Both corn and *camotes* flourish in Bukidnon, where the former often attains a height of from twelve to eighteen feet and produces one to four ears to the stalk. Here, as elsewhere, careful seed selection rapidly increases the crop. *Camotes,* planted after the first ploughing, kill out all grass and weeds, but rapidly impoverish the soil. Planting *camotes* on a large scale and close subsequent pasturing of the land with hogs would leave the soil enriched and in excellent condition for planting with other crops. A little corn would put *camote*-fed hogs in splendid condition for the market. In this way it would be possible to raise them inexpensively and on a large scale.

The Philippines produce citrus fruits in considerable variety. Some of the native oranges and lemons are excellent. No care has as yet ever been given to their cultivation. They are never pruned or sprayed, nor is the ground around them kept clean. The larger Philippine towns and cities afford a good market for citrus fruits, and any surplus could be shipped to neighbouring Asiatic cities. Experiments in budding American varieties on to the native stock are now in progress.

In many parts of the islands climate and soil are perfectly adapted to the production of pineapples, which at present usually grow uncared for. One pineapple plantation has already been established, and a factory for canning the product is under construction. Others will follow.

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[1] The area planted in corn increased from 712,000 acres in 1910 to 1,387,299 acres in 1927.

Roselle, from the fruit of which is made a jelly equal to currant jelly in colour, and very similar to it in flavour, grows luxuriantly and produces heavy crops of fruit. An excellent fermented drink may be made from its leaves and stems.

Mangos, commonly considered to be the best fruit produced in the islands, can be successfully canned.

Guavas grow wild over extensive areas, and a properly located factory could produce guava jelly in large quantity.

Briefly, there is every opportunity for the profitable investment of brains, capital and energy in agricultural pursuits along a score of different lines. Such investment would be of immense advantage to the Filipinos themselves. They are neither original nor naturally progressive, but they are quick to imitate, and would follow the example set for them. Their country would readily support eighty million people, and it has eight million,[1] so there is still room for a few foreigners.

If rice is the bread of the people, fresh fish is their meat. Twenty or thirty thousand pounds of fresh fish are sold daily in Manila, and the supply is inadequate to meet the demand. A similar condition exists in many of the larger towns throughout the archipelago. Dried fish is extensively used, and sardines preserved in brine find a ready sale. They may be taken in immense quantities in the southern islands at certain seasons. The intelligent application of modern methods to the taking, preserving and marketing of fish would give immediate and large returns.

Rinderpest appeared in the islands in 1888, and from that time until the establishment of civil government under American rule swept through the archipelago practically unchecked, causing enormous losses to agriculture. For a time it was impossible to plough anything like the normal amount of land, because of the lack of draught animals.

Promptly upon their establishment, the Bureau of Science and the Bureau of Agriculture began a determined campaign against this the most dangerous pest of cattle. The fight has never ceased up to the present time. While the disease is not completely stamped out, its ravages have been reduced to insignificant proportions, and the natural increase of the surviving animals has rehabilitated agriculture.

Good draught animals still bring abnormally high prices. I well remember that in Spanish days an ordinary carabao cost $7.50, and an excellent one could be purchased for $12.50. Similar animals to-day bring from $50 to $75 each, and in certain districts the best carabaos sell for $100 each.

There is still a great shortage of beef cattle. Refrigerated meat is

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[1] More than 12,000,000 in 1929.

The Old Way of Crossing a River.

The New Way of Crossing a River.

imported in large quantities, but many of the Filipinos do not like it, and will not buy it unless compelled to do so by the lack of any other. It has been found impracticable to remedy these conditions by importing Chinese cattle or carabaos for the reason that cattle disease is prevalent in the regions from which they would necessarily come, but a way out of the difficulty has now presented itself. Nellore cattle, one of the humped breeds of India, belonging to a distinct race known as *zebus,* are immune to rinderpest, and do not suffer from tick fever, which is prevalent throughout the islands. They flourish in the Philippines, and do especially well in Bukidnon.

They are much larger than the Chinese cattle now in common use, walk faster, are extremely gentle and make superior draught animals. Their flesh is excellent. Cattle raising in Mindanao on a large scale is certainly possible, and offers a most attractive field for investment.

The establishment of a great silk-growing industry is dependent only upon the necessary capital and initiative. The Bureau of Science has laid the foundation for it by conclusively demonstrating that silk worms, and the mulberry trees on the leaves of which they thrive, flourish here. Worms have now been grown for six years, and have never suffered from any disease. Filipina women and girls, with their deft fingers, would make excellent help for silk culture. Indeed, the opportunity to engage in it would be a great boon to them in many parts of the islands where they now lack profitable employment.

Manufacturing is as yet in its infancy. There are a number of regions where very cheap power can be had by hydraulic development. That the Filipinos make good factory labourers has been abundantly demonstrated in existing tobacco factories, a hat factory, a match factory and a couple of small factories for the manufacture of tagal braid,[1] all in successful operation. With plenty of good labour, cheap power and abundant raw materials, important manufacturing industries should be developed.

I will not discuss at length the possibility of engaging profitably in trade. Such possibility exists wherever commodities are bought and sold, and here as elsewhere profits or losses largely depend on the abilities of individuals. But the question of the trade relations, present and possible, between the Philippines and the United States is one of very great importance.

In the next chapter I show the enormous increase in the total trade of the country since the American occupation, and the rapid growth of trade with the United States.

Next to rice, cotton goods form the most important element in the consuming markets of the islands, and the rapidity with which the United States is gaining control of this trade is well illustrated in the following table, showing by years the value of such goods imported since 1904:—

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[1] Made of Manila hemp, and used for sewing into hats.

IMPORTATIONS OF COTTON CLOTH

Year	United States Hawaii and Porto Rico	All Countries
1904	$ 278,106	$ 4,919,840
1905	764,990	6,346,962
1906	278,796	6,642,329
1907	1,056,328	8,320,079
1908	604,742	7,909,395
1909	508,229	6,862,135
1910	2,043,000	8,444,453
1911	4,110,837	10,305,017
1912	4,143,067	9,246,595
1913	6,827,082	11,483,638
Total	$20,615,177	$80,480,443
Annual average	$2,061,517	$ 8,048,044

From a proportion of slightly over five per cent of the total trade in manufactures of cotton in 1904, importations of the American product have increased until they supply fifty-nine per cent of the present local demand![1]

The following table is of especial interest. It shows in the first column the nature and proportion by economic class of the total exports from the United States and in the second the nature and proportion of United States to the Philippine Islands.[2]

Exports by economic class.	To All Countries Per cent	To Philippine Islands Per cent
Foodstuffs in crude condition, and food animals	7.48	2.25
Foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured	13.19	14.39
Crude materials for use in manufacturing	30.10	.42
Manufactures for further use in manufacturing	16.84	7.19
Manufactures ready for consumption	32.04	75.73
Miscellaneous	.35	.02
Total	100.00	100.00

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[1] See note on following page.

[2] The situation which is shown by this table has not materially changed since 1913. The chief differences are that finished manufacturers make up a larger proportion of our exports, while we export smaller proportions of crude materials and manufactured foodstuffs. In 1927, 41.46 per cent of the domestic exports of the United States consisted of finished manufactures. (*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1928, Table No. 492, p. 459.)

[1] In 1925 the Philippines became the most important overseas market for American cotton piece goods.

The following tables (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 148) show the growing importance of the Philippine market for American cotton cloths, mineral oil, wheat flour, and automobiles and accessories:

QUANTITIES AND VALUES OF LEADING ARTICLES IMPORTED, 1917-1927

Year	From all countries		From the United States	
	Value (Pesos)	Per cent of total imports	Value	
			Pesos	Per cent
	Mineral oils			
1917	4,993,819	3.79	3,859,208	77.28
1918	4,540,761	2.30	3,824,551	84.23
1919	13,147,080	5.54	11,997,459	91.26
1920	18,769,463	6.28	16,142,237	86.00
1921	22,801,533	9.84	19,322,811	84.74
1922	13,347,303	8.32	10,626,214	79.61
1923	13,360,632	7.63	9,945,281	74.44
1924	17,340,039	8.03	13,566,937	78.24
1925	17,358,936	7.25	13,640,102	78.58
1926	17,656,849	7.40	15,313,394	86.73
1927	15,405,879	6.65	12,874,915	83.57
	Wheat flour			
1917	3,831,050	2.91	261,002	6.81
1918	6,033,528	3.06	10,365	.17
1919	8,929,166	3.76	317,140	3.55
1920	9,443,515	3.16	3,637,241	38.52
1921	7,017,174	3.03	4,553,958	64.89
1922	5,783,194	3.61	4,482,055	77.50
1923	6,995,754	4.00	5,613,636	80.24
1924	8,042,178	3.72	6,746,622	83.89
1925	11,213,350	4.68	9,453,446	84.31
1926	9,724,101	4.08	7,965,883	81.92
1927	9,731,783	4.20	8,438,506	86.71
	Cotton cloths			
1917	28,020,204	21.29	23,233,814	82.92
1918	40,933,913	20.76	34,376,364	83.98
1919	23,825,903	10.04	20,554,418	86.27
1920	50,142,465	16.78	36,085,630	71.97
1921	25,463,804	10.99	14,597,244	57.33
1922	34,408,508	21.45	26,895,758	78.14
1923	33,256,099	19.00	21,765,848	65,45
1924	35,342,700	16.36	20,265,517	57.34
1925	40,298,470	16.83	23,913,542	59.34
1926	40,631,094	17.03	26,527,431	65.29
1927	31,744,117	13.70	18,942,272	59.67
	Automobiles and accessories, except tires			
1917	2,149,154	1.63	2,148,758	99.98
1918	4,371,004	2.22	4,370,162	99.98
1919	7,051,726	2.97	7,050,823	99.99
1920	10,881,834	3.64	10,852,698	99.73
1921	7,459,214	2.22	7,312,680	98.03
1922	1,406,965	.88	1,395,957	99.22
1923	2,775,152	1.59	2,753,632	99.59
1924	4,529,432	2.10	4,481,186	98.93
1925	6,794,083	2.84	6,785,371	99.87
1926	8,107,754	3.40	8,062,282	99.44
1927	8,427,105	3.64	8,214,165	97.47

The most profitable class of exports is manufactures ready for consumption. It forms no less than 75.73 per cent of the United States exports to the Philippines. The least profitable exports are crude materials for use in manufacturing, which make up but forty-two hundredths of one per cent of the total exports to the Philippines.

Tropical and sub-tropical products are constantly increasing in popularity in the United States, which is able to produce them to so small an extent that although the classes included in the following table comprise nearly forty per cent of the total United States imports for the year, there are but two on which duty is levied. The table shows the value of tropical products imported into the United States during the year ending June 30, 1913, compared, where possible, with 1927 importations.[1]

Products	Value, 1913	Value, 1927
Cocoa	$ 17,389,042	$ 56,816,000
Coffee	118,963,209	294,275,000
Fibres	49,075,659	....
Manufactures of fibres	76,972,416	....
Fruits and nuts	42,622,653	84,721,000
Goatskins	24,790,417	35,488,000
Gums of various kinds	15,138,895	32,536,000
Rubber	101,333,158	339,859,000
Matting	1,651,813	....
Vegetable oils	38,112,883	67,473,000
Silk, unmanufactured	84,914,717	399,088,000
Spices	6,187,136	20,028,000
Sugar	103,639,823	258,158,000
Tea	17,433,688	28,192,000
Leaf tobacco	35,919,079	74,617,000
Manufactured tobacco	6,577,403	8,370,000
Cabinet woods	8,880,000	....
Rattans and reeds	1,800,000	....
	$751,401,991	

The balance of trade with the more important countries from which we get these products is heavily against us, as is shown by the following table in which I have included Switzerland, not because we get tropical or sub-tropical products from that country, but because it furnishes us embroideries, etc., which could be very cheaply produced in the Philippines. The figures are for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913[2]:—

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[1] The data for 1927 were obtained from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1928 (Washington, 1929), Table No. 505. On account of differences in classification, it was impossible to obtain 1927 figures for some commodities which would be exactly comparable with those in Worcester's original table. The enormous increase in the United States imports of tropical products is clearly apparent, however. During the year ended December 31, 1927, our total imports of the principal tropical and sub-tropical articles (including shipments from Hawaii and Porto Rico) were valued at $2,068,961,000. (*Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States, For the Calendar Year of 1927*, Vol. I, Table XXV. Washington, 1928.)

[2] The balance of trade against the United States in the countries listed in the above

A TYPICAL OLD-STYLE BRIDGE.

A TYPICAL REËNFORCED CONCRETE BRIDGE.

Country	U. S. Imports from	U. S. Exports to	Balance Against U. S.
Brazil	$120,155,855	$ 42,638,467	$ 77,517,388
Cuba	126,088,173	70,581,154	55,507,019
British E. I.	116,178,182	15,108,956	101,069,226
Japan	91,633,240	57,741,815	33,891,425
China	39,010,800	21,326,834	17,683,966
Switzerland	23,260,180	826,549	22,433,631
Mexico	77,543,842	54,571,584	22,972,258
Colombia	15,992,321	7,397,696	8,594,625
Venezuela	10,852,331	5,737,118	5,115,213
Egypt	19,907,828	1,660,833	18,246,995
	$640,622,752	$277,591,006	$363,031,746

There is no such relationship with the Philippines, which during 1912 imported $20,770,536 worth of merchandise from the United States to offset the $21,619,686 worth shipped to that country.[1]

The Philippines could readily produce all of these products in quantities sufficient to meet the demands of the United States if there were proper development of the resources of the islands, which have rich land, good labour and suitable climate, but lack capital and competent, skilled supervision.

The situation has been admirably summed up in the following statement issued some time since by the Manila Merchants' Association:—

> "The Philippines will consume of imported commodities what they are able to pay for. Their purchasing capacity will always be measured by their production of export commodities. There is nothing that they produce, or are adapted to produce, that the United States is not at present under the necessity of buying from foreign countries whose import trade it does not, and never will control. Thus it cannot hope for such advantages in other fields yielding tropical products as it already possesses in these Islands."

The Philippines should furnish the bulk of the tropical products imported into the United States. The commerce between the two countries should in the very near future increase to $100,000,000 per year each way and should go on increasing more and more rapidly thereafter.[2]

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table was much greater in 1927 than it was in 1913. To the list might well be added British Malaya. In 1927 American exports to this country amounted to $13,624,000, as compared with imports valued at $227,784,000,—most of them rubber, which could be produced in the Philippines as cheaply as in the Malay peninsula. (*Statisical Abstract of the United States*, 1928, table no. 496.)

[1] In 1927 the total trade between the United States and the Philippines amounted to $187,516,547. The Islands imported $71,478,297 worth of goods from the United States and shipped $116,038,250 worth to this country. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 95.)

[2] Perhaps no better picture of the increasing commercial importance of the trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States could be given than is embodied in the following excerpt from the introduction to *Resources and Trade of the Philippine Islands,* written in 1926 by Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and

Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce (now Assistant Secretary of Commerce):

"The foreign trade—both exports and imports—of the Philippine Islands from 1893 to 1899 amounted annually to about $30,000,000, and during the first 10 years of American administration the yearly average reached $60,000,000. The years of the World War brought the annual average up to $153,000,000, and in the seven years following the war it has risen to $230,000,000.

"This phenomenal growth has been made possible largely because of the vast natural resources of the country. The islands have become an important source of raw materials for the industrial markets of the world. Total exports in 1905 amounted to $33,455,000 and in 1925 to $148,877,000. Accompanying the development in export trade there has been a corresponding advance in Philippine demand for products of foreign manufacture. Imports in 1905 totaled $30.051,000 and in 1925 were $119,733,000.

"Sixty-five per cent of Philippine foreign trade is with the United States. We take over 70 per cent of the islands' exports, consisting chiefly of sugar, abaca, coconut oil, and copra, and supply 55 per cent of their imported goods. The Philippines have become our third far eastern market. In 1925 they were our most important market for cotton piece goods. We supply 80 per cent of the Philippine imports of iron and steel and about 80 per cent of their purchases of foreign foodstuffs. Japan and China follow the United States in supplying the Philippine import trade, with Great Britain a close competitor for third place. Since 1921 Germany has made steady advances in shipments to the Philippines of iron and steel products, cotton goods, and miscellaneous manufactures.

"Philippine economic and commercial development has only begun. In addition to their great agricultural output the islands are rich in forest products, minerals, and fish, which at present are largely latent sources of wealth."

An able and informing presentation of the economic values of the Philippines is to be found in D. R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines,* Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XXXII

PEACE AND PROSPERITY

UNEXAMPLED material prosperity has come to the islands, partly as a result of the establishment of peace, and the improvement in means of communication; partly from a very different cause. As a simple matter of fact, tariff legislation enacted by Congress has been the commercial salvation of the islands. The tariff law of 1909, known as the Payne-Aldrich Bill was passed August 5, 1909, and went into effect sixty days thereafter. In order to make the effect of this act more apparent, the figures for four years from July 1, 1909, in the following statistical tables are printed in bold-face type. These tables speak for themselves, very loudly.

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES[1]

Year	Imports from the U.S.	Exports to the U. S.	Total
1899	$ 1,150,613	$ 3,540,894	$ 4,691,507
1904	4,843,207	11,102,860	15,946,067
1908	5,079,670	10,332,116	15,411,786
1909	4,693,831	10,158,087	14,847,918
1910	**10,775,301**	**18,703,083**	**29,478,384**
1911	**10,483,658**	**16,716,956**	**36,200,614**
1912	**30,970,536**	**21,619,686**	**42,390,222**
1913	**25,387,085**	**19,849,374**	**45,236,458**
1914	24,011,401	24,427,710	48,439,111
1915	26,381,069	23,653,211	50,034,280
1916	22,862,673	35,648,113	58,510,806
1917	37,620,648	63,234,359	100,855,007
1918	58,824,611	89,146,918	147,971,529
1919	75,491,415	56,652,692	132,144,107
1920	92,289,778	105,216,263	197,506,041
1921	74,130,015	50,356,793	124,486,808
1922	47,738,325	64,111,601	111,849,926
1923	50,352,535	85,047,023	135,399,558
1924	60,398,603	97,313,903	157,712,506
1925	69,297,583	109,044,941	178,342,524
1926	71,575,618	100,003,215	171,578,833
1927	71,478,297	116,038,250	187,516,547

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[1] From Progress Barometer.

INTERNAL REVENUE STATISTICS[1]

Year	Total Collections	Increase (+) Decrease (—) (per cent)	Year	Total Collections	Increase (+) Decrease (—) (per cent)
1906	5,683,303		1916	15,365,819	(+12)
1907	6,374,482	(+12)	1917	19,968,685	(+30)
1908	7,169,887	(+12)	1918	24,254,082	(+21)
1909	7,347,202	(+ 2)	1919	26,642,378	(+10)
1910	8,763,912	(+19)	1920	29,685,630	(+11)
1911	9,603,066	(+10)	1921	24,703,515	(—17)
1912	10,592,084	(+10)	1922	23,306,439	(— 6)
1913	11,392,381	(+ 8)	1923	25,709,556	(+10)
1914	11,275,055	(— 1)	1924	28,032,735	(+ 9)
1915	13,694,197	(+21)	1925	30,316,785	(+ 8)

TOTAL TRADE INCLUDING THAT WITH THE UNITED STATES[1]

YEAR	IMPORTS		EXPORTS		TOTAL CUSTOMS COLLECTIONS	FOREIGN TONNAGE CLEARED	
	Value	Increase Decrease	Value	Increase Decrease		Amount	Per Cent
1899	$ 13,116,567	....	$ 14,640,162	....	$ 3,106,380	336,550	....
1904	33,221,251	....	30,226,127	....	8,493,868	1,542,138	....
1908	30,918,745	....	32,829,816	....	8,318,020	1,464,448	....
1909	27,794,482	—10	31,044,458	— 5	8,539,098	1,392,333	— 5
1910	37,067,630	+33	39,717,960	+28	8,286,073	1,715,268	+23
1911	49,833,722	+34	39,778,629	+ 0.2	8,678,810	1,808,308	+15
1912	54,549,980	+ 9	50,319,836	+26	9,363,296	1,939,079	+ 7
1913	56,327,533	+11	56,683,326	+17	8,246,026	1,868,811	— 4
1914	48,588,653	—14	48,689,634	— 9	5,948,546	1,907,284	+ 2
1915	49,312,184	+15	53,813,004	+11	6,404,189	1,718,113	—10
1916	45,496,338	— 8	69,937,183	+13	6,110,158	1,594,124	— 7
1917	65,797,031	+45	95,604,307	+37	6,785,504	1,464,529	— 8
1918	98,599,212	+50	135,194,482	+41	8,220,268	1,544,648	+ 5
1919	118,639,052	+20	113,117,826	—16	7,212,654	1,705,869	+10
1920	149,438,283	+26	151,123,856	+34	8,878,933	2,771,214	+62
1921	115,838,574	—23	88,115,323	—42	8,431,532	2,727,376	— 1
1922	80,197,644	—31	95,583,298	+ 8	7,614,634	3,076,263	+13
1923	87,499,747	+ 9	120,752,990	+26	8,529,281	3,242,753	+ 5
1924	108,010,895	+13	135,344,663	+12	10,817,304	3,616,171	+12
1925	119,732,833	+11	148,877,205	+10	11,109,460	3,711,270	+ 3
1926	119,298,992	— .3	136,884,319	— 8	10,590,047	4,079,429	+11
1927	115,851,471	— 3	155,574,085	+15	10,315,270	4,133,611	+ 2

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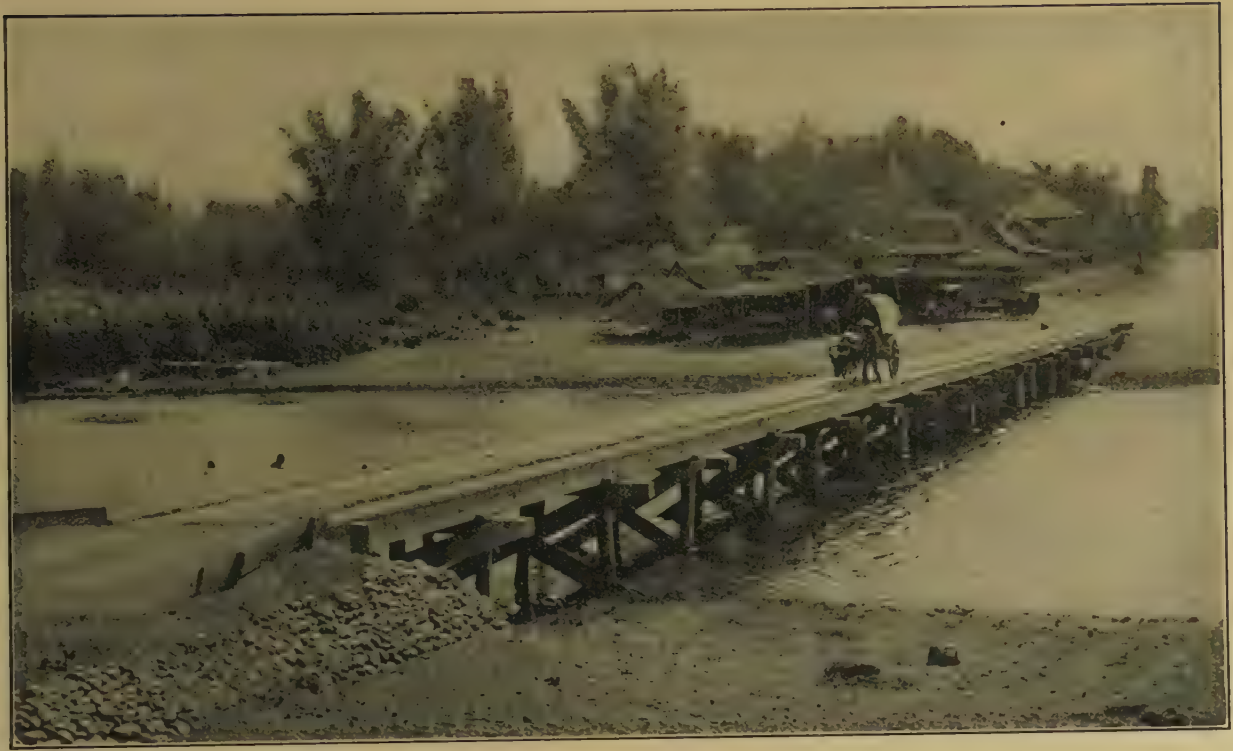
[1] From Progress Barometer and *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 91.



A Collapsible Bridge.

Bridges of this type are employed in streams which are ordinarily narrow but become very wide during floods. The top of the bridge is not attached to the supports but is fastened to the bank by a strong cable. When the river rises, it floats off and can be readily replaced later.

Tax on Annual Business[1]

Year	Receipts from Percentage Tax on Business	Amounts of Business on Which Percentage Tax Is Collected	Increase (+) Decrease (—) *Per Cent*
1906	$ 682,696	$204,808,800	....
1907	686,123	205,836,900	+ 1
1908	652,657	195,797,100	— 5
1909	638,289	191,486,700	— 2
1910	768,613	230,583,900	+20
1911	896,644	268,993,200	+17
1912	967,293	290,187,900	+ 7
1913	1,119,476	335,842,800	+16
1914[a]	1,087,783	326,334,900	— 3
1915	2,558,097	[b]363,714,500	+18
1916	3,409,888	340,988,800	—11
1917	4,816,695	481,669,500	+41
1918	6,887,530	688,753,000	+43
1919	6,936,380	693,638,000	+ 1
1920	8,637,657	863,765,700	+25
1921	5,499,257	549,925,700	—36
1922	5,254,664	525,466,400	— 4
1923	7,288,953	[c]525,366,839	+39
1924	8,854,799	[c]623,026,400	+21
1925	9,369,354	[c]645,131,350	+ 6
1926	10,246,006	......	....
1927	10,503,786	......	....

[a] Rate changed from one-third of 1 per cent to 1 per cent Jan. 1, but collections for October-December, 1914, made after Jan. 1, 1915.

[b] Estimated on basis that one-fourth of collections were at former rate.

[c] Act 3065 places tax of 1½ per cent on certain business.

The Philippine government collects as internal revenue one-third of one per cent of the gross business done by merchants and manufacturers in the islands. The fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, was the last before the opening of free trade with the United States. The figures for the four subsequent years therefore show the resulting stimulus to business.

The gross business on which the percentage tax was collected in 1909 was $190,000,000 (₱380,000,000). The increases over that year have been:—

YEAR	INCREASES OVER 1909		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE
	United States Currency	Philippine Currency	
1910	$ 38,000,000	₱ 76,000,000	20.0
1911	76,000,000	152,000,000	40.0
1912	96,000,000	192,000,000	50.5
1913	143,000,000	286,000,000	75.3
	$353,000,000	₱706,000,000	

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[1] From Progress Barometer.

The gross business increased by a fifth in one year; by two-fifths in two years; by more than a half in three years; and by more than three-quarters in four years.[1]

In the year 1909 the total exports and imports of the Philippine Islands amounted to $59,000,000 (₱118,000,000). The increases over that year have been:—

YEAR	INCREASES OVER 1909		PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE
	United States Currency	Philippine Currency	
1910	$ 18,000,000	₱ 36,000,000	30.5
1911	31,000,000	62,000,000	52.5
1912	46,000,000	92,000,000	77.9
1913	61,000,000[2]	122,000,000	103.4
	$156,000,000	₱312,000,000	

The total trade more than doubled in four years.[3]

	United States Currency	Philippine Currency
Total increase of business as above..	$353,000,000	₱ 706,000,000
Total increase of trade as above.....	156,000,000	312,000,000
Total increase of business and trade	$509,000,000	₱1,018,000,000

The facts set forth in the following tables are also significant of improved conditions:—

BANKING[4]

Year	Total Resources of Commercial Banks	Increase (+) Decrease (—)	Year	Total Resources of Commercial Banks	Increase (+) Decrease (—) *Per Cent*
1906	$15,351,690	....	1917	$119,623,863	+96
1907	17,054,358	+11	1918	199,903,971	+67
1908	17,454,214	+ 2	1919	177,293,860	—11
1909	18,138,425	+ 4	1920	215,902,538	+22
1910	22,856,455	+26	1921	190,251,325	—12
1911	24,557,697	+ 7	1922	163,101,730	—14
1912	35,885,728	+46	1923	169,028,995	+ 4
1913	31,872,964	—11	1924	140,264,678	[a]—17
1914	33,319,933	+ 5	1925	131,765,963	— 6
1915	35,771,434	+ 7	1926	127,791,100	— 3
1916	60,977,077	+70	1927	128,196,371	+ 0.3

[a] Decrease caused by closing of Manila branch of Asia Banking Corporation and writing off losses of Philippine National Bank in connection with rehabilitation act.

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[1] The gross business doubled between 1913 and 1927.

[2] Estimate made *pro rata* on the basis of the figures for the first seven months.

[3] The total trade in 1926 was four and one-half times what it was in 1909.

[4] From Progress Barometer; 1925, 1926, 1927, from *Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 198.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANK[1]

YEAR	DEPOSITORS IN POSTAL SAVINGS BANK		TOTAL AMOUNT DUE DEPOSITORS AT CLOSE OF YEAR	
	Number	Increase *Per Cent*	Amount	Increase Decrease *Per Cent*
1907	2,331	...	$ 254,732	...
1908	5,389	131	515,998	102
1909	8,782	63	724,479	40
1910	13,102	49	839,623	16
1911	28,804	120	1,049,737	25
1912	35,802	24	1,194,493	14
1913	39,909	11	1,240,241	4
1913 (July-Dec.)	42,271	12	1,411,066	28
1914	48,876	16	1,584,008	12
1915	54,434	11	1,601,795	1
1916	60,759	12	1,856,201	16
1917	68,860	13	2,121,090	14
1918	78,124	13	2,464,076	16
1919	90,555	16	3,042,430	23
1920	107,229	18	3,327,217	9
1921	130,810	22	3,054,226	—8
1922	155,915	20	2,857,571	—6
1923	162,566	4	2,826,359	—1
1924	167,625	3	2,815,279	—0.4
1925	176,056	5	2,941,321	4.5
1926	187,772	6.6	2,999,403	2
1927	229,500	22	3,424,584	14

COASTWISE TONNAGE CLEARED[1]

Year	Tonnage	Increase Decrease *Per Cent*	Year	Tonnage	Increase Decrease *Per Cent*
1899	237,852	....	1913	1,325,369	— 3
1900	482,685	+103	1914	1,478,031	+12
1901	676,307	+ 40	1915	1,419,470	— 4
1902	773,243	+ 14	1916	1,323,328	— 7
1903	832,438	+ 8	1917	1,334,120	+ 1
1904	905,821	+ 9	1918	1,298,313	— 3
1905	840,504	— 7	1919	1,521,633	+17
1906	774,032	— 8	1920	1,637,542	+ 7
1907	899,915	+ 16	1921	1,683,316	+ 3
1908	978,968	+ 9	1922	1,849,740	+10
1909	1,045,075	+ 7	1923	1,890,822	+ 2
1910	1,053,426	+ 1	1924	2,105,226	+12
1911	1,303,606	+ 24	1925	2,252,779	+ 7
1912	1,362,620	+ 5			

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[1] From Progress Barometer.

IMPORTATIONS OF COAL (EQUAL CONSUMPTION VERY NEARLY[1]

Year	Tons (Metric)	Year	Tons (Metric)
1899	30,812	1918	405,109
1904	295,716	1923	465,285
1908	322,928	1925	469,870
1913	459,583		

The figures for coal importations are exclusive of the quantities imported from the United States by the federal government. These are excluded because they have been for the most part made in large quantities in alternate years, and would, therefore, while considerably increasing the average total amounts imported, give a false idea of the rate of increase of the more strictly domestic consumption.

This extraordinary story of rapid increase in commercial prosperity, as well as in the volume of commerce between the Philippines and the United States, is but a faint indication of what would come about under a fixed policy which assured future adequate protection to life and property in these islands. Specific assurance that the United States would not surrender sovereignty over the archipelago until its inhabitants had demonstrated both ability and inclination to maintain a stable, just and effective government would be followed by a steady, healthful commercial development which would bring in its wake a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown and undreamed of. The Philippines have the best tropical climate in the world; soil of unsurpassed richness; great forest wealth; promising mines; and a constantly growing population willing to work for a reasonable wage. Give assurance of a stable government, and prosperity will increase by leaps and bounds.

Turn the country over now, or ten years from now, to the Filipinos to govern, and the reputable business men, mindful of Aguinaldo's demand for his share of the war booty when Manila was taken; of the attempted confiscation of the lands of the religious orders and of Spanish citizens generally,[2] of the proposal to tax foreigners [3] as such, and of the torturing of friars, other Spaniards and Filipinos as well, in order to extort money from them; of the widespread brigandage, the raping, the officially authorized and directed murdering and burying alive which prevailed during the period of undisturbed Filipino rule, will fold their tents like the Arabs and quietly steal away. There will

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[1] Progress Barometer.

[2] There were several different plans for the confiscation of the friar lands. The following shows the action taken in one instance, relative to the property of Spanish prisoners:—

"On February 2, 1899, the secretary of the treasury informed the governor of the province of Isabela that the property of all Spanish prisoners should be confiscated as booty of war."—P. I. R., 1302. 6.

[3] The following telegram was sent to the cabinet by the director of diplomacy, Manila:—

"December 21, 1898, P.M.

"Missed the train on account of government business. Beg of you to pardon my absence, and bear in mind my suggestion to look up an easy method of abolishing the law imposing a tax of 100 to 5000 pesos on foreigners, as not only unjust but impolitic at this time, when we seek the sympathy of the powers. I represent to the cabinet that such step is very urgent, because I have ascertained that members of the chamber of commerce have reported this tax to their respective governments in order to formulate a protest."—P. I. R., 849.

Peace and Prosperity.

This chance photograph showing General Emilio Aguinaldo as he is to-day, 1914, standing with Director of Education Frank L. Crone, beside a field of corn raised by Emilio Aguinaldo, Jr., in a school contest, typifies the peace, prosperity, and enlightenment which have been brought about in the Philippine Islands under American rule.

remain that peculiar class of business men who, as the Filipinos put it, love to fish in troubled waters. They will not lack good fishing grounds.

Should we not stimulate the commercial development of the islands by adopting liberal provisions as to the sale of public lands, safeguarding the public interest by imposing at the same time severe conditions as to cultivation? And should not our anti-imperialist friends cease to rail at those of their countrymen who are willing to spend the money without which commercial development is impossible? Can they not grasp the fact that the influx of Americans and American capital sounds the death knell of slavery and peonage? It was Americans whose testimony enabled me to prove to the world the existence in the Philippines of these twin evils, and to bring pressure to bear which resulted in prohibitive legislation. It is Americans who are helping the poor Filipinos to become owners of land. It is Americans who are encouraging them to take contracts for cultivating cane, so that they have a direct interest in the crop.

Increasing prosperity means more money for the maintenance of order, for schools, for hospitals, for sanitary work and for public improvements. The diminution of exports which would promptly follow any serious disturbance of the peace of the country would result in the loss of much of the ground already gained.

The average business man is not a sentimentalist. So long as he can safely carry on his work, and can be sure of just treatment, he does not worry much over the nationality of the government officials who maintain such conditions, but he will not invest his money in a country where it is not reasonably certain that such conditions will continue to prevail.

The business men of the Philippines know by experience what American government of the archipelago means. Some of them know, also by experience, what Filipino rule means. The slump in real estate values and customs receipts which so promptly followed Mr. Wilson's expression of hope that the frontiers of the United States might soon be contracted, conclusively demonstrated their opinion as to the effect of Philippine independence on the peace and prosperity of the country.

The number of Filipinos who thus far have demonstrated ability successfully to manage large commercial enterprises is exceedingly limited. Must not commercial prosperity coexist with political independence, if the latter is to be stable?

During the visit of the congressional delegation which accompanied Mr. Taft on his return to the Philippines in 1907, public sessions were held at which the Filipinos were given opportunity to make complaints. One fervid orator denounced the collection of customs dues, internal revenue taxes, the land tax and the cedula tax. A congressman asked him how he expected to get money to run the government after all taxes were abolished. He replied, "That is a detail which can be settled later."

Would it not be well to consider, at this time, one very important detail, namely, what would be the effect on the insular government of a marked falling off in the business from the taxes on which practically all of the insular revenues are at present derived?

CHAPTER XXXIII

Some Results of American Rule

Having set forth at length what seem to me the more essential facts relative to the American occupation of the Philippines and the results of American rule, supporting my statements by a rather free use of documents chiefly drawn from the Insurgent records, I will briefly summarize some of the more important points which I have endeavoured to establish, lest my readers should not see the forest for the trees.

Independence was never promised to Aguinaldo or to any other Filipino leader by any officer of the United States, nor was there ever any effort to deceive the Filipinos by arousing false hopes that it was to be conceded.

The Insurgent force never coöperated with that of the United States. The two had a common enemy and that was practically all that they did have in common. Each proceeded against that enemy in its own way. Each ignored requests of the other relative to the manner in which it should proceed. The Insurgent officers planned from the outset to utilize United States soldiers in bringing about the termination of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippnes, and then to attack them if practicable and necessary in order to oust the United States from the islands. If not, they planned to consider asking us for a protectorate or for annexation.

The temporary government established by Aguinaldo and his associates was not, in any sense of the word, a republic, nor was it established with the consent of the people. It was a military oligarchy pure and simple, imposed on the people by armed men and maintained, especially during its latter days, by terrorism and by the very free use of murder as a governmental agency. The conditions which arose under it were shocking in the extreme. Property rights were not respected; human life was cheap indeed; persons aggrieved had no redress, and there was hardly a semblance of a system for the administration of justice.

There were individual instances in which Insurgents and Insurgent sympathizers were treated with severity, and even with cruelty, by officers and soldiers of the army of the United States, but it is nevertheless undoubtedly true that never before have the officers and men of any civilized nation conducted so humanely a war carried on under conditions similar to those which prevailed in the Philippines.

Hostilities were delberately provoked by the Insurgents, who had previously prepared an elaborate plan for a simultaneous attack on the American lines around Manila from within and without, and for the killing of all Americans, Europeans and American sympathizers among the Filipinos. The war ended with a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare, deliberately inaugurated by the Insurgents, which bred crime and struck at the very roots of good government.

At the earliest possible moment the Filipinos were given a share in the control of their own affairs when municipal governments were established, under military rule, by army officers. Many Filipinos who accepted municipal offices under the Americans paid for their courage with their lives, and a very large number saved their lives only by serving two masters. Because of the special conditions which prevailed, such persons were very leniently dealt with when their double dealing was discovered, and in the effort to afford adequate protection to those who had put their confidence in the United States, our armed forces were divided to an extent probably unprecedented in history, and more than five hundred separate garrisons were established.

The first Philippine Commission was appointed in the hope of bringing about a friendly understanding between Insurgent officers and the representatvies of the United States, and for the purpose of gathering reliable information relative to people and conditions which might serve as a basis for future legislation for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the islands. As the result of the breaking out of hostilities before the commission reached its destination, its work was necessarily limited to the gathering of information and to efforts to promote the earliest possible establishment of relations of friendliness and usefulness between the two peoples.

The second Philippine Commission was endowed with far-reaching powers. Shortly after its arrival in the islands it became the legislative body, and proceeded gradually to establish civil government as rapidly as practicable in a country under military rule, many parts of which were in active rebellion.

This difficult undertaking was carried out with a minimum of friction between civil and military authorities. The latter were invariably consulted by the former before civil government was established in any given region, and their wishes in the premises were respected. The commanding general stated that the establishment of civil governments was a help to him in his work, and in accordance with his desires and recommendations they were established prematurely in three provinces, with the result that the temporary restoration of military government became necessary.

Under American rule there has been brought about in the Philippines an admirable state of public order, and life and property are to-day safe throughout practically the whole of an archipelago which,

Preparing Rice Land for Planting.

Planting Rice.

at the close of Spanish sovereignty, was harried by *tulisanes, ladrones* and Moros. There were also very extensive areas in undisputed possession of wild and savage tribes where governmental control had never been established, where a man was esteemed in proportion to his success as a warrior, and where property was likely to find its way into the hands of men brave enough to seize it and strong enough to hold it.

We have established friendly relations with the very large majority of the wild people and the numerous changes for the better which we have brought about in their territory have been effected practically without bloodshed except in certain portions of the Moro country. By effective legislation, strictly enforced, we have saved these backward tribes from the threatened curse of alcoholism.

Good order was established in Filipino territory through the admirable work of the United States Army, assisted toward the close of military rule by the second Philippine Commission, which did much toward securing the coöperation of the better element among the Filipinos.

Under civil control Filipinos and wild men have been utilized as police officers and soldiers in their respective habitats, and have been an important factor in bringing about present conditions. The Philippine Constabulary, recruited in part from Filipinos and in part from Moros and other non-Christian peoples, has not only proved a most efficient body for the performance of ordinary police work but has rendered invaluable assistance to other bureaus of the government; notably to the Bureau of Health and the Bureau of Agriculture for which it has effectively performed very important quarantine work. It has furthermore proved to be a reliable and most useful body in meeting great public calamities like those caused by the recent eruption of Taal volcano, and the Cebú typhoon.

Reforms of radical importance in the judicial system have been another important factor in making life and property safe, and have resulted in bringing even-handed justice within the reach of many of the poor and the weak.

We found Manila and numerous provincial towns pestholes of disease, while the death-rate of the archipelago as a whole was so high that its climate had gained an evil reputation.

We have given Manila a modern sewer system. We have supplied its people with comparatively pure drinking water from a mountain watershed in place of the contaminated water of the Mariquina River which they were formerly forced to use. We have steadily reduced the death-rate of the city, which is now a safe and healthful place of residence for all who will observe a few simple precautions.[1]

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[1] At the end of 1926 there were 144 municipal and provincial waterworks in the Philippines, exclusive of the Manila metropolitan water system. Thirty-five additional

In the provinces, some eight hundred and fifty artesian wells have brought pure water to hundreds of thousands who were previously compelled to depend on infected wells, springs and streams.[1] By making many of the previously most unsanitary regions of the archipelago healthful we have conclusively demonstrated that the lack of necessary sanitary measures, not the character of the climate, was responsible for the conditions which formerly prevailed.

The islands were periodically swept by frightful epidemics of disease. We have eliminated smallpox, previously rightly considered an almost inevitable disease of childhood, as an important factor in the death-rate. We have practically stamped out cholera and bubonic plague. Years have now passed since there has been a widespread epidemic of disease among the inhabitants.

The United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service has not only thrown its protective line around the archipelago but has sent its outposts to important neighbouring Asiatic centres for the dissemination of disease, thus facilitating the exclusion from the archipelago of dangerous communicable ailments and preventing the introduction of pneumonic plague, the most fatal of them all. It would unquestionably have entered the islands had it not been stopped at quarantine.

We are giving humane care to a considerable number of insane persons who were previously chained to floors or posts.

The lepers of the islands have been isolated and are being well cared for. A few have apparently been permanently cured.[2]

The scientific work of the insular government has been coördinated in such a way as to insure maximum efficiency at minimum cost. Not only has an immense amount of routine work been economically performed but there has been a large amount of original investigation, some of which has resulted in discoveries of far-reaching importance to mankind.

We have found the cause of beriberi, have eliminated this disease from governmental institutions and from among persons subject to governmental control, and have shown the Filipinos how they may rid their country of it, and save money at the same time, by a slight change in their food.

We have found a specific for that horribly disfiguring disease "yaws," and have cured large numbers of persons afflicted with it, thus earning their lasting gratitude.

We have made pure food and pure drugs purchasable throughout a country which was formerly a dumping ground for products not allowed to be sold elsewhere.

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projects were under way and 99 more under consideration. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1926, p. 236.)

[1] Between 1904 and 1926, inclusive, 1,832 successful artesian wells were drilled by the Bureau of Public Works. *Ibid.*

[2] Many are now (1929) being cured. See page 342, *supra,* note 1.

We have not only made long strides in the improvement of sanitary conditions in the provinces but have brought skilled medical and surgical service within the reach of very large numbers of persons who formerly had none at all, successfully overcoming the previous universal prejudice against hospitals, to such an extent that those of the government are now thronged with Filipinos seeking treatment.

In doing these things we have had to combat almost unbelievable ignorance and superstition, the remedy for which is to be found, we hope, in the generalization of education which is rapidly taking place. The hundred and seventy thousand children, who formerly took advantage of the meagre educational facilities provided under the previous régime, consisting chiefly of very defective primary instruction, usually given amidst most unsanitary surroundings, and without adequate facilities of any sort, have been replaced by a happy throng numbering no less than five hundred and thirty thousand, who receive from well-trained teachers excellent primary and secondary instruction, both academic and practical.[1] Through the school system we are generalizing the use of the English language which is to-day, after a decade and a half of American rule, spoken far more generally than Spanish was after it had been the official language of the country for three and a half centuries. In this way we are overcoming the very grave obstacle in the way of welding the numerous peoples of the Philippines into one which is presented by their lack of a common medium of communication.

At the same time we are teaching boys and girls the elements of good sanitation and right living. Girls are also being taught to cook, to sew, to embroider and to make lace. Both boys and girls are receiving instruction in gardening, and boys may learn wood working, iron working and other useful trades. Opportunities for higher academic work have been provided in provincial high schools, and at Manila in the Philippine Normal School and the University of the Philippines, while the Manila Schools of Commerce and of Arts and Trades afford ample opportunity for advanced work on industrial and commercial lines, and the Manila School of Household Industries fits women to go out into the provinces and start new centres for the manufacture of laces and embroideries.

We are educating a constantly and rapidly increasing number of highly trained nurses, physicians and surgeons.

The working forces of certain bureaus of the government have been utilized for purposes of special instruction in surveying, printing and binding, and forestry, and even the inmates of penal institutions are not forgotten, but have good schools provided for them.

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[1] 1,099,306 in 1927. But only 35.56 per cent of the school population can be accommodated in the public schools. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1927, p. 21.)

Quite as important as the development of the minds of the young is the development of their bodies through the introduction of athletic games and sports, which have incidentally promoted intercommunication and mutual understanding between the several Filipino peoples. In many regions baseball is emptying the cockpits, and thus aiding the cause of good order and morality.

Educational work has not been limited to the Filipinos, but has been carried on among the children of the wilder tribes, many of whom are proving to be apt pupils and are making extraordinary progress in industrial work.

By educating the masses we are giving to the Filipinos proper, as distinguished from the *mestizo* politicians, the first opportunity they have ever had to show what is in them.

The means of the government are at present insufficient to educate all of the eight hundred thousand [1] children who, it is believed, would attend school voluntarily if given the opportunity. The insular revenues are derived chiefly from import duties and internal revenue taxes, so that there is a very direct relationship between the amount of government receipts and the volume of business of the country. Careful attention has long been given to stimulating the development of the vast natural resources of the archipelago in order to increase the prosperity of the people and that of the government, which are inseparably united.

Owing to the breaking up of the land area of the country into a very large number of small units, water transportation plays an unusually important part in commercial development. More than two-thirds of the very long coast line has been surveyed, as have the waters adjacent thereto.

The former scarcity of lighthouses has been remedied. An admirable weather service gives due warning of the approach of dangerous storms, and travel and the transportation of freight by sea have thus been rendered safe.

The previous almost complete lack of good roads has been remedied by the construction of four thousand four hundred miles of well-built, admirably maintained highways in the lowlands, supplemented in the highlands of Luzón and Mindanao and in the lowlands of Mindoro and Palawan, by some thirteen hundred miles of cart roads and horse trails.[2] Hundreds of thousands of small farmers, who previously had no inducement to raise more than their families or their immediate neighbours could consume, because they were unable to sell their surplus products, have thus been brought within reach of the market.

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[1] More than 3,000,000 in 1927, of whom only 35.56 can be accommodated in the public schools. *Ibid.* It is unfortunately true, also, that fifteen years after this book was written a large number of the teachers are not well trained for the work which they are called upon to do.

[2] In 1927 there were in existence 3,749.3 miles of first class, 1,883.9 miles of second class, and 1,443.3 miles of third class roads, a total of 7,076.5 miles. (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 169.)

The hundred and twenty-two miles of railway which we found in 1898 have been increased to six hundred eleven.[1]

The government has utilized its coast guard vessels to build up new trade routes until they became commercially profitable, so that private companies were willing to take them over.

Agriculture, the main source of the country's wealth, was conducted in a most primitive manner, modern methods and modern machinery being practically unknown. Worse yet, it was threatened with complete prostration, owing to the prevalence of surra among the horses and of rinderpest among the horned cattle. At a time when great areas were lying uncultivated because of lack of draft animals, and when the horses and cattle of the archipelago seemed doomed to extinction, a vigorous campaign was inaugurated against animal diseases. It has been carried out in the face of manifold obstacles up to the present day, and is resulting in the re-stocking of the islands through natural reproduction and the safeguarding of the young animals. Strenuous efforts, made through the medium of the public schools and through demonstration stations, are bringing about a slow change in the previously existing antiquated agricultural methods, and the example set by Americans is leading to the gradual introduction of a considerable amount of modern farm machinery.

The placing of the currency of the country on a gold basis has been a powerful factor in promoting material prosperity, and together with the other measures previously enumerated, supplemented by favourable tariff legislation giving the Philippines a market in the United States, has led to an era of extraordinary commercial development.

There has been a very rapid increase in the trade between the Philippines and the United States, the former country purchasing from us, practically dollar for dollar, as much as it sells to us, and furnishing us tropical products of a sort which we should otherwise be obliged to buy from countries with which we have a trade balance on the wrong side of the ledger.

The Philippines have a potential source of great wealth in their fifty-four thousand square miles of forest. We have introduced a conservation system which, if maintained and developed, will permanently preserve the more important forests while at the same time facilitating the establishment of a great lumber industry. The free use of forest products from government lands for other than commercial purposes has been granted to the people.

In the face of quiet but determined opposition from the *cacique* class, material progress has been made in assisting the common people to become owners of agricultural land, while in spite of the restrictions imposed by unwise legislation, several modern agricultural estates have been established. They are not only serving as great demonstration stations, of far more practical value than any agricultural college could be at the present stage of development of the Filipinos, but have materially raised the daily wage of agricultural labourers in the regions where they are situated.

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[1] 792 miles in 1928.

We have established an efficient civil service in which national politics have played no part, and appointments and promotion have depended on merit alone. This rule has been made to apply to Filipinos as well as to Americans, with the result that the former have for the most part been compelled to enter the lower grades because of defective preparation, but with the further consequence that they have been promoted as rapidly as the result of subsequent careful training has fitted them for advancement. The proportion of Filipino employees as compared with Americans has increased from forty-nine per cent in 1903 to seventy-one per cent in 1913.[1]

We have given to the country religious liberty. We have also given it free speech and a free press, both of which have been shamelessly abused. We have created, prematurely in my opinion, a legislature with an elective lower house composed exclusively of Filipinos and having equal powers with the upper house in the matter of initiating and passing legislation. I reserve for the following chapter a statement of the opportunities which we have given the Filipinos to participate in the executive control of their towns and provinces, and of the results of these experiments.

Never before in the history of the world has a powerful nation assumed toward a weaker one quite such an attitude as we have adopted toward the Filipinos. I make this statement without thought of disparaging the admirable work which Great Britain has done in her colonies, but on the contrary in the conviction that in some particulars we ourselves have gone too fast and too far, and as a result are likely in the end to have forcibly brought home to us the wisdom of making haste somewhat more slowly, and paying more heed to the experience of others, when dealing with new problems.

However, it will do those of us who thought that we were infallible, if such there be, a world of good to learn that this is not the case; and it will do our Filipino wards good to discover, one of these days, that we can, if necessary, take away as well as give.

Up to the present time our successes certainly overbalance our mistakes, and in my opinion we have just cause for pride in the results of our Philippine stewardship.

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[1] In 1927 a little less than 97.6 per cent of the regular and permanent civil service employees were Filipinos. Cf. page 298, note 1, *supra*.

A Three-year-old Coffee Bush.

Coffee thrives in the highlands of Mindanao, where this photograph was taken, and in those of Northern Luzon.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Is Philippine Independence now Possible?

This question is one of great importance to the people of the United States, for national honour is involved in finding its true answer.

Both of our great political parties are committed to the policy of granting independence when the Filipinos are ready for it. Are they ready now? If so, the promise should be kept. If not, we should be guilty of an unjust and cowardly act if we withdrew our protection and control.

I have already called attention to the fact that the Filipinos[1] are divided into a number of peoples, sometimes called tribes. The census of 1903 recognizes the following: Visayans, numbering 3,219,030; Tagálogs, 1,460,695; Ilocanos, 803,942; Bicols, 566,365; Pangasináns, 343,686; Pampangans, 280,984; Cagayans, 159,648; Zambalans, 48,823.[2]

The loose use of the word "tribe" in designating these peoples is liable to lead to very grave misapprehension. Their leaders vigorously, and very properly, object to the idea that they have at present anything resembling a tribal organization. The truth is that they are the descendants of originally distinct tribes or peoples which have gradually come to resemble each other more and more, and to have more and more in common.[3]

The very large majority of them have been brought up in the Catholic faith. In physical characteristics, dress and customs they resemble each other quite closely. They are alike in their dignity of bearing, their sobriety, their genuine hospitality, their kindliness to the old and the feeble, their love of their children and eagerness to obtain for them educational advantages which they themselves have been denied, their fondness for music, their patience in the face of adversity, and the respect which they show for authority so long as their passions are not played upon, or their prejudices aroused, by the unscrupulous. These are admirable characteristics and afford a good foundation on which to build. Such differences as exist between these several peoples are steadily diminishing. This is especially true of the Tagálogs and the numerically comparatively unimportant peoples lying immediately to the north and west of their territory, namely, the Pampangans, Pangasináns and Zambalans. The Tagálogs, Ilocanos, Cagayans, Bicols and Visayans are distinguished by much more marked differences.

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[1] This name is properly applicable to the Christian peoples only.

[2] No enumeration of the Christian Filipinos by the ethnographic groups above mentioned was recorded in the Census of 1918. A reasonably accurate estimate of their respective numbers was made in 1916 by Professor H. Otley Beyer, however. Using Beyer's figures and his rate of increase, their numbers in 1929 would be: Visayans, 4,907,943; Tagalogs, 2,191,048; Ilocanos, 1,216,274; Bikols, 829,292; Pangasináns, 423,457; Pampangans, 404,621; Cagayans (Ibanags), 158,648; and Zambalans (Sambals), 64,568. (Figured from data in Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, p. 79.)

Professor Beyer states that his estimate is a conservative one, with the probability on the side of an under-estimate. (*Ibid.*, p. 14.) The figures of the Census of 1918 for the several provinces, and the estimates since made by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, based upon excess of births over deaths (*Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, p. 4) would seem to confirm this opinion. It is probable, therefore, that the estimates of the present strength of the various groups given in this note are, on the whole, conservative. Professor Beyer's definition of a Philippine ethnographic group is as follows: "Any group of people, living in a more or less continuous geographic area, who have a sufficiently unique economic and social life, language, or physical type to mark them off clearly and distinctly from any other similar group in the Philippine Islands." (*Ibid.*, p. 37.)

[3] Whatever the differences between these ethnographic groups may "originally" have been, there is no doubt that for a number of years their dissimilarities have been diminishing and their similarities increasing at a rapid rate. [Editor.]

In general, the Tagálogs tend to become the dominating Filipino people of the islands, and successfully attempt to assert themselves in their dealings with all the other Christian peoples except the Ilocanos, who are quite capable of holding their own. The Ilocanos have a reputation for orderliness and industry which the Tagálogs lack. The Cagayans are, as a people, notoriously lazy and stupid, although there are of course numerous conspicuous individual exceptions to this rule. The Visayans are comparatively docile and law-abiding. Many of the Bicols are energetic and capable, and they seem to be possessed of a rather keen sense of humour, which their neighbours lack.

Two things tend to keep the several peoples apart. The first is the present lack of any common medium of communication. There are more quite sharply distinct dialects than there are peoples. The Visayans, for instance, speak Cebuano, Ilongo and Cuyuno. The language difficulty is of least importance among the peoples immediately north of Manila where the use of Tagálog is generalized to a considerable extent, but even here it is serious.

Mr. Justice Johnson of the Philippine Supreme Court tells me that when he was serving in Zambales as a judge of first instance the examination of a family of four persons necessitated two interpreters, one for the father, and another for the mother and two step-children, while in the trial of seven men charged with a murder it was necessary to read the complaint in four different dialects.

Taylor cites the following typical instances of practical difficulty growing out of the multiplicity of dialects:—

"In December, 1898, General Macabulos was the commissioner in Tarlac Province. At Camiling the orders prescribing how the elections were to be carried on were read in Spanish and then translated into Ilocano. General Macabulos next delivered in Tagálog a speech informing the assemblage of their duties under the new form of government. This was translated into Ilocano, as the people did not understand Tagálog any more than they did Spanish.[1] When on July 6, 1898, a junta of men in favour of the independence of the Philippines met at Gerona, Tarlac, to elect among themselves the civil officials for the town, the decrees of Aguinaldo, of June 18 and 20, were read in Ilocano, in Tagálog, in Pampanga, and in Pangasinán, all of which languages were spoken in the town." [2]

The head of the town of Antipolo, Morong Province, wrote to the secretary of the interior on October 21, 1898, that his delay in executing orders had been caused by the fact that they were written in Tagálog, which he did not understand. He recommended that Spanish be always used by the central government.[3] Mabini himself at one time proposed that English be made the official language. The constitution of the "Republic," while making Tagálog the official language, provided for instruction in English.[4]

There is no literature worth mentioning written in the native dialects, nor do they open a way to the fields of science, the arts, history, or philosophy. Their vocabularies are comparatively poor in words, and they do not afford satisfactory media of communication, especially as words of generalization are almost entirely lacking. This latter fact conclusively demonstrates the stage of mental evolution attained by the peoples which have developed these several languages.

The use of Spanish never became common, and knowledge of this language was limited to the educated few. After fifteen short years English is far more widely spoken than Spanish ever was. When English comes into comparatively general use, as it will if the present educational policy is adhered to, one fundamental difficulty in the way of welding the Filipinos into "a people" will have been largely done away with.

The second important barrier between the several Filipino peoples is built up of dislikes and prejudices, in part handed down from the days when they were tribally distinct and actively hostile; in part resulting from the well-marked tendency of the Tagálogs and the Ilocanos to impose their will upon the others. The actual differences between a Tagálog and a Visayan are not so great. The important thing, from the American view point, is that every Tagálog and every Visayan really considers them *very* great.

There would have been no insurrection of any importance in the Visayas and Mindanao if the Tagálogs had kept their hands off. We have seen how they worked their will on the people of the Cagayan valley and the Visayas, and what bitter animosities they provoked.

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[1] P. I. R., 1097. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, 1157. 8. [3] *Ibid.*, 1018. 1.

[4] Title X.—Of Public Instruction.
Elementary instruction shall comprise reading, speaking and writing correctly the official language which is Tagálog, and the rudimentary principles of English and of the exact, physical and natural sciences, together with a slight knowledge of the duties of man and citizen.—TAYLOR, 19 MG.

We have also seen how on various occasions the Ilocanos opposed the Tagálogs as such, and even planned to kill them, while the Visayans did kill them on various occasions.

At the time when there was great excitement in Manila over the Jones Bill, and many Filipinos believed that independence was coming on July 4, 1913, there took place at the house of General Aguinaldo a very significant gathering of former insurgent generals and colonels. There was then much interest in the question of who would be appointed president of the coming Philippine Republic. It was officially announced that the object of this meeting was to unite those who attended it in an effort to aid in the maintenance of a good condition of public order. I learned from a source which I believe to be thoroughly reliable that one of the conclusions actually reached was that no Visayan should be allowed to become president of the republic, and that one of the real objects of the meeting was to crystallize opposition to the candidacy of Señor Osmeña, the speaker of the assembly. But the undesirability of giving publicity to such factional differences at this time was promptly realized and this attitude on the part of Aguinaldo's supporters was not publicly announced.

Troubles between Ilocanos and Cagayans continue in Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya up to the present day. Several years since, when investigating the cause which lay behind a petition from certain people of the latter province for an increase in the educational requirement precedent to the exercise of the franchise, I discovered that the whole thing resolved itself into an effort to disfranchise the Ilocanos, who always voted together and already controlled elections in several townships.

Without going further into the differences which separate the several civilized peoples, I will say emphatically that the great mass of Filipinos do not constitute "a people" in the sense in which that word is understood in the United States. They are not comparable in any way with the American people or the English people. They cannot be reached as a whole, and they do not respond as a whole.[1] In this they agree with all other Malays. Colquhoun has truly said:[2]—

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[1] The editor does not believe that these statements are accurate as applied to the Christian population of the Philippines at the present time, 1929. For the past thirty years both American and Filipino leaders have been seeking to develop in the Philippines a homogeneous, united people, conscious of a common nationality, imbued with a common patriotism, and governing themselves through common (and highly unified) institutions. During this period instrumentalities, such as the public schools, an effective system of central control over practically all of the units and services of government, national political parties, and a nationalistic legislature, have been developed through which the people can be reached as a whole. In many instances they have responded as a whole. As the result of these efforts, and because racially the population of the Philippines is homogeneous, not heterogeneous, the Christian Filipinos have acquired a keen sense of nationality and are becoming a genuine "people."

[2] A. R. Colquhoun, *The Mastery of the Pacific*, New York, 1902.

Modern historical research has proven this oft-quoted statement to be false historically, while the development of a Philippine nation has demonstrated that the conclusion frequently drawn from it,—that no Malay nation ever will exist,—is entirely unjustified. For an account of the Javanese Empire of Madjapahit which, between 1292 and

"No Malay nation has ever emerged from the hordes of that race, which has spread over the islands of the Pacific. Wherever they are found they have certain marked characteristics and of these the most remarkable is their lack of that spirit which goes to form a homogeneous people, to weld them together. The Malay is always a provincial; more, he rarely rises outside the interests of his own town or village."

More important than the differences which separate the Tagálogs, Ilocanos, Cagayans, and Visayans as such, are those which separate the individuals composing these several groups of the population. Very few of the present political leaders are of anything approaching pure Malayan blood. To give details in specific cases would be to give offence, and to wound the feelings of men who certainly are not to blame for their origin. Suffice it to say that with rare exceptions, if one follows their ancestry back a very little way he finds indubitable evidence of the admixture of Spanish, other European or Chinese blood. The preeminence of these men is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that through the wealth and influence of their fathers they had educational advantages, and in many instances enjoyed broadening opportunities for travel, which were beyond the reach of their less fortunate countrymen. To what extent their present demonstrated abilities are due to these facts, and to what extent they are due to white or Mongolian blood, will never be known until the children of the common people, who are now enjoying exceptionally good educational opportunities, arrive at maturity and show what they can do.[1]

Meanwhile there is more or less thinly veiled hostility between the *mestizo* class and the great dark mass of the people. For a time we heard much of *Filipinos de cara y corazon*,[2] and while because of political expediency there is less of this talk now than formerly, the feeling which caused it persists, and will continue to endure. Throughout the Christian provinces the same condition exists everywhere. The *mestizo* element is in control. Until the common people have learned to assert themselves, and have come to take an important part in the commercial and political development of their country, anything but an oligarchical form of independent government is impossible.

The *mestizos* certainly would determine what form of government should be established were independence now granted to the Philippines, and it is interesting to determine what they have considered to be the requisites for the establishment of a government by them. One of these

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1498, brought all of the Malayan world, from Burma to Formosa, under its political control, see Steiger, Beyer, and Benitez, *A History of the Orient*, Boston, 1926.

[1] In this connection Bishop Brent has said, "Thus far, it is the men of mixed blood who are the politicians. The degree of capacity in the Filipino will not be revealed until the schoolboys of to-day are in active public life."

[2] Literally, "Filipinos of face and heart." The expression means Filipinos in appearance and in sympathies.

men in a petition presented in 1905 at the time the congressional party visited the islands with Mr. Taft, put the case as follows:—

> "If the masses of the people are governable, a part must necessarily be denominated the directing class, for as in the march of progress, moral or material, nations do not advance at the same rate, some going forward whilst others fall behind, so it is with the inhabitants of a country, as observation will prove.
>
> "If the Philippine Archipelago has a governable popular mass called upon to obey and a directing class charged with the duty of governing, it is in condition to govern itself. These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern, the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses."

The conditions portrayed might make a government possible, but it would assuredly not be a republic. The advocates of this view are hardly in harmony with the one so eloquently expressed at Rio Janeiro by Mr. Root:—

> "No student of our times can fail to see that not America alone but the whole civilized world is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this, our great undertaking, the hope of humanity depends."

If what is needed to make a just and stable government possible is "an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses" and an entity that thinks it "knows how to govern, the directing class," then we might leave the islands at once, if willing to leave the wild tribes to their fate, but we have work to do before the civilization of the Filipinos can safely be intrusted to "the capacity of the popular mass to govern."

There are certain undesirable characteristics which are common to a large majority of the people correctly designated as Filipinos. Ignorance and superstition are still to be met at every turn. At the time of the census of 1903 the percentage of illiteracy in the Philippines was estimated to be 79.8. More than half of the persons counted as literate could read and write only some native dialect, and often did even that badly.[1]

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[1] The Census of 1918 rated 49.2 per cent of the population over ten years of age as literate, the test of literacy being the ability to read a native dialect. The percentage of literacy in the city of Manila was given as 84.6 (*Census*, 1918, II, pp. 53, 54.) The same source estimated that of Filipinos over ten years of age, 511,721 males and 245,742 females spoke Spanish, these numbers being 30.4 per cent and 16.9 per cent, respectively of the literates. At the same time, 569,501 males and 326,757 females, or 33.9 per cent and 22.4 per cent of the literates spoke English. (*Ibid.*, p. 60.) The number of those who could read and write Spanish or English was slightly less, the difference being greater for Spanish than for English. (*Ibid.*, p. 62.)

A Ceara Rubber Tree.

Trees of this species grow particularly well in Bukidnon. The one shown was less than three years old.

More recent, and therefore more interesting, as showing present-day conditions, are the statistics obtained in connection with the elections of June 4, 1912. Ability to read and write English or Spanish entitles a male citizen of the Philippines, who is twenty-three or more years of age, to vote. The total number of registered voters was 248,154 only, of whom slightly less than one-third had the above-mentioned qualifications. In Manila 14 per cent of the voters were illiterate, and in the provinces 70 per cent. This lack of education opened wide the door to fraud and was one of the chief reasons why there were 240 protested elections out of a total of 824, made up as follows: municipal, 709; provincial, 34; for delegate to assembly, 81. The proportion of literate electors to total population in the territory in question was 1.47 per cent.[1]

One of the easiest kinds of business to start in the Philippines, and one of the most profitable to conduct, is the establishment of a new religion. We have recently had the "colorum," with headquarters on Mt. San Cristobal, an extinct volcano. People visited this place and paid large sums in order to persuade the god to talk to them. A big megaphone, carefully hidden away, was so trained that the voice of the person using it would carry across a cañon and strike the trail on the other side. If payments were satisfactorily large the god talked to those who had made them in a most impressive manner when they reached this point in their homeward journey.

We have also had the Cabaruan fiasco in Pangasinán, in the course of which a new town with several thousand inhabitants sprang up in a short time. There was a place of worship where the devout were at prayer day and night. There was also a full-fledged holy Trinity made up of local talent. Unfortunately, some of the principal people connected with this movement became involved in carabao stealing and other forms of public disorder, and on a trip to Lingayen I saw the persons who had impersonated God, the Son, and the Virgin Mary in the provincial jail. We have had "Pope Isio" in Negros, who was in reality the leader of a strong *ladrone* band, and we have had various other popes elsewhere who occupied themselves in similar ways.

Hardly a year passes that miraculous healers do not spring into ephemeral existence in the islands, and the people invariably flock to them in thousands. Conspicuous among this class of imposters was the "Queen of Taytay," whose exploits I have already narrated.[2]

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[1] In the election of 1925 there were 1,017,019 registered voters, of whom 764,289 possessed the educational qualification of ability to read and write Spanish, English, or a native dialect. Throughout the Islands a total of 71,645 voters had their ballots prepared for them because they were illiterate. In the city of Manila the literate registered voters constituted about 7.5 per cent of the total population. (Data from the Executive Bureau.)

[2] That the days of ignorance, fanaticism and credulity are not yet past for some of the Filipino people is made evident by the record of the past few years. In 1924 and 1925 "Colorums" in Surigao (northern Mindanao) terrorized the province until they were brought under control by an expeditionary force of Philippine Constabulary which

The belief of the common people in *asuáng* and in the black dog which causes cholera has also already been mentioned. A very large percentage of them are firmly convinced of the efficacy of charms, collectively known as *anting-anting,* supposed to make the bodies of the wearers proof against bullets or cutting weapons. Within the past year a bright young man of Parañaque, a town immediately adjacent to Manila, insisted that a friend should strike him with a bolo in order that he might demonstrate the virtues of his *anting-anting,* and received an injury from which he promptly died. Again and again the hapless victims of this particular superstition have gone to certain death, firm in the conviction that they could not be harmed.

The worst of it is that even the native press does not dare to combat such superstitions, if indeed those who control it do not still themselves hold to them. *La Vanguardia,* commonly considered to be the leading Filipino paper in the islands, published the following account of the event referred to above:—

> "Basilio Aquino, a native of Parañaque, and Timoteo Kariaga, an Iloko residing in Manila, made a bet as to which of them had the better anting-anting, and to settle it Kariaga allowed himself to be struck twice on the right arm and once on the abdomen, but as they say,—Miracle of miracles! Although Aquino used all of his strength and the bolo was extremely sharp, he did not succeed in making the slightest scratch on Kariaga. In view of that, Aquino invited his rival to submit him to the same test. Kariaga was reluctant to do so, for he was sure he would wound Aquino, but the latter insisted so much that there was nothing to do but please him, and at the first cut his right arm was almost severed, and he died from loss of blood two hours later. The wounded man would not report the occurrence to the authorities, but the relatives of the victim were compelled to do so in view of his tragic end."

From the report of this occurrence in *El Ideal,* a paper believed to be controlled by Speaker Osmeña, I quote the following:—

killed 100, captured 500, and dispersed the rest of the group. A similar situation in the neighboring province of Agusan was ended by a pitched battle in which one Constabulary officer, seven soldiers, and 35 "Colorums" were killed. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1924, p. 51.)

The report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1925 records the following incident: "Early in the year a secret association named 'Kapisanan Kabola Kasinag' was discovered in Nueva Ecija. It had a membership of about 1,500 ignorant farmers and laborers, and they had for their leader Pedro Kabola, an ex-convict and fugitive from justice. The objects of this association were to overthrow the local government at San Jose, to rob the wealthy class of its land and other property, and then to divide the spoils among themselves. . . . The Constabulary disposed of this movement. (*Ibid.,* 1925, p. 254.)

In 1927 one "Flor Intrencherado" formed an "imperial government" in Iloilo, set up a court, sold titles and insignia in large numbers, and promised to abolish the cedula tax and to place all of his followers, who numbered 10,000, on the public payroll. As the first step toward overthrowing the existing government, a group of his dupes assaulted the municipal buildings of La Carlota, Occidental Negros, on May 13, 1927, killing two policemen and wounding the chief of police and six other citizens. Again the Constabulary dealt with the situation. Intrencherado, a former fish merchant, was placed in the insane department of the San Lazaro hospital "for treatment and observation." (*Ibid.,* 1927, pp. 111–112; Ms. Report, Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, 1926, pp. 10–11.)

"The trial was made in the presence of a goodly number of bystanders, all of them townsmen, connections and friends of the actors.

"Timoteo Kariaga, that being the name of one of the actors, an Ilocano resident of Manila, was the first to submit to the ordeal. His companion and antagonist, named Basilio Aquino, from Parañaque, bolo in hand, aimed slashes at the former, endeavouring to wound him in the arms and abdomen, without success, the amulet of Kariaga offering apparently admirable resistance in the trial, so that the bolo hardly left a visible mark upon his body."

A very interesting and highly instructive book might be written on Filipino superstitions, but I must here confine myself to a few typical illustrations. The following extract from a narrative report of the senior constabulary inspector of the island of Leyte, dated April 3, 1913, is not without interest. It deals with a murder which it describes as follows:—

"Basilio Tarli had given the bolo thrust that killed the deceased, with a small fighting bolo belonging to Pastor Lumantal, who had given Basilio the bolo for this purpose. The deceased had the reputation of being a sort of witch doctor, and Pastor thought that his wife, Maria Subior, who was pregnant, had a dog or other animal in her womb instead of a child, placed there by the deceased. For this reason Pastor arranged with Basilio Tarli and Cecilio Cuenzona to kill the deceased."

Lieutenant George R. F. Cornish, P. C., stationed at Catubig in Samar, reported on "Pagloon" as follows during August, 1913:—

"Pagloon, a method of overcoming certain weak traits in children, is practiced by most of the inhabitants of Samar. If, for example, a father who is not in the military service, shoots a man, superstition has it that his child will shortly become sick. The father, to prevent this, uses a method known as 'pagloon,' which, being interpreted, means 'to vaporize,' 'to make clean.' He places the stock of the gun that did the shooting, along with a branch of a cocoanut tree that has been sanctified in incense by the padre of the Catholic church in a fire. The padre furnishes these incense leaves only once a year. The hands are dipped in water and then placed in the smoke. The vaporous healing incense that collects on the hands, from placing them in the fire, is rubbed on the child from head to foot. This operation is repeated three nights in succession and then the child ought to be free from any danger."

Serious trouble was made for men investigating the mineral resources of the island of Cebú by the circulation of a tale to the effect that they needed the blood of children to pour into cracks in the ground.

The following is an extract from a narrative report of the senior constabulary inspector of Pampanga for April, 1913:—

> "April 9.—Between 2 and 3 P.M. in the barrio of San Pedro, Manilan, the two sisters (old women) Maria and Matea Manalili were cut up with a bolo by Hermogenes Castro of the barrio of Santa Catalina of the same town, resulting in the instant death of Matea. Maria, whose right hand was cut off, died on the 21st instant. Castro gave up and on the 10th instant was remanded to the Court of First Instance charged with murder. The two sisters were known in the locality as 'mangcuculan,' or witches, and were charged by Castro with having cast a spell on him, causing a stiff neck, which spell the sisters refused to remove."

A number of comparatively reputable Filipino physicians, in the city of Manila itself, have confessed that they have to pretend to depend, to some extent, on charms and exorcisms, in order to get and keep practice.[1]

It is claimed that the Filipinos are a unit in demanding their independence. As a matter of fact, the bulk of the common people have little idea what the word really means. In this connection the following extract from the report of Colonel H. H. Bandholtz, later director of constabulary, of June 30, 1903, on the bandit Rios, is of interest:—

> "Rios represented himself to be an inspired prophet and found little difficulty in working on the superstitions of the extremely ignorant and credulous inhabitants of barrios distant from centres of population. So well did he succeed that he had organized what he designated as an 'Exterior Municipal Government' (for revenue only) with an elaborate equipment of officials. He promoted himself and his followers in rapid succession, until he finally had with him one captain-general, one lieutenant-general, twenty-five major-generals and fifty brigadier-generals and a host of officers of lower grade. In appreciation of his own abilities he appointed himself 'Generalissimo' and 'Viceroy' and stated his intention of having himself crowned 'King of the Philippines.' Titles like these not proving sufficient, he announced himself as 'The Son of God,' and dispensed 'anting-antings,' which were guaranteed to make the wearer invulnerable to attack. Of the *ladrones* killed during this period, few were discovered who were not wearing one of these 'anting-antings.'
>
> "The dense ignorance and credulity of the followers of Rios was clearly shown by the fanatical paraphernalia captured by Captain Murphy, P. C., on March 8, near Infanta. Among these was a box, on the cover of which was painted the word 'Independencia,' and the followers of Rios profoundly believed that when they had proven them-

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[1] In this connection see the decision of the Philippine Supreme Court in the case of the United States *vs.* Mariano Boston, rendered November 23, 1908 (10 Philippine Reports, p. 134). The pertinent portions of the decision are printed in earlier editions of this work, pages 948–949.

selves worthy the box would be opened and the mysterious something called independence for which they had so long been fighting could be secured, and that when attained there would be no more labour, no taxes, no jails, and no Constabulary to disturb their *ladrone* proclivities.

"When this mysterious chest was opened it was found to contain only some old Spanish gazettes and a few hieroglyphics, among which appeared the names and rank of the distinguished officials of the organization."

The affair is typical of an endless series of similar occurrences.

The ordinary Filipino dearly loves mystery, and misses no opportunity to join a secret society. It matters little to him what its supposed object may be, and that end is, as frequently as anything else, the organization of an insurrection. All sorts of fees are collected from the ignorant poor by the leaders of such movements, who are almost invariably of the educated and intelligent classes. At the opportune time they get away with the funds, leaving their ignorant followers to blunder along until caught and lodged in jail. The American government has dealt very gently with such poor dupes, most of whom have been released without any punishment. Within the past few days[1] I have had an interview with an exceptionally intelligent Filipino justice of the peace who sometimes gives me interesting information, in the course of which I asked him what was going on at present. He laughed and told me that the Filipinos in the vicinity of Manila believed that Mr. Harrison, the new governor-general, was coming to give them independence, and that a lot of smart rascals, who pretended to be organizing the army that would be necessary to maintain it, were selling officers' commissions at a peso each to any one who would buy them, and were doing a thriving business.

Until it ceases to be so readily possible to prey on the superstitions, the credulity and the passions of the common people, efforts on the part of the Filipinos to establish and maintain unaided a stable government are not likely to be crowned with very abundant success.

In general it may be said of the Filipino that he is quick to learn, but needs a teacher; is quick to follow, but needs a leader. He is ready to do the things he is taught to do. He accepts discipline, orders, rules. He has a great respect for constituted authority. He lacks initiative and sound judgment.

Let Americans beware of judging the Filipino peoples by the men with from one-half to thirty-one thirty-seconds of white blood, who so often have posed as their representatives.

More important than the interrelations of the several Christian peoples *inter se* are those between the several Christian peoples on the one hand and the non-Christian tribes on the other. This subject has already been discussed at length, so I will limit myself to a brief summary statement.

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[1] Written September 15, 1913.

The Filipinos dislike and despise the non-Christians. They take advantage of their ignorance and helplessness to rob or cheat them of the fruits of their labour, and often hold them as slaves or peons. The non-Christians in turn hate them, and the more warlike wild tribes do not hesitate to take vengeance on them when opportunity offers. The Filipinos as a whole are afraid of the Moros, and with good reason. The Moros frankly assert that if a Filipino government were established, they would resume their piratical warfare, and this they would certainly do. Although the non-Christians are numerically few, as compared with the Christians, they are potentially important because they have the power to make an amount of trouble wholly disproportionate to their numbers. The Filipinos could not rule them successfully, and the probable outcome of any attempt on their part to control them would be the inauguration of a policy of extermination. Because of the inaccessible nature of the country inhabited by many of the Philippine wild tribes, they would be able to hold their own for many years, and there would result a condition similar to that which has prevailed for so long in Achin, while the Moros with their ability to take to the sea and suddenly strike unprotected places would cause endless suffering and loss of life.

Under the Spanish régime the penalty which followed a too liberal use of "free speech" was very likely to be a sudden and involuntary trip to the other world. There was no such thing as a free press. A very strict censorship was constantly exercised over all the newspapers. The things that are now said and written daily without attracting much attention would at that time have cost the liberty or the lives of those who voiced them.

It is hardly to be wondered at that an Oriental people which had never had a free press or liberty of speech should have mistaken liberty, when it finally came, for license, and have gone to extremes which conclusively demonstrated their initial unfitness properly to utilize their new privileges. Governor-General Smith once told a delegation of leading Filipinos that it was all very well to have freedom of speech and of the press in a country ruled by the United States government, which was strong enough to maintain order in the face of manifold difficulties, but that if the islands ever secured their independence the first official act of those in power should be to do away with the one and the other, for the reason that such a government as they would establish could not exist if either continued.

While the curtailing of freedom of speech or of the press under American civil rule is almost unthinkable, it is nevertheless true that the attitude of many of the politicians who do the talking, and who

A Typical Coconut Grove.

Coconut products comprise one of the principal exports of the Philippines.

control the native press, has been poisonous.[1] A very intelligent student of Philippine affairs has truly said that nothing more is necessary to demonstrate the present unreadiness of the country for self-government than a careful study of the attitude of the native press toward important public questions. From the beginning until now there has been one long and almost uninterrupted series of lies, innuendoes, sneers and diabolically ingenious misrepresentations. Practically every important policy of the government has been viciously attacked, and the worst of it is that the people primarily responsible for this are not honest, or misled. They know perfectly well what they are doing and why they are doing it. They embitter that portion of the common people who are reached by newspapers at all, and doubtless many of their dupes really believe that the established government is a rotten farce, and that its highest officials are steeped in iniquity.

Certainly no people are more skilful than are the Filipino politicians in pretending to write one thing with the certainty that another and very different one will be read between the lines. In the matter of libel, they are adepts at skating on thin ice. Rare indeed is the occurrence of a decent attitude on the part of any native newspaper toward any important public question.[2]

The history of the municipal and provincial governments is worthy of very careful consideration. It has been found necessary to exercise close supervision over them in order to correct a constant tendency on the part of those having authority to abuse it. Practically all the time of three lawyers in the executive bureau is taken up in examining evidence and reports of administrative investigations of charges against municipal officials and justices of the peace, of whom about two hundred are found guilty each year. Half that number are removed from office. One of the commonest charges against these officers is "abuse of authority," and one of the most difficult and endless tasks of the American administrative officers is to impress on the elective native official a sense of obligation toward his "inferiors," that is, the plain people who elected him. He expects obsequiousness and even servility, and if they are lacking, endeavours to get square.[1]

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[1] Former Governor-General Forbes has discussed at some length the attitude of the Filipino press, and expressed views concerning it which, on the whole, are similar to those stated by Worcester. Cf. Forbes, II, pp. 71–78; and appendix XXII.

In physical equipment, and in its general tone the Filipino press has progressed a long way since 1913. Today it performs with public spirit and with marked success the same function which is assumed by the American press in connection with great drives for public health work, thrift campaigns, "clean-up week," and other concerted efforts for the public welfare. In the opinion of the editor, however, it has not yet attained similar standards of responsibility and accuracy in dealing with political matters. Its failure to do so was especially noticeable between 1921 and 1926. The development of journalism into a profession with a definite code of ethics, and with standards of work and conduct comparable to those of the older professions is contributing to the elevation of the character of newspapers in the Philippines as well as in the United States.

[2] The editor of an American newspaper published at Zamboanga has accurately described the attitude of the native press as follows:—

"We have often referred to the great opportunity prevailing for the native press of the Philippines to aid the material and political uplift of the inhabitants. Conditions of race and dialect naturally conduce to facilitate this work for the native journalist. With few exceptions, however, the native press has persistently obstructed every effort toward general amelioration of the condition of the masses. Conspicuous efficiency in good government has furnished a target for its denunciation. Truth has been garbled, motives maligned, race hatred kindled, falsehood fabricated and sedition practised, encouraged and lauded. The public school system, the intrinsic foundation to free institutions, instituted under the military régime and constantly expanded under the civil régime, has been interpreted by the native press as a pernicious effort to oppress the masses by the enforcement of a foreign language upon them. The efforts to stamp out cattle disease and for the restoration of draft animals have been maligned as being oppressive to personal liberty. The sanitary measures which have so renovated the very atmosphere of the archipelago have ever been the mark of derision and violent attack. When cholera and plague have claimed their hundreds daily, efforts at prevention have persistently met with opposition from the native press. Officials with the most unselfish motives have been persistenty insulted, slandered and maligned. The American flag, which is the only emblem giving assurance of safety in the home, peace from abroad, liberty of opportunity, and equality and justice before the law, has been constantly smeared with the opprobrium of a malignant, filthy native press. Progress of the Philippine people as a whole is retarded."

Surely I have given enough illustrations of the ferocious brutality with which Filipino officials treated the common people in the days of the "Republic." Such brutality would again be in evidence were there to be any failure to hold officers strictly accountable. The following case, called to my attention by a reliable American woman, illustrates the fact that provincial governors are sometimes swayed by other than humanitarian motives:—

"In 1902 when I was living at Capiz, a very pretty little fellow, a child of 7 or 8, often came begging to my house. Finally he ceased to come and I saw nothing of him for several months. Then I met him one morning, stone blind, his eyes in frightful condition. I made inquiry and learned that the people with whom he lived (his parents were dead) not finding him a remunerative investment had decided that he must be made more pitiful looking to bring in good returns as a beggar. So they filled his eyes with lime and held his head in a tub of water. I took the child to the Governor (the late Hugo Vidal) to make complaint. The Governor listened to my story, and then exclaimed, 'You are mistaken. I have known this child for years and he has been like this all the time.' The local sanitary chief agreed with him, and I was forced to give up all hope of having the inhuman wretches that had tortured the child punished."

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[1] On March 15, 1913, the Assistant Executive Secretary had occasion to write the following letter to the Governor of Capiz:—

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR ALTAVÁS: I have to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 28th ultimo, complaining against the Justices of the Peace of Jamindan and Tapaz for failing 'to salute' you when visiting said towns, although your visits were frequently announced in advance, and the Justices of the Peace were in town at the time.

"The theoretical principles of democracy prevailing under this government do not require such courtesies as a matter of law. It may be that, as your letter intimates, the Justice of the Peace should, as a matter of courtesy, call on you when you are in his town, but failure to do so in no wise constitutes ground for complaint, and were we to take your complaint seriously and cause it to be investigated, we would be indeed in serious danger of receiving a lecture on democracy from either the Judge of the Court of First Instance or the Justice of the Peace himself.

"I believe that, under the circumstances, the best course to be taken in the matter would be for you to withdraw the complaint, for even if the Justices concerned admit the charges, no administrative action against them would be possible.

"Very sincerely,
(Signed) "THOMAS CARY WELCH
(Acting Executive Secretary)"

The attitude of provincial and municipal officials toward very necessary sanitary measures has often been exceedingly unfortunate. In 1910 the officials of the town of Bautista, Pangasinán, voted to have a *fiesta,* in spite of the fact that the health authorities had informed them that this could not be done safely, owing to the existence of cholera in the neighbouring towns. The town council preferred the merry-making to the protection of the lives of the people, and voted to disregard the warnings of the Bureau of Health, with the result that several of the neighbouring municipalities were infected with cholera, and many lives were needlessly lost. The governor of the province, himself a Filipino, was lax in attention to duty in this instance or the town council would have been suspended before, instead of after, this action on its part.

For a long time municipal policemen were commonly utilized as servants by the town officials, and were nearly useless for actual police work. To put firearms into their hands was little better than to present them outright to the *ladrones*. At present the constabulary exercise a considerable amount of control over municipal police, and there has resulted very material improvement in their appearance, discipline and effectiveness.

Municipal councils in the majority of cases voted all of the town money for salaries, leaving nothing for maintenance of public buildings, roads and public works, with the result that streets in the very centres of towns became impassable even for foot passengers. They were often indescribably filthy, cluttered with all sorts of waste material, and served as a meeting ground for all the horses, cattle, dogs, pigs, hens and goats of the neighbourhood.

In many instances, the first use made of their newly acquired powers by provincial governors and municipal presidents was to persecute in all sorts of petty ways those who had opposed their election, while the latter displayed marked disinclination to accept the will of the majority.

It is not to be expected that the Filipino masses should as yet understand modern democratic government. Where could they have obtained knowledge of it? Under Spanish rule they saw officials habitually enriching themselves at the expense of the communities they were supposed to govern. They saw a government of privilege where the work of the many benefited the few. How could they have gained experience in modern and enlightened administration for the benefit of the people rather than for the benefit of the administrators? Not only must there be knowledge on the part of officials that this is the proper way to govern, but there must be a demand on the part of the people for such a government, and until the people know and understand that such a government is their right there will be no such demand. There is not yet a sufficient proportion of the Filipino people literate to make approval or disapproval felt.

Incidentally it should be remembered that in the Philippine Islands any provincial or municipal officer may be suspended by the governor-general, or removed for failure properly to perform his duties, for disloyalty, or for other causes. The provincial governors also hold the same power over the municipal presidents. Existing conditions are therefore not comparable with those which would arise without such control. I would as soon say that an automobile could go without a driver because it runs fairly well when there is a driver directing it as that the administration of the municipalities and provinces of the Philippine Islands would go as well as it now does under a system which does not provide for strong central control. It is one thing to administer when you are carefully supervised, and when the power of removal is held directly over you by a superior officer watching your every move, and another to administer equally well when the reins are not firmly held.

Serious consideration must be given to another group of facts in considering the fitness of the Filipinos for independence. It is undeniably true that they have progressed much further in civilization than has any other group of peoples of Malayan origin. It is just as indubitable that their development has not been a natural evolution, but has resulted from steady pressure brought to bear during three and a half centuries by Spain, and during the last decade and a half by the United States. What would happen were this pressure removed? One may judge, within limits, from what has happened where it has been removed. Take, for instance, Cagayancillo, which is an isolated town on a small island southwest of Panay. Here the Spanish friar was the sole representative of governmental authority in bygone days. Cagayancillo was then a thriving town, with a strong stone fort for defense against the Moros, a beautiful, large church with splendid wood carvings ornamenting its interior, and a fine masonry *convento* of the most original architecture, with long rows of giant clam shells embedded in its outer walls. There were a good municipal building and a stone schoolhouse, also excellent for their day. I first visited the place shortly after Palawan was made a province under civil rule. No priest had been there for three years. The town and its inhabitants reeked with filth. The wits of the two or three exceptionally intelligent men of the place were befogged with opium. The church and *convento* were falling into ruin. The fort had already gone to the bad. The *presidencia*[1] was a wreck, and so was the schoolhouse. There were no teachers for the children. The people are rapidly lapsing into barbarism.

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[1] Municipal building.

In 1910 I visited the town of Malaueg, situated in the province of Cagayan. It was one of the first mission stations in northern Luzón. I found there the walls of an immense church and *convento*. These walls were approximately forty inches thick, and were intact, though roofs and floors had disappeared, in part from decay and in part from the stealing of the boards. Over the door of the church was a thick hardwood beam on which were carved in raised letters Spanish words signifying that the church was rebuilt in 1650. The walls of Manila were built about 1590. When was this church constructed to require rebuilding sixty years later? And what must then have been the size of the town which furnished the necessary hands to erect such a huge structure?

The Spanish friar in charge had left during the revolution against Spain some time subsequent to 1896, and as a result the town had gone to pieces after so many centuries of life. Nothing remained but a small collection of grass huts. The men had reverted to the breech-clout, and were again adopting the head-axe. Many of them had already taken to the mountains.

The Spaniards compelled Filipinos to live in towns, or at least to have houses there. Under our form of government we allow them to do as they please, with the result that in provinces like Palawan our utmost efforts do not avail to keep them from forsaking settlements and scattering out through inaccessible mountain regions, where they are rapidly gravitating back to the state of barbarism from which they originally emerged. I might multiply instances of this sort of thing.

In the early days of civil government the commission in many instances combined municipalities which lay immediately adjacent to each other and could readily enough be administered from a common governmental centre. This action was taken in the interest of economy, and in the belief that the resulting saving in salaries would make possible the employment of more school-teachers, and the construction of better school buildings.

In many, if not most, cases such fusion of municipalities proved a mistake. The town which happened to become the new seat of government prospered. There were spent the taxes collected in the other formerly independent centres of population, which, deprived of their *autoridades,*[1] promptly became insanitary, disorderly and unprogressive.

I am firmly convinced that the Filipinos are where they are to-day only because they have been pushed into line, and that if outside pressure were relaxed they would steadily and rapidly deteriorate.

It is not necessary that there should be much retrogression to cause serious trouble. I have discussed the character and attitude of the present Filipino legislative body. I have shown indubitably what sort of a government the Filipinos themselves established while they had a free hand. I state without hesitation that they would again establish precisely the same sort of a government if left to their own devices. There would follow, first aggression against the property of foreigners, and then attacks upon their persons, which would not only excuse, but would necessitate, intervention by other governments to protect their citizens. Some of the more intelligent Filipino leaders would set their faces against such conduct as firmly as they did during the rule of the so-called Insurgent government, but now, as then, would be powerless to restrain either the more unprincipled among the intelligent, or the great body of the ignorant rank and file, and nothing more than a fairly plausible excuse would be needed to start the ball of foreign intervention rolling.

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[1] Literally "authorities," by which is meant municipal officials.

Many Americans may, in their present deep ignorance of the value of their most recently acquired possessions, agree with that distinguished representative who announced on the floor of the House of Representatives that the Philippines were "a lemon," but agents and spies of Japan have worked throughout the entire archipelago and she knows better. England and Germany have had their business men in the islands for many years, and they know better also.

The Filipinos are not yet fit to govern themselves, much less to govern the Moros and other non-Christian tribes, even if let alone, and they would not be let alone should we turn their country over to them. Philippine independence is not a present possibility, nor will it be possible for at least two generations. Indeed, if by the end of a century we have welded into a *people* the descendants of the composite and complex group of human beings who to-day inhabit the islands, we shall have no cause to feel ashamed of our success.[1]

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[1] For a book by an American missionary that goes to the other extreme in estimating the qualities of the Filipinos, see Frank C. Loubach, *The People of the Philippines, Their Religious Program and Preparation for Spiritual Leadership in the Far East,* New York, 1925. A penetrating, yet sympathetic picture of the Filipino, especially of the provinces, is given in James A. LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country,* New York, 1905.

CHAPTER XXXV

What Then?

It has been urged by one class of our citizens that we abandon the islands because they are a source of military weakness, and that we guarantee their independence, which in plain English means that we hold ourselves ready to fight for them! They insist that with our Caucasian origin and our years of hard-earned experience, we are not fit to govern them, but that their Filipino inhabitants, who are the Malayan savages of the sixteenth century, plus what Spain has taught them, plus what they have so recently learned from us, are fit to govern themselves and must be allowed to do so under our protection.

In other words, having brought up a child who is at present rather badly spoiled, we are to say to the family of nations: "Here is a boy who must be allowed to join you. We have found that we are unfit to control him, but we hope that he will be good. You must not spank him unless you want to fight us."

It has been suggested that we get other nations to agree to the neutralization of the islands. Why should they? Are we prepared to offer them any tangible inducements, or do we believe that the millennium has arrived and that they are actuated by purely altruistic motives in such matters?

The following statement has been attributed to Secretary William Jennings Bryan:—

> "There is a wide difference, it is true, between the general intelligence of the educated Filipino and the labourer on the street and in the field, but this is not a barrier to self-government. Intelligence controls in every government, except where it is suppressed by military force. Nine-tenths of the Japanese have no part in the law-making. In Mexico, the gap between the educated classes and the peons is fully as great as, if not greater than, the gap between the extremes of Filipino society. Those who question the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government forget that patriotism raises up persons fitted for the work that needs to be done." [1]

This sounds well, but will it bear analysis? We are now being furnished a practical demonstration of the results achieved by people like the Mexicans when they attempt to conduct a so-called republic. Whether the gap between the extremes of Mexican society is as great as that between the extremes of Filipino society depends on what one includes under the latter term. If one limits it to the Christianized natives, the statement quoted is true. If one includes the non-Christians which constitute an eighth of the population, it is not true.

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[1] *The Commoner*, April 27, 1906.

Would the United States care to assume responsibility for conditions in Mexico without any power to exercise control over the government of that country? Those who demand that we guarantee the independence of the Philippines are advocating a thing precisely similar to this, except that torture and burying alive do not seem to be in vogue in Mexico, and would be practised in the Philippines again, as they have been in the recent past.

Can any one fail to grasp the fact that the following statements of Bishop Brent embody solid common sense?

> "Finally it must be recognized that the Philippine problem cannot be settled without reference to its international bearing. Neutralization has been proposed. But can American or any other diplomacy secure the neutrality of the Powers? Would it mean anything if promises of neutrality were made? Is it not so, that though no existing military power, East or West, would fight America in order to secure possession of the Philippines, there are at least two nations which would seize the first opportunity for interference if American sovereignty ceased? Can America afford to protect a government halfway round the world, which she does not actually and constructively control? She has found it difficult enough with one near at hand. It appears to me that it would be a measure of quixotry beyond the most altruistic administration, to stand sponsor for the order of an experimental government of more than doubtful stability ten thousand miles from our coasts. When the Philippines achieve independence they must swallow the bitter with the sweet, and accept the perils as well as the joys of walking alone. There are national risks involved even in a limited protectorate to which I trust America will never expose herself."

We stoutly asserted in 1899 that the Filipinos were not fit to govern their own country, and this was certainly then true. If in the short space of fifteen years, with leaders who have so recently committed almost incredible barbarities still in the saddle, we had rendered them fit, we should have performed the most wonderful political miracle that the world has ever seen. But the age of miracles has long since passed. While the Filipinos have advanced more in the last fifteen years than during any previous century of their history, what they have gained is by no means ingrained in their character, and they yet have far to go. It is our duty and our privilege to guide and help them on their way. We should hold steadily onward, looking hopefully to the future for

A Typical Filipino Town.
This photograph shows a part of Laoag, the capital of Ilocos Norte.

substantial results from the broad and generous policy which we have thus far followed.

We must help the Filipinos to attain for their country commercial prosperity, so that its revenues may be more adequate for the support of government. Before commercial prosperity can exist, the people must learn to employ modern agricultural methods and modern machinery in bringing considerable portions of the present enormous uncultivated areas of fertile land to a state of productivity.

We must set right standards and insist that they be lived up to. The way to stimulate healthful development of the Filipinos is to let the apples hang high and make them climb for them, not to tell them to hold their hats and shake the tree. This policy of setting right standards has already been very successfully pursued in the education of Filipino doctors, Filipino nurses, Filipino surveyors, Filipino printers and Filipino teachers.

A Filipino should never be appointed to public office merely because he is a Filipino. He should be appointed only if, and because, he is fit. Such a policy, unswervingly followed, will do more to promote the real interests of the civilized inhabitants than will all the concessions that could be made in a thousand years.

It is just as easy to win the gratitude and the affection of the common people of the lowlands as it has proved to be in the case of the wild men of the hills, but if we are to do this there must be a radical departure from the present policy, and we must deal with them directly.

In this connection it is instructive to study the career of James R. Fugate, Lieutenant-Governor, by appointment, of the sub-province of Siquijor.[1] In spite of wretched health, he has done work of which he and his country have just cause to be proud. No one can fully appreciate it who does not know conditions as they were when he went there and as they are to-day. Siquijor has been converted into a checkerboard by good roads and trails where formerly there did not exist decent means of communication. Dysentery and typhoid fever ravaged the island during each recurring dry season when drinking water was almost unobtainable in many places, and what could be found was really unfit for human use. There are now fine public baths in the towns. Beautiful drinking fountains for men and animals are to be seen, not only in the larger centres of population, but along many of the principal highways.

Municipal officials have been taught their duties and perform them well. A complete telephone system connects the lieutenant-governor's office with all parts of the island. Siquijor was formerly completely isolated from the outside world, but now has cable communication.

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[1] In 1928 Mr. Fugate was appointed Governor of the Province of Sulu by Governor-General Henry L. Stimson.

Fine schools have been established, and swarm with children. The man who has brought about all this is beloved by the people whom he has helped and protected. They cannot bear the thought of his leaving them. What is the explanation of this phenomenon, when the inhabitants of many parts of the islands seem to remain unmoved by the many advantages which they now enjoy, and murmur against those to whom they are indebted for them? The answer is simple. Mr. Fugate speaks Visayan about as well as he does English, and there have been no intermediaries between him and his people, who consequently understand that they owe to him the benefits which they have received.

Certain evil politicians of Negros Occidental, whom he robbed of their spoils, attacked him with characteristic persistency and ingenuity. A young man of clean life, he was accused of adultery and of seduction of minors. Although he could at any time have had a better position at higher compensation; although he gave much of his inadequate salary to the poor and defenceless; although he carried on public works at a fraction of the cost of similar undertakings in neighbouring provinces, he was charged with profiting by government contracts and with the malversation of funds of the sub-province. All of these attacks failed miserably. His real offence was that he had stayed the hand of the oppressor, and let the people go free.

In many, if not in most, of the Christian provinces we have utilized the services of Filipino politicians who are openly opposed to the policy which we are endeavouring to carry out, and have thus placed between ourselves and the people a screen of shrewd and hostile men who can communicate with them as we cannot, who play upon their ignorance and their prejudices as we would not if we could, who keep them firm in the belief that all their troubles are due to the "*mucho malo gobierno Americano,*" [1] and that all the advantages which they enjoy have been wrung from the unwilling and unjust Americans by the courage and political ingenuity of the local *politicos*. For this condition of things we have ourselves to thank, and these are the men who would be governors under "self-government."

When the Federal Party was formed, a large number of conservative Filipinos came out into the open and risked their lives to aid in the termination of war and brigandage, and the establishment of peace and tranquillity. At the outset we rewarded many of those who escaped assassination by appointing them to public offices which they seemed fit to fill. In a few instances we even helped the families of those who sacrificed their lives to the cause of law and order. A little later, anxious to show that we were willing to let bygones be bygones, political offices, so far as they were within the gift of the government, were distributed practically without regard to the previous political records of the recipients. In taking this high attitude we assumed that the generous treatment thus accorded our late enemies would be appreciated by them and would win us their confidence and coöperation. We showed our ignorance of the men with whom we were dealing when we allowed ourselves to expect such a result. They interpreted our generosity as an evidence of fear, and each new concession has served only to whet their appetites. For years we gave profitable government advertising to vicious publications which never for a moment ceased to attack us. If there is any one lesson which should have been brought home to us by our experience it is that in the Philippine Islands this sort of thing does not work as yet. In this, as in most other countries, there are just two political parties, to wit, the "ins" and the "outs." Public office is ardently desired by a large percentage of the educated Filipinos who dearly love to exercise authority, and will do without scruple what seems necessary to get it.

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[1] Corrupt Spanish for "very bad American Government."

We have gone too fast and too far in conferring on the people power to elect their officers. A larger percentage of the public offices should have remained appointive, and should have been filled either with Americans or with Filipinos of recognized ability who were really in favour of the policy which the government was carrying out. Open and active opposition to that policy should have been made ground for prompt removal from office. The men who risked their lives to help us were entitled to recognition and reward, and to the protection which the knowledge that such recognition is being accorded gives in a country like the Philippines. Left out in the cold, they turned against us when they saw our political enemies filling fat offices, and why not? Such a course was safer and more popular, and they thought that we might then be willing to buy their allegiance, judging by our dealings with others!

It has been claimed that the intelligent, highly educated class are a unit for independence. Nothing could be further from the truth, but it would be uncommonly hard at present to prove this fact. Some time since, I sat beside a very distinguished Filipino at a public banquet. He made a speech in which he expressed the conviction that independence in the near future would be a most desirable thing. When he sat down I said to him, "What would you do if you got it?" His reply was, "Be still! I would take the first steamer for Hongkong!" His attitude is typical of that of a large group of opportunists.

There is a considerable body of intelligent, conservative Filipinos who believe, as do the vast majority of well-informed Americans, that independence at this time would be an unmitigated curse in that it would necessarily be temporary, would result in grave disturbances of public order, would bring foreign intervention and the occupation of the islands by some nation with purposes far less altruistic than ours, and would put the possibility of real, permanent independence off until a time so remote as to be far beyond the range of our present vision.[1] These men will state their attitude freely in private conversation with those in whom they have confidence, but hardly one of them has the courage to go on record. Why should they? We have seen that in the old days those who opposed the views of Aguinaldo and his associates were given short shrift and that thousands of them were murdered in cold blood, while those who actively opposed the American military and civil governments were without exception freely pardoned when further opposition became impossible, unless guilty of crimes of the gravest character. Nay, more. Under the amnesty proclamation there were turned loose from Bilibid Prison hundreds of murderers, some of whom had taken the lives of scores of human beings. Little attention has been paid at any time to the violation, by Filipinos, of their oaths of allegiance to the United States, and now, when we discover one of the periodic incipient insurrections frequently organized by intelligent natives for the sole purpose of wringing hard-earned pesos from the peasant class, we seldom punish severely even the vicious leaders. It is idle to suppose that these facts are lost upon the conservative Filipinos. They know that if independence does not come no punishment will be meted out to them for remaining neutral, or even for actively advocating it, but that if it does come, and they have opposed it, vengeance swift, sure and dire will smite them. They are afraid, and they have the best of reasons to be afraid, because we have announced no definite policy.. Let it be authoritatively stated that American sovereignty will be maintained in these islands for a long period and those who actually believe that there is not a strong element among the Filipinos who favour such a course will get a real surprise.

At present, however, our ears are deafened by the clamour of a limited number of Filipinos, who claim to represent "the Filipino people." In this connection Bishop Brent has pertinently observed:—

> "If desire implied ability, the clamor for independence on the part of the Filipinos, which just now is more widespread than at any time in their history, would be the signal for our withdrawal, but only their achievements can determine their ability."

Before we can safely declare the Filipinos ready to try the great experiment of self-government we must bring them to the place where they no longer regard bandit leaders as popular heroes but are able and determined to maintain a state of public order such that life and property will be safe. We must wean them from their present hostility toward legitimate foreign business interests. We must teach them that agriculture comes before art; that a public office is a public trust; that the enormous potential wealth of their forests is worth preserving; that the poor Filipino *must* be encouraged to own and till his own land, not held as a slave or peon. We must go on training physicians, surgeons and sanitarians so that the public health may be adequately protected and individual suffering relieved. We must be sure that our wards have developed the understanding and courage necessary successfully to oppose the great waves of epidemic disease which constantly threaten their country from without. We must train Filipino engineers in sufficient numbers to make possible the construction of the public works needed in future and the maintenance of those which already exist.

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[1] In 1924 President Calvin Coolidge made the following statement upon this subject: "A considerable section of the Filipino people is further of the opinion that at this time any change which would weaken the tie between the Filipinos and the American nation would be a misfortune to the islands." (Letter to the Honorable Manuel Roxas in reply to a communication from a Filipino mission to Washington, dated February 21, 1924. *Report of the Governor-General,* 1925, p. 30.)

There must be chemists and bacteriologists to do the routine work of the government, to make the investigations necessary to safeguard the lives of the people, and to facilitate the development of the resources of the country. Finally, there must be a sufficiency of just judges, of honourable lawyers, of able administrators, and of legislators unswayed by the childish motives which so often influence those of to-day. Most important of all, we must bring the Filipino people to the place where they can go on properly teaching their children and their youths.[1]

The day when all this will have been done of necessity lies far in the future, and if, when contemplating this fact, we sometimes grow weary, we should remember that the task, though a mighty and unprecedented one, is well worthy of the best energies of a great nation. It can never be accomplished through partisan politics. In considering our duty to the Filipinos let us not forget the fate of him "who putteth his hand to the plough and turneth back." The old, old rule applies to nations as well as to individuals.

We are giving the Filipinos a fair chance to develop every latent ability which they possess. In the very nature of the case, their future lies, and must lie, wholly with them. There is no royal road to real independence, much less is there any short cut. Our Filipino wards must tread the same long, weary path that has been trodden by every nation that has heretofore attained to good government.

The case has been admirably stated by that distinguished gentleman who to-day occupies the highest post within the gift of the American people. He has said:

> "There is profound truth in Sir Henry Maine's remark that the men who colonized America and made its governments, to the admiration of the world, could never have thus masterfully taken charge of their own affairs and combined stability with liberty in the process of absolute self-government if they had not sprung of a race habituated to sub-

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[1] Steady progress has been made in all of these directions since these paragraphs were written. [Editor.]

mit to law and authority, if their fathers had not been subjects of kings, if the stock of which they came had not served the long apprenticeship of political childhood during which law was law without choice of their own.

"Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired, if only proper pains be taken. It is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the makers of law; the steadiness and self-control of political maturity. And these things cannot be had without long discipline.

"The distinction is of vital concern to us in respect of practical choices of policy which we must make, and make very soon. We have dependencies to deal with and must deal with them in the true spirit of our own institutions. We can give the Filipinos constitutional government, a government which they may count upon to be just, a government based upon some clear and equitable understanding, intended for their good and not for our aggrandizement; but we must ourselves for the present supply that government. It would, it is true, be an unprecedented operation, reversing the process of Runnymede, but America has before this shown the world enlightened processes of politics that were without precedent. It would have been within the choice of John to summon his barons to Runnymede and of his own initiative enter into a constitutional understanding with them; and it is within our choice to do a similar thing, at once wise and generous, in the government of the Philippine Islands. But we cannot give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be 'given' the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given. They cannot be presented with the character of a community, but it may confidently be hoped that they will become a community under the wholesome and salutary influences of just laws and a sympathetic administration; that they will after a while understand and master themselves, if in the meantime they are understood and served in good conscience by those set over them in authority.

"We of all people in the world should know these fundamental things and should act upon them, if only to illustrate the mastery in politics which belongs to us of hereditary right. To ignore them would be not only to fail and fail miserably, but to fail ridiculously and belie ourselves. Having ourselves gained self-government by a definite process which can have no substitute, let us put the peoples dependent upon us in the right way to gain it also."[1]

These views will be indorsed by every intelligent American who knows the Filipino, and has some adequate conception of the problems presented by the presence, in the same country with him, of the Ifugao, the Igorot, the Manobo, the Bukidnon, and the Moro. They are the views of Professor Wilson, historian and political philosopher, at a time when he was unswayed by party prejudices and untrammelled by party policy. Let us hope that President Wilson, the titular leader of the Democratic party and the dispenser of political patronage, has not entirely abandoned them, and that in embarking so boldly, not to say so rashly, as he has done, on the policy of suddenly giving to the Filipinos a radical increase in the control which they are allowed to have over their own affairs, and of leaving them subsequently to demonstrate their fitness or unfitness to exercise it, he will at least be bound by the actual results of an experiment which, as every one familiar with local conditions in the islands well knows, is fraught with the gravest danger.

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[1] Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States,* pp. 52–53.

After all is said and done, the real Philippine question is not what path they shall take. That has been determined, for all nations alike, by a Divine Providence that is all-seeing, all-wise and inexorable. It is not whether they shall travel the old, old road a little faster, or a little more slowly. That will ultimately be settled, for them and for us, by the unanswerable logic of events, and we need not worry over it. The real question is, shall they make their long and adventurous journey, guided, helped and protected by the strong and kindly hand of the United States of America, or shall they be left to stagger along alone, blind in their own conceit, under the keen and watchful eye of another powerful nation, hungrily awaiting their first misstep?

CHAPTER XXXVI

ONE YEAR OF THE "NEW ERA"[1]

ON a beautiful afternoon in October, 1913, I heard Governor-General Harrison, who had landed at Manila a few moments before, address a great gathering of Filipinos assembled to meet him on the Luneta. He told them that the change in the national administration of the United States had brought for them a "New Era" and painted its attractions in rather glowing colors. A year has since passed. To what extent have these rosy anticipations been realized?

The administrative policy which has since been pursued has been bitterly attacked and vigorously defended. Its advocates are divided between three camps. The first is headed by a number of honest and sincere officials of the United States government with a rank and file composed of good citizens. They have no first hand knowledge of conditions in the Philippines and have been deceived by plausible misrepresentations into believing that nothing of real importance has been happening to the civil service; that the number of Americans leaving it has been practically normal and that both the spirit and the letter of the law and rules have been strictly adhered to.

The second camp is composed of those who realize that there has been sweeping Filipinization but believe that the changes made have been in the interest of economy and efficiency; that many of the numerous Americans eliminated were unworthy to hold their positions; that others could well be, and have been, replaced by efficient Filipinos at smaller salaries, and that we have thus given our wards a larger degree of intervention in their own affairs, have increased the efficiency of the service and have reduced its cost.

The third and largest camp is made up of several groups of men actuated by diverse motives. In it we find the politicians who have wrought the havoc. They know only too well what has been done, having themselves done it deliberately. Some of them have been controlled by the belief that the Philippines may become a source of great danger and expense to the United States and have been anxious to get rid of them at any cost, regardless of the interests of their inhabitants. Others have sought to snatch whatever temporary popularity might be gained by posing as friends of the Filipinos and to utilize it for their own

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[1] This chapter first appeared in the edition published in November, 1914.

A Typical Spanish Mestiza.

political advancement. Finally there are the theorists to whom hard facts are as the dust beneath their feet. They tell us that all men are born free and equal but overlook the equally obvious consideration that they do not long remain so, and that the early generalization of freedom and equality among adult Filipinos involves active interference from without. They agree with President Schurman that any kind of decent government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans. Not all of them go so far as did the distinguished anti-imperialist who insisted that the Filipinos ought not to have drains unless they wanted them and dug them themselves, but they frankly admit the inefficiency which has resulted from too rapid Filipinization and in effect ask "What of it?"

Secretary Denison[1] in a recent carefully written public address has said, "Why should we insist upon hurrying the East against its will and at its expense if the East itself wishes to lie placid, murmuring *mañana?"* [2] and in order that there may be no possible mistake as to his meaning he cites a concrete case as follows:

> "For example, a few days ago I received a letter which had been perhaps two weeks, or more, coming down to Manila from the Mountain Province. I mentioned the fact to a friend and he said—'Yes, that is the sort of thing you will get constantly if you Filipinize the Post Office service of these islands.' I replied, 'Even if that is true, what of it? If the Filipino people prefer to have their letters arrive in two weeks and do it themselves, why haven't they the right to do it that way?' "

If this view is correct we can never give the Filipinos any true help, and ought to get out of their country as soon as possible. We are told, in effect, that even the annual saving of hundreds of thousands of them from untimely and needless death, a result which we have actually achieved, would be an unwarranted intrusion upon their freedom of action were it not for our international obligation "to see that the islands are not a scourge to the world." It is useless to argue with such visionary extremists, and I will address myself to those who have been deceived as to the facts.

Many persons who do not believe that Filipinization has been actively pushed by making nationality, not merit and faithful service, the basis of appointments, retention in office and promotions, have been misled by an extraordinary document entitled "Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Civil Service to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the Half Year Ended December 31st, 1913." It is dated February 25, 1914, and masquerades in the guise of a regular report.

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[1] The Hon. Winfred T. Denison, Secretary of the Interior.
[2] Mañana means to-morrow.

Its appearance only six months after the thirteenth annual report was issued is explained as follows:

> "Owing to the passage of an Act changing the fiscal year to correspond with the calendar year (instead of embracing the period from July 1 to June 30 as formerly), it becomes necessary to submit a report for the last half of the calendar year 1913."

No other bureau of the insular government seems to have felt this necessary.

This document was in reality a special report issued for a very definite purpose after the attitude of the new administration toward the Civil Service has been sharply criticized. Limitations of time and space forbid detailed discussion of the fallacies which it embodies, but of the six months for which it gives statistics more than four were under the old régime, so that comparisons between the number of Americans leaving the service during this period with that which left during the same months of the previous year, is very misleading.

Furthermore no fair comparison can be made by doubling the figures for these six months and contrasting them with those for a whole year because new appointments and voluntary resignations are not uniformly distributed throughout the year. The actual net result for the period in question might readily have been obtained by comparing the total number of Americans in the service on June 30, 1913, with that on December 31, 1913, but although these latter figures are given for each of the years 1903 to 1913 they are carefully omitted for the period which the report covers, and a fair comparison is thus rendered impossible. The following is the explanation offered for this extraordinary deficiency:

> "On account of the change of the fiscal year with resulting changes in the personnel during January, 1914, the publication of the roster has been postponed until July 1, 1914, the middle of the fiscal year, in accordance with the previous practice of issuing it on January 1, the middle of the former fiscal year. Until the roster is published, the usual statistics as to the number of Americans and Filipinos in the service cannot be compiled, but it is evident that during the last six months there has been a considerable increase in the proportion of Filipinos in the classified service."

The old roster was published at the beginning of a *calendar* year, which was logical. There was no reason for publishing it in the middle of the fiscal, or any other, year. This change in the usual procedure was made for the purpose of concealing the facts from the public as long as possible. The civil service can always furnish figures showing the relative numbers of Americans and Filipinos employed.

I now have the real facts, embodied in a document prepared by the acting director of civil service and not intended for publication. It is headed "Statement for October, 1913, of Americans Separated from the Philippine Civil Service Whose Services have been Satisfactory." It gives their names and the following information for each: "Effective Date of Separation." "Cause of Separation." "Examination Status." "Place of Birth." "Three or more Years in the Classified Service?" There follows a similar statement for each of the succeeding months up to and including June, 1914.

Let it be borne clearly in mind that this list does not include the name of a single individual separated from the service for alleged cause. Those who suffered such fate are listed separately, and I pass them by without questioning the justice of the action taken. The first fact that is brought home to us is that during nine months four hundred and seventy-six Americans, whose services had been satisfactory and who were therefore entitled to protection in their positions, have been "separated." Within limits we learn how and why.

Six have answered the last roll-call. Peace to their ashes! Two, who were army officers, were "relieved" and returned to their respective commands. Twenty were "dropped," which is a euphemistic way of saying that they were removed outright. Thirty-one had their positions abolished; an old procedure when it is desired to get rid of appointees whose removal might arouse too much protest. Seventy-seven were "separated" because of failure to return or report. This doubtless meant, in most cases, that they saw the handwriting writ large upon the wall for American officers and employees to read. Finally three hundred and forty "resigned."

On examining this last list of men who, we have been so often publicly assured, voluntarily left the service, the first name which met my eye was that of Mr. Thomas Carey Welch, formerly an assistant executive secretary. The morning after Governor Harrison arrived, Mr. Welch's "resignation" was peremptorily demanded, to be effective that very day. I saw the letter calling for it. Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who had been serving the Philippines as a "member of the Municipal Board of Manila" during the trip from Washington, was immediately given his place. It is specifically stated that Mr. Welch's services had been satisfactory.

Next I note the name of Colonel Henry B. McCoy, a former officer of United States volunteers, who had fought through the war in the Philippines and had for many years discharged with conspicuous efficiency the duties of collector of customs. He was summoned to the governor-general's office and informed that his resignation was desired.

Captain Charles H. Sleeper, director of lands, another volunteer officer, well known to be one of the most efficient men in the insular service, met the same fate. So did Mr. John H. Leach and Mr. John A. Hogsette, the director and assistant director of printing respectively. Their names come in this list. I could continue to dissect it, but to what end? To say that these men resigned is to quibble. They were forced out of the service. So were many others. The Secretary of War has recently told us how many left at the direct request of the governor-general. He has not informed us, nor does any one know, how many went at the request of their own bureau or division chiefs, made pursuant to the plan of driving Americans out of the service as rapidly as might prove possible without causing administrative chaos.

Naturally a few weeks of such a policy brought a rich harvest of genuine resignations, both of men who would not be parties to chicanery in the treatment of their subordinates by keeping up the "resignation" farce and of those who did not care to remain in offices which they could no longer be sure of retaining on their records. There is only one way to learn in full what really happened; namely, to communicate with each individual concerned. It is definitely known to me that in a number of cases faithful and efficient employees were brutally informed that their positions were wanted for Filipinos. If such action can be taken without violation of the spirit and letter of the civil service act and rules, then they are a hollow sham, not worth the paper on which they are printed.

The net result is not shown even in the document under discussion, but I have obtained it. On January 1, 1913, the number of Americans in the service with permanent status was two thousand, six hundred and twenty-three. On January 1, 1914, after less than three months of the new régime, it had decreased to two thousand, four hundred and thirty, and during the following six months it had further decreased to two thousand, three hundred and forty-eight. Even these figures give no idea of what really occurred. Formerly many of those who left had not been long in the service and composed its rank and file.

Now a large percentage were old-time bureau chiefs, division chiefs, or occupants of other positions of great responsibility, and were in short the men who determined policies and spent the government's money. A direct and vicious blow was aimed at this class of employees by the Filipinized legislature, which cut all the higher salaries except those of the speaker of the Assembly and of the Assemblymen themselves. Never before has there been anything in the least like it, and when I say the service has been wrecked I speak advisedly.

It has been claimed, with justice, that if such a condition has resulted, tangible evidence of maladministration should be forthcoming. This naturally brings us to the subject:

Filipinization and the Spread of Rinderpest

I deem it desirable to show in some detail the actual result of reckless Filipinization in one important instance.

Rinderpest, the most contagious and deadly of cattle diseases, appeared in the Philippines in 1888. It continued to spread until after the American occupation, and by the time peace had been established there did not remain enough cattle to till the soil. Shortly after the organization of the Bureaus of Science and Agriculture a determined campaign was begun against this disease, and the Bureau of Agriculture was ultimately placed in full charge of it. Large sums were expended. Mortality among the cattle steadily diminished and their number rapidly increased. The time came when the actual deaths due to renderpest were practically negligible and the disease continued to be a serious factor in the situation only because so long as it existed it was likely to spread again unless unremitting warfare was waged against it. Agriculture was largely rehabilitated, although the number of draft animals was still insufficient to meet the rapidly growing needs of the people, and the shortage of beef cattle continued very great.

On October 1, 1913, there were thirty municipalities in eight provinces still infected with the disease. On January 20, 1914, this number had been reduced to nine municipalities in four provinces and then when final success was within easy reach, control of the campaign was taken from the Bureau of Agriculture and vested in Filipino provincial and municipal officers by an act of the legislature.[1] The appropriation for the Bureau of Agriculture was cut. Most of its seasoned veterinarians were forced out of the service, and scores of experienced cattle inspectors were dropped. The inevitable promptly happened. It became the duty of elective officers to enforce the law. Anti-rinderpest work was unpopular among the ignorant people who benefited most by it because of occasional temporary interference with the free movements of their cattle, and the elective officers did not care to risk unpopularity by enforcing the law. By May 7 the infection had spread to thirty-two municipalities in nine provinces and a Filipino executive secretary had announced that the situation was "very serious." He urged the governors whose provinces were infected to exert themselves. On May 14, things having grown steadily worse, the *Manila Times* published the following excellent editorial:

"By the expenditure of millions of pesos, the utilization of every means at the command of the government, the neglect of other important matters, and the employment of a considerable number of experts, we were in a fair way to conquer rinderpest—the greatest scourge economically that the islands ever suffered. The herds were on the increase and there was every prospect that rinderpest would be eradicated. Agriculture is the backbone of Philippine prosperity, and agriculture under conditions such as exist here is only possible with an adequate supply of work animals.

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[1] Act No. 2303, Philippine Legislature, December 13, 1913, amending Act No. 1760, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1907.

"Because a few near-sighted provincials complained of the restrictions which the experts found necessary to use in fighting the disease, and because the politicians want a change for the sake of change, the whole machinery for fighting rinderpest is turned topsy turvy and the disease is spreading over the islands like a prairie fire.

"It is time for plain speaking and prompt action. We cannot afford any experiments with rinderpest. Test the capacity of the provincial and municipal officials in something less vital to the prosperity of the islands."

The warning fell on deaf ears. On May 17, nothing substantial having been done, the same paper spread the following editorial in large type over an entire page:

"TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

"Where only nine towns in the Philippines were affected with rinderpest at the beginning of 1914, to-day there are at least thirty-six in which the disease has found a foothold. At this rate another four months will see the scourge as rampant—and perhaps as little checked—as in the days following the insurrection. Without draft animals the land cannot be ploughed. Unless the land is ploughed the crops which are the life of the country will fail. And you gentlemen will be responsible!

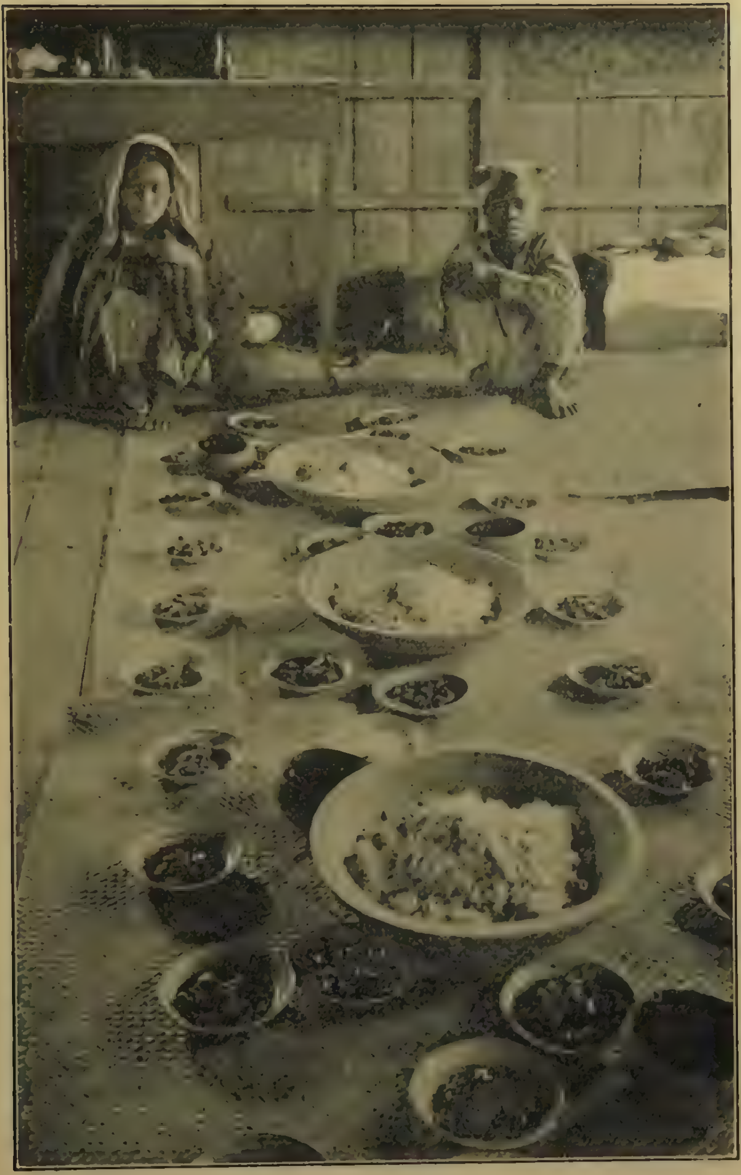
"This is no time for taking your ease at Baguio. Your place—each one of you—is where you can most effectively spur the delinquent and the halting to a sense of the danger and their duty. Not delay, but discipline, is needed, and it is needed NOW.

"In the year 1902, rinderpest killed more than 60,000 cattle and carabao, worth $50,000,000 as animals and millions more for the crops they might have helped to produce. Are we going back to 1902?

"Governor-General Harrison, Vice-Governor Martin, and all the rest of you, take off your coats and pitch in!"

Three days later a well-known Filipino said:

"Americans have not learned in fifteen years how to rule the Filipinos. They never will learn in a hundred years how to rule the Filipinos. They come out here with benevolent and altruistic ideas and think they can manage an Oriental the same as they manage themselves. American officials do not remain here long enough to become acquainted with Oriental characteristics because of the American



A Strange Couple.

This photograph shows a feast given by a Moro boy of thirteen years and a Moro girl of twelve on the anniversary of the death of their son.

> political system. The officials are constantly being changed. It is no use to say to a Filipino, 'Do not do that because it will not be good for you.' You must say to him, 'Do not do that because if you do I am going to break your head.' The Filipino mind does not work with the American mind, and an American-made government will never fit Filipino conditions."

I quote this statement not because I concur in it but to illustrate the Filipino viewpoint.

On May 21, the chief veterinarian of the Bureau of Agriculture reported that his lack of personnel made it impossible even to gather reliable data as to the existence of rinderpest; strenuously denied the charge of the governor of Pampanga that the data furnished by the bureau painted an exaggerated picture, and added that if the bureau were in possession of all the facts, it would be found that the disease was far more prevalent than the public knew.

Governor-General Harrison now took a hand and endeavoured to spur on municipal and provincial officials to do their duty, with the usual result in such cases. There was immediate improvement—on paper! Filipino officials are experts in issuing admirably phrased orders and in writing reassuring reports.

The disease continued to spread. The Manila Cablenews-American for June 5 reports Bureau of Agriculture figures showing an increase of 77 per cent and 118 per cent respectively in deaths and new cases during the week ending May 23, with additional towns affected.

The Daily Bulletin sent an agent to make careful investigation into the facts, and as a result specifically charged that the truth as regards the prevalence of the disease had not been reported by the provincial governors, that municipal officials generally had absolutely disregarded the orders given by the provincial boards for the eradication of rinderpest; that justices of the peace had openly defied provincial boards, refusing to inflict the penalties prescribed for violations of quarantine regulations; that there was not then, and had not been for months, an adequate force to prosecute the fight, and that politics were a determining factor in the situation. Abundant facts were cited to justify these charges.

The governor-general announced that the fullest investigation would be made, and added:

> "In addition to this I have decided to institute an educational campaign to secure coöperation among the authorities and the people immediately.
>
> "The first step in this direction will be the conference of the members of the provincial boards of those provinces afflicted with rinderpest and locusts, which will be called next Wednesday morning,

and it is my hope later to have one of the Filipino members of the commission visit those provinces and take an active part in the educational work."

One might as well talk about the inauguration of educational work to train fire fighters in the hope of stopping a forest conflagration already sweeping across the country.

A conference of provincial boards was duly called, and the governor-general announced that there would be no temporizing with the situation. Officials who failed to render their best efforts must suffer the consequence of their acts. Justices of the peace who failed to comply with the law were to be immediately suspended, as were all other delinquent officials, and the suspension of four municipal presidents did promptly follow.

The American press now became unanimous and emphatic in its demand for an end to temporizing, calling attention to the undoubted facts that the experiment of decentralizing and Filipinizing the control of the rinderpest campaign had resulted in failure; that the incompetence of provincial officers to assume the responsibilities conferred on them by the new law had been clearly demonstrated; that the situation was one that struck at the very roots of agriculture; and that the logical remedy was to admit the truth, to restore direct control to the Bureau of Agriculture and again laboriously to build up a trained and efficient force to replace the incompetent, irresponsible politicians in whose hands work of vital importance to the prosperity of the country had been so foolishly placed. It was strenuously demanded that the commission and the governor-general realize the crisis, stop temporizing and rise to the occasion, but they did not do it, and the disease swept on.

Here, then, we have a practical result of Filipinization in the complete demonstration of the opposition of the populace to measures necessary for their own economic salvation, and of the unwillingness and inability of provincial and municipal officers to enforce such measures. True, an effort was finally made to stem the tide by bringing directly to bear the powerful influence of the governor-general, the vice-governor and other American officials. Should success attend it, which is more than doubtful, the only result will be to demonstrate the fundamental necessity of American control in dealing with this and similar problems. Had not the efficient organization previously existing been broken down, the governor-general and his associates would have been left free to devote their time to their proper duties, and the islands would have been saved a needless calamity.

The policy followed in dealing with rinderpest is a fair sample of the general policy of the new administration.

The men who formerly put in long hours earnestly striving to better the conditions confronting them are mostly gone, although at least one important new one has come, to wit, Secretary Riggs. The lights in most government offices no longer burn at night. There is a scramble for hats on the stroke of the closing hour.

The governor-general performs faithfully and conscientiously the ordinary duties of a chief executive of one of our home states. Measures for the benefit of the people are usually regarded as matters for the leisurely consideration of the legislature. This is a bit hard on the people but makes life easy for those of the officials who believe in giving the Filipinos what they want because they want it. Fortunately the governor-general's practice has, in some few important instances, been better than his theory, and the policy now being pursued in connection with public health work sheds further light on his present attitude and that of others.

The Present Status of Health Work

We have seen what are the practical results of turning the fight against rinderpest over to the Filipinos. It is indeed fortunate that a similar policy was not pursued in combating dangerous human ailments, which in the absence of an efficient health service would soon decimate the peoples of the islands. Various theories have been advanced to account for the failure of the new administration to Filipinize this branch of the insular service.

Washington has rather strenuously denied that there was ever any thought of removing Dr. Victor G. Heiser, whose faithful and efficient work as director of health has won for him a world-wide reputation. Before leaving the islands I was credibly informed that his position had been offered to another man who had been wise enough to decline it. Be this as it may, after the lapse of a few weeks Dr. Heiser began to receive the unwavering support of Governor-General Harrison, in spite of the fact that the politicians of the Philippine Assembly brought three sets of charges against him, totalling more than half a hundred. This attack collapsed miserably under investigation.

Cholera again reared its ugly head. Filipino physicians deliberately concealed cases by falsely reporting causes of death. Dr. Heiser met this situation in the only possible way, by ordering autopsies in all suspicious cases. There was a howl of protest, but the governor-general stated that the unpopular order had been issued with his approval, and the clamour ceased.

The politicians next tried to get rid of Dr. Heiser by one of the indirect methods which had proved so effective in eliminating other American officials, and attacked the appropriations for his bureau. He met a proposed sudden cut in the funds for the support of the insane by saying that he would turn into the streets of Manila the lunatics whom it was thus rendered impossible to feed, and would hang around the neck of each a card bearing a notice that this action had been rendered necessary by the policy of the legislature.

It was next proposed to reduce the appropriation for the leper colony. This would have been especially illogical as Dr. Heiser had previously been accused of starving the lepers. He announced that he would not reduce the rations allowed them, and would bring all whom he could not feed properly, by reason of the reduced appropriation, to Manila, where charitable persons might be willing to assist them.

These and other vicious projects to injure him through his bureau were ultimately abandoned. The politicians gave up the fight, and ended by making a reasonable appropriation.

A renewal of the effort on the part of certain officers of the University of the Philippines to gain control of the great Philippine General Hospital ended in failure.

As a sop to the politicians Dr. Vicente de Jesús, probably the most efficient of the Filipino district health officers, was made assistant director of health. This place had long been left vacant because we had been unable to find in the Philippines, or to obtain from the United States, a man whom we deemed qualified to fill it. Fortunately Dr. Jesús is a conscientious man who labours under few delusions as to his own abilities. He knew that he was incapable of performing many of the duties of the director of health, and when hard administrative nuts were handed to him frankly admitted that he could not crack them, and declined to attempt to do so.

The day came when Dr. Heiser, worn out by years of unremitting toil, and harassed beyond endurance by constant vicious attacks, insisted on taking the leave of absence due him. Under existing law and rules the assistant director of health should have assumed his duties, but he was not permitted to do so, nor indeed was he willing to undertake the task, which was assigned to Major Edward L. Munson, an experienced and highly efficient sanitarian belonging to the United States Army Medical Corps. There are persons unkind enough to account for the failure effectively to Filipinize the Bureau of Health on the theory that high American officials have realized that Manila would rapidly become an undesirable place of residence for them were the health service to collapse. There are others who believe that the insular administration was influenced by the fact that serious mortality among human beings would attract far wider attention to the breakdown of Filipinization than has the spread of rinderpest.

The Secretary of the Interior has given the following explanation of the policy pursued:

A MEMBER OF THE CABARÚAN TRINITY.

This man impersonated Christ at the time a new religious sect established its headquarters at Cabarúan, Pangasinán. Nevertheless he got into jail for cattle stealing.

> "So long as we are responsible to the international forum for these islands, we are responsible on our own account for the maintenance of a good condition of public health, and for a reasonable degree of public order. That is what I consider my duty as a public officer in reference to the Bureau of Health, for instance—to see that the islands are not a scourge to the world—in reference to public order not to have a state of public anarchy here. As an American official, as distinct from the Philippine government, I have a definite function, and that is to execute the duty which the United States has taken to the rest of the world in respect to those things about these islands in which the rest of the world is concerned. . . . The obligations which the United States have taken toward the rest of the world, as I see them, are limited to the maintenance of a good condition of public health, and the maintenance of a decent degree of public order. The rest are matters that concern the Filipino peoples. . . .
>
> "The money is theirs. Why should I insist that they spend it to my way of thinking if they do not choose to do so?"

Are we then to be more considerate of the lives of citizens of other countries than of the lives of Filipinos, who must look to us for help and protection? Or do we fear, perchance, that other nations would forcibly demand the abatement of a dangerous nuisance if the islands became a scourge to the world? Obviously we might prevent such a result by maintaining an effective quarantine in connection with outward bound passengers, and leave the Filipinos free to do as they liked with the very large remaining sum which is now annually expended to protect their own lives.

The officials of the former administration felt that they had assumed some duties toward the Filipinos themselves in the matter of eradicating disease. I prefer to believe, and indeed do believe, that Governor-General Harrison has been actuated not by political considerations alone but rather by unselfish and humanitarian motives in giving steady support to the Director of Health in his efforts to alleviate suffering among a group of dependent peoples who were, and are, themselves powerless to ward off the epidemics of dangerous communicable disease which formerly decimated and still threaten them.

Be the cause what it may, the Bureau of Health is one of the important offices of the insular government which has come nearest to holding its own during the past year. It is nevertheless now suffering from administrative indigestion, due to the voluntary retirement of a number of its oldest and best men, and their replacement by inexperienced Filipinos.[1]

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[1] For statistics concerning cholera, smallpox, and rinderpest that justify Worcester's forebodings, see pp. 339 n. 1, *supra;* 341, n. 1, *supra;* and 767, n. 3, *infra.*

The Constabulary and Public Order

I have previously described at length[1] the building up of a well-disciplined and efficient armed police force composed of Filipinos, Igorots, Ifugaos and Moros, and officered chiefly by Americans. It has been a powerful factor in the establishment and maintenance of an admirable state of public order throughout practically the whole archipelago. Its efficiency is now threatened as a result of circumstances over which the insular officials have no control.

The so-called "Manchu Order"[2] embodied by Congress in a recent appropriation bill which provided for the return to their commands of United States army officers on detached service has operated to prevent a man of long experience and the highest efficiency, Colonel J. G. Harbord, from being appointed director of constabulary; has limited to a painfully brief period the incumbency of Colonel William P. Rivers in this important office, and has further served to deprive the islands of the very valuable services of Colonel Mark L. Hersey and Colonel John B. Bennet, both of whom were assistant directors of constabulary. Just how these serious losses of experienced and highly trained officers are to be made good does not at present appear. Certainly not by the establishment of the school just organized by the government at Baguio, which is supposed to turn raw Filipinos into military officers in six months!

The maintenance of the constabulary in a high state of efficiency is a matter of vital importance to the prosperity of the Philippines, and serious consideration should be given to the problem of providing that now highly efficient force with proper officers. It is difficult to see how this can be done without the repeal of that portion of the act of Congress which concerns the limited number of regular army officers needed to fill the higher constabulary offices in the Philippines. It is no reflection on former volunteer officers or civilians, now serving with the constabulary, to say that existing restrictions, which tend to produce such results as have just occurred, should be removed.

The Administration of Justice

No reforms made by the United States government in the Philippines have been of greater practical importance than have those connected with the administration of justice.

When the legislature finally came under the control of Filipinos in October, 1913, certain politicians had long been plotting to impair the existing judicial system by lowering salaries so as to drive out the American judges who make up some fifty per cent of the total number by increasing the number of low-paid judicial positions and by making appointments to judgeships political spoils.

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[1] Chapter XIV.

[2] Act of Congress approved August 24, 1912.

Two acts previously passed by the Philippine Assembly which would have accomplished these purposes had been killed by the Philippine Commission while a majority of the members of that body were Americans.

The Filipinized legislature promptly passed a third act of similar purport. It incidentally provided for making vacant, on a fixed day, every judgeship in the islands. There was much talk of replacing American judges by Filipinos. The Philippine Bar Association held some rather disgraceful sessions at which candidacies of persons desiring judgeships were considered. Politics largely controlled in the recommendations actually made.

The governor-general exploded a bombshell among the politicians by reappointing practically all of the old judges and by naming worthy men for the newly created judgeships. This does not change the fact that legislation, essentially vicious in its nature, passed both houses. There was no adequate reason for vacating the existing judgeships, and the determined stand of the governor-general averted what might have been a grave calamity.

Baguio and the Benguet Road

In view of the numerous fierce denunciations launched at former officials of the Philippine government for establishing a health resort and summer capital at Baguio, in the cool mountains of Benguet, especial interest attaches to the attitude of their successors towards this enterprise.

At the dawn of the "New Era" the public was assured that there would be a speedy reversal of the former policy. Some of the newly appointed Filipino members of the Commission, on which Filipinos were then given the majority, publicly announced that they favoured the abandonment of the Benguet road and the sale at public auction or otherwise of the government buildings at Baguio, but the road was maintained through the hot season just passed, the government buildings have not been sold, and nothing of importance has happened except that the rank and file of the insular service have been deprived of benefits which the general public and the higher government officials have continued to enjoy.

The governor-general and secretaries of departments generally have displayed quite as lively an appreciation of the benefits derivable from sojourns in Baguio as their predecessors ever did, and have spent much time there away from their office forces, whereas their predecessors took their subordinates with them, and continued to perform both executive and legislative duties.

The new departure necessarily aroused bitterness among the government employees who were thus deprived of the much needed change of climate formerly afforded them by their annual stay at the summer capital, but it would not have helped their unfortunate situation had the higher officials of the government remained at their posts in Manila, and the latter showed their common sense by taking the measures necessary to insure the preservation of their own health and that of their families.

A large appropriation has now been made to complete a new road connecting Baguio with the lowlands, which was begun under my direction and had previously been brought to such a stage of advancement that light automobiles could pass over it. This, too, is a wise measure. We had found the cost of maintaining the old road excessive. The new one can be kept in repair far more easily and at greatly reduced expense. Still the cost will not be small. What about "the people's millions," and where are the old time critics now? Their voices have been stilled, for the people have asserted themselves. In spite of the fact that the annual transfer of the seat of government to the summer capital was abandoned, this delightful place enjoyed the greatest season in its history. It is now admittedly not the government's extravagant plaything but the people's town. Baguio has come into its own. It will ultimately become the great health resort of the Far East, and presently we shall find that the government has quietly slipped back through the side door. Americans made the place in the first instance, but the Filipinos are making it now.

Official Inspection Trips

There is another thing which former Philippine officials cannot contemplate without a bit of quiet amusement. It is not long since there were in circulation strange tales of "governor's yachts" and "official junketings" based on official inspection trips which often involved much discomfort and sometimes resulted in serious danger to the hard-working men who made them.

Never since the American occupation have there been such frequent and prolonged journeyings of this sort as during the first year of the "New Era." While former governors-general have ordinarily employed small coastguard boats, Mr. Harrison has usually sailed on the *Rizal,* a large cable ship.[1] These statements are not made in a spirit of criticism. I believe that the trips have been necessary to afford overworked officials much needed change, or to enable them personally to obtain still more needed information. I am a firm believer in the advantage of getting such information first hand whenever this is possible, and rejoice that my opinion is obviously so fully shared by those now charged with responsibility for results in the Philippines. All honour to the men who have realized that if they were intelligently to perform their functions as government officials they must observe conditions for themselves; who have not shrunk from the performance of their duty in this regard, and have in consequence exposed themselves to the danger of being as unjustly assailed as were their predecessors.

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[1] Subsequently a yacht formerly belonging to the King of Italy was purchased, rechristened the "Apo," and assigned to the use of the governor-general.

The Bureau of Science

When the "New Era" dawned, the Philippine Bureau of Science had admittedly become one of the world's great scientific institutions. It was performing accurately and economically an enormous mass of important routine biological, chemical and other scientific work for the insular, municipal and provincial governments. It had played a very important part in the fight against dangerous communicable diseases and had carried on a large amount of original investigation which had resulted in important contributions to the world's knowledge of the causation of cholera, bubonic plague, amœbic dysentery, yaws, beriberi and other ailments which annually claim their grim toll of victims throughout the Far East, thus making it possible very materially to lessen that toll.

That Bureau of Science which accomplished these and many other noteworthy things has passed into history. The old spirit is dead. Most of the men who made the bureau what it was have gone never to return. Those who remain are making what seems likely to be a losing fight, with their backs to the wall.

The attack on this institution which was promptly initiated apparently failed, for the bureau retains its independent existence and the skeleton of its former organization, but that is about all. The thing that makes the situation seem especially hopeless is that the men whose loss is irreparable under existing conditions left voluntarily, in discouragement and disgust. Only those who had to do with obtaining their services in the first instance can fully appreciate the impossibility of securing competent successors under the changed conditions which have arisen. Men who might assist in this undertaking have refused to do so for the frankly expressed reason that they are not now justified in recommending to competent American scientists that they accept employment in the insular service.

The Secretary of the Interior created a temporary furor by announcing that

> "ethnology and its museum, photography, ornithology, entomology, botany, and other like work contributing only to scientific theories, have been reduced or eliminated from my department,"

but afterward relieved public apprehension by stating that he favoured the study of plant diseases and of economically important plants, as well as that of insects which transmit disease or cause harmful destruction, and in general made it evident that ignorance of the exact meaning of some very common scientific terms had led him to do himself an injustice in his previous statement.

He ultimately placed the seal of his approval on most of the more important work which the bureau had been prosecuting, and announced his intention of endeavouring to secure adequate financial support for it. Even if he succeeds, he will still face a blank wall, for successful laboratories are not things made up of books, apparatus, and reagents alone. They are absolutely dependent on men, of the sort whom mere money cannot buy, and the conditions which made it possible to secure, at meagre compensations, the services of the men who made the Philippine Bureau of Science known throughout the civilized world have ceased to exist.

It is pleasant to turn from this sorry result to the work of a bureau which has apparently suffered less than almost any other.

EDUCATION

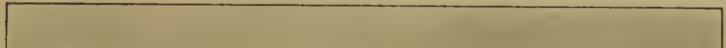
If the numerous and diverse elements of the Philippine population are ever to be welded into a people capable of establishing, or maintaining when established, a just and stable government, they must first be given a common language and uplifted in many other ways.

Governor-General Harrison seemed from the outset to be deeply impressed with the importance of educational work. With Filipino politicians loudly demanding the Filipinization of the Bureau of Education and the elimination of American teachers, he gave out in a written communication addressed to the director of education the following statement:

> "I understand from you that there is considerable unrest in the department of education, and have expressed to you my regret that any American teacher should feel uneasy about his or her future in the islands. While I have not examined the details of the appropriation bill as it affects the bureau of education, I can say that I am not in favour of any considerable cut in the appropriation for that bureau, and hope to see the law, when it is finally passed, reasonably approximate the amount which you have had in the past for your work.
>
> "Personally, I am deeply interested in educational matters and hope to see your work go forward with confidence unimpaired and progress unobstructed."

In the Philippines as elsewhere it sometimes happens that administrative officials propose and the legislature disposes. The appropriation

A Typical Old-style Provincial Government Building.



A Modern Provincial Government Building.

for the Bureau of Education was cut. The fair promises of the governor-general seemed about to be broken and the director of education promptly resigned. I am informed that he was asked to withdraw his resignation on the strength of a promise that money would be made available from a certain emergency fund for the benefit of his bureau. At all events he did so. Fortunately for the Filipinos the necessary additional funds were provided.

Under existing conditions primary and industrial education are all-important. In July, 1913, there were some four hundred and ninety thousand pupils enrolled in the primary schools. In September, 1914, there were five hundred and seventy-seven thousand. There seems no doubt that the stand of the governor-general saved the situation. He should be given unqualified praise for it.

The Government of Non-Christian Tribes

There has been enacted legislation which is designed to prevent the highly objectionable practice of taking abroad for exhibition purposes members of the non-Christian tribes.[1] Various unsuccessful attempts were made during my time to draft an act which would accomplish this end without interfering with the right of contract of individuals, and I fear there is grave doubt as to whether the new law would stand the test of the courts, but it will certainly serve as a deterrent, and it may very well happen that no one will care to go to the trouble and expense of testing it. Should this prove to be the case a grave evil will have been successfully dealt with.

One of the serious mistakes of the former insular administration was the establishment of dual administrative control over the non-Christian tribes. Those of the Moro Province were under the governor-general, while all others were under the secretary of the interior. This obvious evil has now been augmented by removing from the jurisdiction of the latter officer the great province of Agusan, in Mindanao, and adding it to the territory formerly comprised in the Moro Province. The new entity thus formed has been given the title "Department of Mindanao and Sulu," which is misleading, as the Mindanao provinces of Misamis and Surigao are not included.

The work of the Moro Province, as previously organized, taxed the energies and abilities even of General Leonard Wood, who at one time served very efficiently as its governor. It will hardly be claimed that the present governor, Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, is General Wood's superior in administrative ability, yet the duties and responsibilities of this office have been heavily increased. Mr. Carpenter did not seek the appointment, which is commonly believed to have resulted from political intrigue on the part of persons who wished to get him away from Manila. He speaks Spanish well, understands the Filipinos perfectly, and has had very extensive experience and much success in dealing with them, but has never previously come in contact with people of the non-Christian tribes who make up the bulk of the population of this new department.

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[1] Act No. 2399, Philippine Commission, March 27, 1914.

During his brief incumbency of office he has conclusively demonstrated his ability to win their confidence and regard. Were he to devote himself with singleness of purpose to a determined effort for their betterment there is every reason to believe that he might meet with great success, but unfortunately it seems painfully evident that he is vacillating between his obvious duty and the pull of the administration's policy of placating at any cost the Filipino politicians who wish to get their clutches on Mindanao.

Governor Bryant, of Agusan, who was doing splendid work for the wild Manobos in the dense forests of the sub-province of Butuan, has been "promoted" to what was at last accounts an indeterminate position in the new department, and a Filipino politician, absolutely without experience in dealing with wild men, and indeed without administrative experience, has been named, over the heads of men of demonstrated ability who have had years of experience in the special government province service, to fill the vacancy thus created. Such a course cannot be too severely condemned.

In Mindoro Señor Juan Morente, a Tagálog resident of the province, has been made governor. He is liked and respected by all Americans who know him. He is a progressive farmer and has served very acceptably as a municipal official. Were his province populated exclusively by Tagálogs he would make a good governor, but its interior is occupied by the Mangyans, a singularly timid tribe of very backward savages who have nevertheless shown themselves capable of considerable advancement if encouraged and helped. Nothing can be done with them until their confidence has been won, and it can be gained only by personal contact with them. Great regions in the interior of Mindoro are still trackless and unknown. The difficulties in the way of getting in touch with their wild and backward inhabitants are very grave and have thus far seriously impeded the work of the strong, vigorous men who have served as governors of the province.

Señor Morente has been in poor health for years and is physically incapable of enduring severe exertion. He cannot help the Mangyans much.

In Palawan, also, conditions are such as greatly to impede efforts to better the condition of the renegade Moros on its southeastern coast and the Tagbanúas and Negritos inhabiting its heavily forested interior. The main island extends for some two hundred and forty miles in such a direction as fairly to split both monsoons, and travel by sea is thus rendered always difficult and often dangerous. The opening of trails for land travel has barely begun. Contact has not as yet been established with some of the wilder inhabitants, and the formerly unruly and dangerous Moro population has but recently been assembled and brought under effective governmental control.

The Visayan Filipino inhabitants, who reside chiefly on the outlying islands included in this province, are exceptionally ignorant. There are only five hundred eighty-five voters among the forty thousand inhabitants and the province is cacique-ridden. Many of the poorer and more ignorant of the Filipinos are held in peonage, and some have recently been sold outright into slavery. Palawan is already represented in the Philippine Assembly and the voting for assemblymen resulted in so disturbing the previous tranquillity and prosperity of Cuyo, its principal town, that the better element there repeatedly petitioned me to have this privilege withdrawn.

It is most necessary that a firm hand should be held in dealing with this situation. The present governor, Mr. H. J. Detrick, is a highly competent and efficient man who devotes himself to the performance of his duty with singleness of purpose and with marked success. I was advised months ago that he would soon forfeit his position in order to make room for a governor to be elected by the people. In this connection the present Secretary of the Interior has said:—

> "I favour suffrage for non-Christians whether or not they can read or write, even to the extent of letting them vote for members of the Philippine legislature.
>
> "In New Zealand the men who were formerly cannibals have the vote. Even the women have the vote. They make very good officials even in the legislature.
>
> "The non-Christians should have the vote wherever they are located in the Philippines. If left to me, they would certainly get the opportunity to vote for the legislature.
>
> "This is one of the best ways to prevent injustice being done them, and also to bring them into consolidation with the other peoples of the islands."

The secretary fails to state that the last case of cannibalism in New Zealand occurred in 1843; that in 1876 the legislature of that country enacted a strict compulsory educational law for all children, and that it did not extend the franchise to the former "cannibals" until 1890, when their number was perhaps somewhat reduced! It is difficult to understand the point of view of the man who believes that granting the franchise to the wild men of the Philippines will at this time materially aid them in protecting themselves from injustice.

The election of a Filipino governor for Palawan would spell the disastrous ending of successful efforts for the betterment of the wild population of that province, and there is grave danger that it would promptly be followed by serious disorder in the territory occupied by Moros.

In Nueva Viscaya, as at present constituted, a large majority of the inhabitants are Filipinos. They were originally very backward as the result of their extreme isolation, but they have progressed rapidly, and their school system has been especially effective. Most of them have seemed happy and contented. A very limited number of politicians have continually sought to have the province brought under the regular provincial government act. It was organized under the special act because as then constituted it contained one hundred and twenty-five thousand wild Ifugaos whose territory has since been added to that of the Mountain Province. It is now apparently seriously proposed to bring Nueva Viscaya under the regular act. Its Filipino inhabitants are to-day better prepared for this form of government than are most of those of the neighbouring provinces to the north, but it will be more expensive and less efficient than the one which they now enjoy. The non-Christian inhabitants are in part pacific, industrious Igorots and in part wild, timid, and rather treacherous Ilongots, with whom friendly and helpful relations have recently been established. Some of the Ilongot children are attending school and prove to be exceptionally bright pupils. Under Filipino control the people of this tribe would suffer little from oppression, for they are forest dwellers in the strictest sense, and would seek safe refuges in the vast wilderness lying between the Cagayan Valley and the Pacific coast. The rather encouraging progress which they are now making would come to an untimely end.

In the great Mountain Province of Northern Luzón, with its six non-Christian tribes, conditions have remained practically unchanged because the older and more experienced provincial officers have been left undisturbed. Shortly after the new secretary of the interior completed his first inspection trip through this province, the governor-general announced that important changes in policy were to be made. As subsequently set forth they involved the employment of additional school-teachers, physicians and nurses, and apparently the abandonment of the *cañaos* or great feasts heretofore held at points where the wild men assembled in large numbers to meet the secretary of the interior on his annual inspection trips. School-teachers, physicians and nurses are wholly desirable, but as I always obtained all I could for the special government provinces, and was even accused of robbing the regularly organized provinces of the two last mentioned classes of employees for the benefit of the wild men, the employment of more teachers, doctors and nurses certainly involves no change in policy. The time will of course come when *cañaos* can profitably be abandoned, but I doubt if it has yet arrived. They have been a powerful factor in establishing friendly and helpful relations between American officials and the hill-men, and in bringing about the peaceful settlement of old quarrels among tribesmen who now seem friendly enough but have by no means forgotten former enmities, and might be quite ready to avenge fancied or real grievances in the old way should opportunity offer.

The method adopted by the secretary to obtain funds for carrying out his very commendable plan seems rather peculiar, in view of his published utterances as to following the will of the Filipinos in the matter of the expenditure of money. He has exercised his executive authority to discontinue work specifically provided for at the last session of the legislature, with Filipinos in the majority in both houses, and has asked the Commission, acting in its capacity as sole legislative body for the territory inhabited by Moros and other non-Christian tribes, to re-allot the savings thus made for work more consistent with his ideas of what is desirable.

The position of "Special Delegate of the Secretary of the Interior for Work Among the non-Christian Tribes" has been created.[1] It was offered to my former private secretary, Mr. A. O. Zinn, who declined it, and it was then given to a Mr. Batchelder, who had arrived in the islands a month before. Among the list of qualifications recorded as possessed by him there is nothing to show that he had ever seen a Philippine wild man. His instructions provide that

> "All the functions of this department with reference to the non-Christians and their interrelations with the Christians shall be under you in the same way as the functions of the bureaus are under their directors."

Among other things he is told

> "You shall endeavour to make yourself in good faith the Unifier, tearing down as rapidly as possible the walls which have isolated the non-Christians from the Christians."

The first necessity, in getting rid of an obstacle, is to recognize its existence. It is encouraging to find that the secretary knows that the wall is there, as this has been repeatedly and emphatically denied. A bare-handed attack upon it will result only in lacerated fingers. The way to get rid of it is to undermine its foundation, deep-bedded in oppression and cruelty on the part of the Filipinos, bloody vengeance on the part of the wild men, and misunderstanding and hatred on the part of both. Some time ago Captain Tomlinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Ifugao, held a great *cañao* at the capital of his sub-province. It was attended by numerous Filipino children and youth from Nueva Viscaya, who met young Ifugaos in friendliness, and competed with them in athletic contests. By simple means like this the wall may be undermined and thrown down. The employment of Filipino doctors and teachers for the wild men will help, if they are Filipinos of the right sort, otherwise it will work endless harm.

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[1] Act No. 2404, Philippine Commission, 1914.

Slavery and Peonage

There have been interesting developments since Chapter XXV of this book was written. When I left Manila I took with me a large amount of unused documentary evidence proving the existence of these evils in the Philippines, and intended to employ it, if necessary, to secure Congressional action. This led to a period of rather feverish activity on the part of the Philippine legislature, and to the passage of an act prohibiting and penalizing slavery and peonage.[1] It was apparently intended to be unenforceable, as it provided that

> ". . . the provisions of law prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage contained in laws, ordinances, decrees, instructions or regulations promulgated during Spanish government and applicable to the Philippine Islands are hereby confirmed and ratified,"

without quoting or citing these provisions; and supplemented this action by a similar futile feint at making effective certain provisions of the United States statutes. Fortunately the Commission declined to be made ridiculous by passing such a measure, and amended it by inserting the text of the necessary extracts from Sections two hundred sixty-eight to two hundred seventy-one of the Act of Congress of March 4, 1909. Unfortunately the above-quoted extraordinary provision incorporating the whole indeterminate body of Spanish legislation, as modified by the provisions borrowed from United States law, was retained. Probably no living man knows what "laws, ordinances, decrees, instructions and regulations," promulgated during three and a half centuries of Spanish rule, have thus been revived, or to what extent they are contradictory, and an honest effort to enforce the provisions copied from the United States statutes, which expressly prohibit and penalize kidnapping, the holding or return of any person to a condition of peonage and the selling of any person into a condition of involuntary servitude or the knowing or wilful holding of any person in such condition, might be successfully obstructed by prolonged discussion as to the bearing on the case of this indeterminate mass of Spanish legislation. Will there be such an effort?

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[1] Act No. 2300, Philippine Legislature, November 28, 1913. Act No. 2399, Philippine Commission, March 27, 1914, extended the provisions of Act No. 2300 to the territory inhabited by Moros of other non-Christian tribes.

A number of cases of slavery were unearthed in Manila just prior to the passage of this act, and peonage is almost too common to excite comment. Has there been a single prosecution under the law?

The Assembly committee appointed to investigate the existence of slavery and peonage has made two reports. The first broadly insinuates that the slavery described by a dozen historians and authors beginning with Martin de Rada in 1574 and ending with Blumentritt in 1881, was really not slavery after all and states that

> ". . . even in Joló where the institution existed legally, under the precepts of the Mohammedans, it was almost nominal."

It carefully ignores the testimony of the Filipino patriot Rizal as to the existence of slavery in Batangas in 1890.

The second finds, in effect, that the testimony showing the present existence of slavery and involuntary servitude furnished me by judges, lawyers, army and constabulary officers, policemen, churchmen, missionaries, bureau chiefs, an ethnologist, provincial officers, business men and private citizens generally, including Americans, Englishmen, Spaniards and Filipinos, is all false or mistaken and that "slavery in the legal sense" does not exist in the Philippines.

The first of these reports quotes and adopts what purports to be a definition of slavery, by the Supreme Court of the United States, but is in reality a description of negro slavery as it existed in that country.

In order to prevent just this sort of evasion I had clearly defined the sense in which I used the word slavery, saying:—

> "For the purpose of this report I define slavery as the condition of a human being held as a chattel and compelled to render service for which he is not compensated. Food and clothing are necessarily furnished by the slave owner, and are not considered to constitute compensation."

The finding of the Assembly Committee is nothing short of pure effrontery. In reality savage Philippine tribes have sacrificed human slaves to their heathen divinities since the American occupation, and Filipinos to-day buy and sell their fellow creatures outright for cash.

It only remained for the members of the committee to complete the demonstration that they were preparing the way for the non-enforcement of the law, should it prove enforceable, by finding that *peonage* was non-existent in the islands! And then the governor-general made ridiculous this elaborately prepared scheme to explain the non-enforcement of the law by alleging the non-existence of the crimes provided against, by issuing a curt executive order, declaring that the law must be enforced.[1]

Most of the evidence as to the existence of slavery and peonage in the Philippines was secured by Americans. The passage of all prohibitive legislation enacted since the occupation has been forced by Americans. Unless Americans compel its enforcement the law recently enacted will be a dead letter. The politicians have persistently sought to conceal the truth and befog the issue. There is not now, nor has there ever been, among Filipinos of "the ruling class" anything approaching a general sentiment opposed to slavery and peonage. The willingness of the *caciques* to hold the common people in debt-servitude, and the lack of power on the part of their victims successfully to resist them, render impossible the establishment of truly representative institutions in the Philippine Islands at this time.

The Destruction of Government Reports and Records

While the investigation of the existence of slavery and peonage was being prosecuted by the Assembly committee which had the matter in charge, a newly appointed Filipino executive secretary caused to be burned all save ten of the copies of my report on this subject in the official files, and persons who subsequently applied for the document were informed that the supply had been exhausted. Shortly thereafter it became known that this same official had ordered the destruction of the very voluminous records of investigations into the conduct of provincial and municipal officials. Fortunately this was forbidden by higher authority.

The excuse assigned in both cases was the need of additional room! The real motive in destroying the slavery reports is so apparent that it requires no explanation. The action proposed in the matter of records of investigations would have wiped out a great body of damning evidence showing gross incompetence in very many instances, and criminal action in not a few, on the part of Filipino provincial and municipal officers who had proved unworthy of the confidence reposed in them.

The Bureau of Lands

When Captain Charles H. Sleeper, the efficient director of lands, was removed, and a bright young Filipino, believed to be of excellent character but known to be wholly lacking in experience to fit him for such a position, was made chief of a bureau which administers the public domain, including agricultural lands, mineral lands and foreshore, as well as seven million dollars' worth of friar lands which are being sold on the instalment plan to some forty thousand occupants, I expressed the opinion that the new appointee was incompetent. At the outset increasingly long delays attended the transaction of business with his bureau. There followed ugly rumours of deliberate wrongdoing on his part, which were twice investigated and proved to be groundless. His resignation was, however, accepted the day after final findings were made. Just how seriously government interests have suffered remains to be seen.

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[1] Executive Order No. 30, March 31, 1901.

The Financial Situation

At the close of the first year of the "New Era" the insular government finds itself facing the most serious financial crisis in its history; a crisis largely of its own making. The governor-general has sent out the Macedonia cry in the form of an appeal to the government of the United States for $10,000,000. There seems to be some diffidence at this end of the line in asking Congress to come to the rescue, and there is reason for it. Discussion of such an appropriation might bring into unpleasant publicity the facts as to how the existing situation came about.

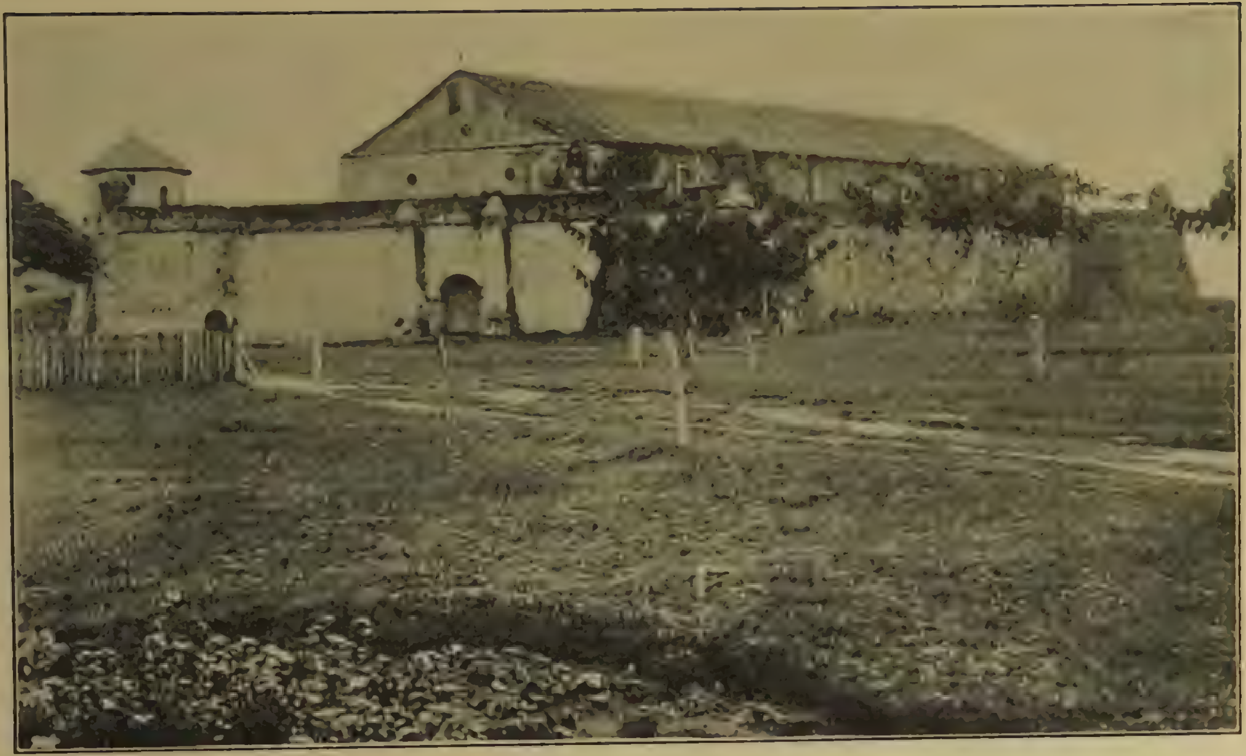
At the close of President Taft's administration the islands had attained to a state of unparalleled prosperity. In a decade and a half of American rule, with war during the first three years of this brief period, their exports had increased fourfold. Their imports had been similarly augmented, and their trade with the United States had been multiplied by twenty. The revenues of the insular government, derived almost in their entirety from customs receipts and from internal revenue collections, had increased steadily, in spite of sweeping reductions in tariff rates on the necessaries of life and the admission free of duty of all imports from the United States.

These revenues were largely expended in the maintenance of public order, the preservation of the public health, improvement in means of communication and the education of the people. The resulting safety of life and property which rendered it possible for the citizens of a strictly agricultural country to till the soil in peace; the re-stocking of the islands with draft cattle without which the farmers could not have ploughed or harvested; the building of roads and bridges which brought within reach of the world's markets hundreds of thousands of small producers who had previously been isolated; the checking of the frightful epidemics of disease which had periodically swept the archipelago; the beneficent work of the free public schools in disseminating useful industrial education and in giving to the several peoples of the archipelago a common means of communication had combined powerfully to stimulate agricultural production, which enriched the people and made it possible for them to purchase more largely, thereby further augmenting the resources of the government from customs receipts and internal revenue collections. Prosperity was increasing with something very like a geometric ratio. The mass of the people were quietly and contentedly enjoying a degree of prosperity hitherto undreamed of. Only a few noisy *mestizo* politicians, and a few newspapers controlled by them, were clamouring for a change. They assuredly got it, and to-day its uncompromising results stare them in the face.

Acting on the theory that public funds should be used to furnish employment to those who needed it by constructing useful public works, and thus promoting prosperity and further augmenting the public revenues, rather than be left idle in the treasury, it had become the custom of the previous administration to make generous appropriations for public works, and more especially for roads, bridges and harbour improvements, based on anticipated increases in the resources of the government. Such appropriations were made expendable only upon release by the governor-general, who naturally did not make them available unless expectations in the matter of increased revenues were realizd.

Ignoring this latter fact completely, the new administration announced that the government was headed straight for financial perdition, fiercely assailed the extravagance of the old régime, and made "economy" the watchword of the day, on paper, at least. There was, however, one excellent reason for economy in the recent abolition by Congress of export duties which involved an annual loss in revenue of approximately a million dollars. Another equally urgent one promptly presented itself in the form of rapidly shrinking customs receipts and internal revenue collections. In round numbers, the latter dropped seventy-six thousand dollars in September, eighty-five thousand dollars in October, one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars in November, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in December, as compared with collections for the same months of the previous year. It became increasingly evident that real, not paper, economy was imperatively necessary, especially as customs collections shrank approximately a million four hundred and forty-four thousand dollars in the six months ending December 31. Included in this sum were six hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars due to loss of export taxes.

Meanwhile it became increasingly evident that economy could not be achieved so easily as had been anticipated, and in order to help its plan of making a paper record the new administration unloaded all possible expenditures during the closing months of 1913 and then began a new fiscal year on January 1, 1914, so as to transfer the day of reckoning from June 30, 1914, to January 1, 1915. The expenditures made during the last three months of 1914 were far greater than those



A Refuge from the Moros.

This old fort at Cuyo is typical of many others which were built to afford places of refuge from the murdering, slave-hunting Moros. The building inside it is a church.

during any similar period since the American occupation, and those of December exceeded those of the other months by about fifty per cent. Had prosperity returned at this time a paper showing might have been made by crediting the heavy expenses of October, November and December to the sins of the former administration, but receipts continued to diminish. The first quarter of the new year showed a further falling off of more than one hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars, and on June 10, 1914, the last date for which I have figures, it had grown to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Then came the war in Europe, interrupting marine communication, closing important markets to Philippine products and bringing in its train dire calamity which the government, already in financial straits, was in no position to meet.

At the end of the new year the insular administration, which is doubtless desirous of maintaining a good state of public order and favours sanitation, education and the construction of useful and productive public works, has been obliged to curtail in many important particulars the programme of its predecessors in these regards, and is confronted by imperative necessity for further and radical reduction in its expenses.

The geometric ratio has begun to work backward, and seems to be bringing adversity as rapidly as it formerly brought prosperity.

The explanation of this phenomenon is not far to seek. It is due to two causes. We may pass by the shrinkage in customs receipts, which is claimed to be due largely to the abolition of export taxes and to greatly decreased rice imports resulting from bumper home crops, but this latter falling off should have been made up by increased internal revenue receipts, for ordinarily the Filipino spends his money like a lord while it lasts. What is he doing with the cash coming from the sale of his crops?

When the new administration was established the average Filipino thought that independence was about to come. It was the last thing desired by the men who had money to spend, and consequently, also, to lose. Mindful of what had befallen them during the "independence" of the short-lived Philippine Republic, they proceeded to hoard their savings for a very rainy day and they are doing it yet. Hence the prostration of the retail business of the islands, which would have been followed inevitably by a corresponding prostration of the business of importers even had the war not interfered with commerce. This situation will continue until the political horizon clears.

A second factor has played an important part in this unhappy result. There has been extreme Filipinization of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, with alleged material saving resulting from reductions in salaries. Analysis of the diminished receipts seems conclusively to show that the falling off has been due in no small measure to the resulting inefficiency of the bureau, which has apparently failed to collect the full amount of revenue due.

After taking the Philippine public into his confidence, the governor-general forwarded to Washington a request for a loan of ten million dollars to relieve the situation. A few days later he issued a public statement to the effect that he had conceived a plan as a result of which several million pesos of Philippine funds would become available for this purpose and that he had withdrawn his request for assistance from the United States. It seems possible that discussion of the necessity for such a loan, and the causes which led up to it, might not have been deemed desirable while the Jones Bill was under consideration in Congress.

NEUTRALIZATION

The fate of Belgium has had one distinctly useful result in bringing home to the more intelligent of the Filipinos the utter impracticability of maintaining expectations that the continued existence of an independent Philippine government might be assured by a neutralization agreement between the governments of Europe and that of the United States. Some of them are beginning to have the courage to say openly what they have long felt in their hearts and have often said privately; namely, that their only hope for the future is in the continued maintenance of the sovereignty of the United States over their beautiful islands.

I have always believed that long before the peoples of our Far Eastern possession had been welded into one this feeling would have become well-nigh universal, and the present trend of events confirms that conclusion.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHILIPPINE AUTONOMY

SIXTEEN years have elapsed since that "beautiful afternoon in October" when Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison proclaimed in the sun-drenched Luneta that a new era[1] was dawning for the Philippine Islands. The "new era," with all of its hopes and fears and strivings, passed into history more than eight years ago. It was succeeded by another octennial period equally definite and equally vivid. That era has likewise ended, and still another has begun.

The swift years have wrought many changes in the Philippines and in the Philippine-American relationship. Yet, the fundamental elements of the situation of 1929 are essentially identical with those which underlay that of 1913. The purpose of America and of the Filipino people—to build a Philippine nation capable of controlling its own destiny—is unaltered.[2] The materials with which the partners in this enterprise must work,—the rich, undeveloped islands and their awakening Malay inhabitants, are essentially the same. The world environment as it affects this problem has not greatly changed. The vaunted "new era" was one of men, of foreign men who came and went away again, and not of fundamental facts. It brought the Philippines to no definite goal.

For seven years after 1913 authority to direct and control the actual government of the Philippine Islands was vested in two Virginians. One had followed an academic career until it led him to the White House. The other had become a Tammany Congressman. Both, however, were blood and bone of the Old Dominion, and of Jeffersonian Democracy. Principal and agent, these two southerners translated their philosophy of politics and of life into law and administration in a distant dependency where they were practically uncontrolled either by the immediate consequences of their acts, or by any effective public opinion at home. Only because the American Congress exercises final authority over the Philippine Islands did they fail to carry their policy to its logical conclusion, the complete separation of the Philippines from the United States.

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[1] Mr. Harrison ended his inaugural address with this peroration: "People of the Philippine Islands! A new era is dawning! We place within your reach the instruments of your redemption! The door of opportunity stands open, and, under divine Providence, the event is in your hands."

[2] It should be noted, however, that powerful American economic interests, particularly the producers of sugar, cottonseed oil, and other commodities that fear the growing competition of duty-free Philippine products, are now making a serious effort to secure the early political and economic separation of the Islands from the United States. The indifference of the bulk of the American public to the Philippines creates a danger that these special interests will accomplish their purpose regardless of the welfare of the Filipinos or the obligations of the United States.

After the Harding interim of investigation and uncertainty, a Vermont President and a Massachusetts soldier-administrator, both Yankees to the core, succeeded to the power over the Philippines which had been wielded by the two Virginians. They, in turn, expressed their convictions, and their habits of thought and action, in the administration of the dependent government. Again, the limitations placed upon executive authority by the ultimate control of Congress kept their course within limits more narrow than might otherwise have been observed.

It is true that Wilson and Harrison, and Coolidge and Wood represented different American political parties, and differing bodies of American opinion with reference to the Philippines. Yet public interest in the current administration of America's great Oriental colony is so slight, and Congressional inertia in Philippine affairs is so great that the President and the Governor-General exercise a greater personal control over the government of the 12,000,000 Filipinos than any officials in the American system wield over any other matter of like importance. Even the shifts from Wood to Stimson, and from Coolidge to Hoover marked distinct changes in government in the Philippines. Such a system seems to Filipinos to constitute a government of men, and not of laws. They see in the changing personnel and policies of their American rulers baffling limitations upon their power to build up a permanent political system based upon Philippine conditions and Philippine needs. Their position cannot fail to arouse the sympathy of fair-minded men.

Yet after all, Filipinos and Americans, Yankee Republicans and Southern Democrats, are kept within an unalterable orbit by the power of fundamental facts which are more compelling than personalities, philosophies, aspirations, or ambitions. The Filipino people cannot escape their heritage. That heritage, geographical, racial, political, binds them to a foreign sovereign while they are growing to the stature of a nation capable of maintaining itself in the modern world. Nor can the United States easily free itself from the responsibility which it assumed when it accepted the sovereignty of the Philippines. Until it has been fully discharged that responsibility binds our nation to the Islands with moral bonds which will not be broken. During this period of Philippine development men and measures may hasten or retard progress toward the common goal. Yet the chief limitations upon both Americans and Filipinos are not those of conflicting human ideas and wills, but those imposed by the land and the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and conditions in the political world in which it has pleased Providence to place us all. The other side of the picture is that the same fundamental forces that have carried the Filipino-American project thus far on its way may be counted upon to drive it to a successful conclusion. The goal of a Philippine state genuinely capable of maintaining an independent existence will be attained not by the application of *a priori* theories, but by the operation of social, economic and political forces only partly under the control of either Filipinos or Americans. The Philippine nation will not be created by a stroke of state. It will grow, is growing, out of the processes of life.

It is in the perspective of such a view of the Philippine Islands and their problems that it is now proposed to survey the chief political[1] developments of the two periods that have been completed since Worcester wrote his chapter, "One Year of the 'New Era.'" Each period will be dealt with from two viewpoints. First, the constitutional developments, the changes which occurred in the form and the operating control of the Philippine government, will be traced. Then some of the more important policies of administration will be examined and their results discussed.

The Philippine policy of the United States may be divided into four periods with reference to the development of self-government in the Islands.[2] The first began in 1899 with the cession of the Archipelago to the United States, and ended in 1913 when the control of the American Government passed from the Republican to the Democratic party. The second coincided with the Democratic tenure of power from 1913 to 1921. The third included the term of Major-General Leonard Wood as Governor-General. The fourth was inaugurated when President Hoover appointed Colonel Henry L. Stimson as chief executive of the Islands.

During the first of these periods a definite policy as to Philippine self-government was set forth and consistently carried out. There is no clearer authoritative statement of this policy than that made in 1908 by Mr. William Howard Taft, then Secretary of War, in a report to President Roosevelt. Secretary Taft declared:

> "Shortly stated, the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the Islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government. . . . What should be emphasized in the statement of our national policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for *popular* self-government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the

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[1] The progress made since 1913 in many other phases of Philippine life has been traced in footnotes appended by the editor to the preceding chapters of Secretary Worcester's book.

[2] Acknowledgment is made of the courtesy of the *Atlantic Monthly* in authorizing the use in this chapter and Chapter XL of certain passages from an article by the author entitled, "The Philippines: An Experiment in Democracy," which appeared in the *Atlantic* for March, 1926 (Vol. 137, No. 3).

Congress which made his letter a part of the law of the land that we were merely to await the organization of a Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer the government and then turn the Islands over to it. . . . Another logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."[1]

American administrators of the period between 1899 and 1913 had two definite objects in view: to discharge American responsibility to the Filipino people by giving them as good a government as possible; and to educate them for democratic self-government by allowing them to participate in government with Americans who would throw all possible responsibility upon them but at the same time hold them up to high standards of honesty and efficiency, accustom them to the methods of Western administration, and indoctrinate them with American political ideals. Throughout the period, despite a steady development of local autonomy, powers commensurate with this dual responsibility were retained in the hands of the American officials, Insular and provincial, of the government of the Philippines.

Meanwhile the American political party that was out of power had advocated a different Philippine policy and had constantly attacked the administration of affairs in the Islands. The Democratic platform of 1900 declared that the party favored "an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America." Nothing was said about the establishment in the Philippines of good government, of democratic institutions, of what President McKinley, in his instructions to the Philippine Commission, had called "certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system, which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom." The Philippines were to be given "a stable form of government," then independence and protection; and, as it was postulated that "the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization," the implication was that this form of government would not be democratic. Certainly it would not necessarily be democratic. Stability was the sole criterion officially established by the Democrats. Furthermore, the position of the Democratic Party had traditionally been that once stability of government had been attained, independence should follow, regardless of the interests or desires of the Philippines. So great was the fear that the retention of the Islands as a "colony" would transform the American Republic into an "Empire."

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[1] *Special Reports of Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines*, pp. 7-8. (Washington, 1908.)

The method by which the new Democratic President intended to put into effect his party's Philippine policy was explained in his first annual message to Congress. Referring to the appointment of a Filipino majority to the Philippine Commission, President Wilson said: "I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the Islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; so that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the Archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control." [1]. . .

Viewed in retrospect, this statement seems rather clearly to have foreshadowed political changes in the Philippines much more significant than the mere "Filipinization" of the existing government. The President called for the perfection of a *system of self-government* to be fashioned in accordance with Filipino "counsel and experience" rather than based upon American principles and practices. The Filipinos were not only to be given greater control over the operation of their government; they were also to be encouraged to determine for themselves the form of their political institutions. This, at any rate, was what was actually done during the ensuing seven years. Within that period there grew up in the Philippines a constitutional system that was genuinely Filipino and that was regarded by Filipinos as being the work of their own hands, despite the fact that formally it was based upon an organic law enacted by the American Congress.

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[1] The President's Message to Congress, December 2, 1913.

In his inaugural address Governor-General Harrison delivered the following message from the new President to the Filipino people:

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands.

"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken, experience will guide us to the next.

"The administration will take one step at once and will give to the native citizens of the Islands a majority in the appointive Commission, and thus in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of the Legislature a majority representation will be secured to them.

"We do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will be given in the action of the Commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and to lead their people in affairs." (F. B. Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence,* p. 50, New York, 1922.)

Mr. Harrison himself said, in the course of his address, that he was in entire accord with the sentiments and the policy of the President. "It is my greatest hope that I may become an instrument in the further spread of democratic government," he further declared. "To every Democrat government rests only upon the consent of the governed. And we do not maintain that self-government is the peculiar property of our nation, or that democratic institutions are the exclusive privilege of our race. On the other hand, we do not believe that we can endow you with the capacity for self-government. That you must *have acquired* (italics supplied) for yourselves. The opportunity of demonstrating it lies before you now in an ever-widening field." (*Cablenews-American,* October 7, 1913.)

The first important act in the development of this Filipino constitutional system was the selection of the five Filipino members of the new Philippine Commission. The procedure by which Governor-General Harrison and Speaker Sergio Osmeña, the recognized leader of the Filipino elements of the government, proposed to choose these officials was indicative of the trend which the new system was to follow. Mr. Osmeña furnished the Governor-General with a list of a dozen names, and it was intended to "submit them for approval to the Philippine Assembly, so that all the elected representatives of the Filipino people might have a share in the selection." This plan, however, "was vetoed by the Secretary of War."[1]

Mr. Harrison has commented upon the effect of this "first step," as follows: "To the Filipinos, the majority upon the commission meant that the dead-lock as to appropriations and other important measures would be broken instantaneously, and that in the selection of their higher officials, such as bureau chiefs, and judges of the First Instance [*sic*], they were to have the controlling vote in the Commission, to which, by existing law, such nominations were sent for confirmation."[2] Control of the Commission did, in fact, greatly increase the executive as well as the legislative powers of the Filipinos.

Of perhaps even greater constitutional importance than the appointment of a Filipino majority upon the Commission, however, were the working relations which developed during the early years of the Harrison régime between the Governor-General and the Speaker of the lower chamber of the legislature, the Philippine Assembly. Since the creation of this elective body in 1907 Mr. Osmeña had been not only the Speaker of the Assembly, but also the president and the master of the *Nacionalista* party, the political organization which had from the start enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the popular house. By 1913 his official position, combined with his party leadership and remarkable personal influence, had brought him universal recognition not only as the first Filipino in the government, but also as the authorized spokesman for the whole Filipino people. He had become, indeed, the most important working point of contact between the American Governor-General and the Philippine Assembly.[3] It was, therefore, not unnatural

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[1] Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence,* p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 72. See Forbes, II, pp. 148-151, for the then Governor-General's statement concerning the deadlock over the appropriation bills during 1910, 1911, and 1912.

[3] Judge Charles B. Elliott, who was one of the ranking members of the Philippine government during the period in question, has made the following statement with reference to the working relations between Speaker Osmeña and Governor-General Forbes:

THE HONORABLE SERGIO OSMEÑA.

Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, 1907 1916; Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1916-1922; Senator, 1922-
The photograph was taken while Mr. Osmeña was Speaker of the Assembly.

for Governor-General Harrison to seek the "counsel and the experience" of the Filipino people through the Speaker.

Mr. Harrison has himself described the relationship which developed between himself and Mr. Osmeña. "It had been my custom," he has said, "during the three years before the Jones Act came into effect, to consult freely, indeed, almost daily, with Speaker Osmeña, not only as to the qualifications of the Filipinos selected for papointment to office, but also as to general policies of administration. He was the recognized leader of his people, their highest elected representative. Association with him had been of the greatest benefit to me, since his knowledge of Philippine personalities was unsurpassed, and, moreover, a decision taken with his approval was fairly sure to meet with the support of the Filipino official world." [1]

Mr. Osmeña has also made a statement concerning the position which was accorded to the Speaker during this period: "Thus it was," he declared in 1923, "that when the Civil Commission was in control, when the Governor-General was the Chief Executive and President at the same time of the upper house, a situation arose which required that there be a close understanding between the Chief Executive and the Lower House through the Speaker of the Assembly. It was in that manner that the speakership became a sort of institution in itself, a vital factor in governmental relations, and the center of gravity of Filipino participation in the Government." [2]

To express in other terms the situation which thus developed, Governor-General Harrison exercised the powers of his office between 1913 and 1916 very largely upon the advice of the leader of the dominant Philippine political party, who was also the speaker of the popular house of the legislature. Although in some respects similar to the speakership in Washington, this office had become a unique and genuinely Filipino institution. It was the product of Philippine conditions, and both the Governor-General and the Filipinos in control of the Filipino part of the government used it in accomplishing

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"During the later years of the Forbes administration legislation became largely a matter of private arrangement between the governor-general and the speaker. The governor-general was, of course, anxious to secure the passage of necessary laws. Mr. Osmeña, the speaker and leader of his political party, was greatly interested in his party and his own position and in legislation which would bring nearer the day of independence. He generally maneuvered so that every important law, or the conditions of its enactment, was in some subtle way made to strengthen native influence in the government. The influence exercised by Osmeña was often insidious but none the less real and effective. The Filipinos regarded him as the real head of the government. The situation was very difficult and probably the governor-general can not properly be criticised for showing excessive deference to the speaker and his party. It was necessary in order to secure legislation which was required to carry out the policy of the administration." (C. B. Elliott, *The Philippines, To the End of the Commission Government*, p. 125.) The author believes that Judge Elliott has somewhat overstated the case. That close working relations existed, and properly existed, between the Speaker and the Governor-General, however, is generally agreed by those persons familiar with the period.

[1] Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*, p. 211.

[2] Sergio Osmeña, *The Constitutional Development of Philippine Autonomy*, pp. 10-11, Manila, 1924.

their common purpose: to put into Filipino hands all of the governmental power which could be placed there under the Organic Act of 1902.

Filipinization of the administrative departments, the third important step which was taken towards complete Philippine autonomy during the first three years of the Democratic régime, has been discussed at some length in the preceding chapter. Despite the storm of criticism which this policy raised it was steadily followed throughout the period. At the middle of the fiscal year of 1912, there were 2,680 regularly and permanently appointed Americans in the Philippine civil service. By the corresponding date in 1917 the number had been reduced to less than half, or 1,310. At the end of the period the ranks of the Americans had dropped to 614 officers and employees, constituting less than 4 per cent of the total number. During this time the number of Filipinos in the permanent service had increased from 6,033 to 13,240.[1]

The true measure of the shift of power from American to Filipino control thus accomplished is not to be found merely in the decrease in the number and the proportion of Americans in the service. Prior to 1913 the actual administration of the government was directed by some fifty chiefs and assistant chiefs of bureaus and offices. Practically all of these officials, the men who "determined policies and spent the government's money," had been Americans. By 1921 practically all of them were Filipinos. As Mr. Harrison has said, "with the exception of the bureaus of Education, the Mint, Prisons, Forestry, Science, Weather, the Quarantine Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Metropolitan Water District, the other thirty bureaus and offices of the Government had Filipinos either regularly appointed as chiefs or acting as such, and in virtually all cases Filipinos were assistant chiefs, in training for future greater responsibilities."[2]

The virtual elimination of Americans from the direction of governmental administration meant the permanent abandonment by the United States of those instrumentalities without which it could not actually guarantee that the Philippines should have honest and efficient government during the period when its inhabitants were in training for complete self-government. Filipinization, in effect, transferred the authority and the responsibility for governmental administration from American to Filipino shoulders. It also affected a profound alteration in the methods by which the Filipinos were to acquire the art of self-government. Heretofore they had been gaining administrative experience and political maturity by exercising limited, although increasing, authority in conjunction with American experts. The new process of training was to throw them into the governmental sea and tell them to sink or swim.[1]

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[1] *Report of the Director of the Civil Service,* 1927, p. 34.
[2] Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence,* p. 86.

While Governor-General Harrison, with the support of President Wilson, was coöperating with the radical Filipino leaders in creating a new system of government in the Islands, the Democratic Congress in Washington was preparing, and in 1916 passed, a new organic law for the Philippines. The attitude of the Filipinos towards this measure is indicated by the title which their leaders gave to it: they christened it the Philippine Autonomy Act.[2] This measure did two things: the body of the law provided for a new form of government for the Islands; its preamble set forth the purposes for which the law was passed and purported to declare what "always" had been, and at the time was, the policy of the United States with reference to Philippine independence.

The government provided for in the Jones Act was essentially similar in form to that with which Americans are familiar in their nation, their states, and, historically, in their continental territories. The terms of the law describe a government preëminently of the American type, one based upon the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. The Governor-General created by the Act is the typical American chief executive, but possesses powers greater in some respects than those enjoyed by any of his continental prototypes. In him is vested the "supreme executive power." He is authorized to appoint most of the subordinate officers of government, by and with the consent of the Philippine Senate. He is given the power of supervision and control over all of the departments and bureaus of the government, as far as is not inconsistent with the provisions of the Organic Act; and although the Philippine Legislature is authorized to organize the executive departments of the government as it sees fit (with certain narrow exceptions), the law definitely provides that the heads of the executive departments shall be appointed and removed by the Governor-General, and that "all executive functions of the government must be directly under the Governor-General or within one of the executive departments under the supervision and control of the Governor-General." The chief executive is given the power of pardon, is designated as the commander in chief of all locally created armed forces and militia, and is made responsible for the faithful execution of the laws. He is given the veto power over all acts passed by the Philippine Legislature, with the proviso that if a vetoed act shall be repassed by a two-thirds majority it shall be forwarded to the President of the United States and become a law if he shall sign it. Particular items of appropriation bills may be vetoed.[1]

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[1] Another reason has been given by Mr. Harrison for the rapid elimination of Americans from most of the posts of administrative power. "The bureau chiefs," he has said, "were the active agents who carried out the policies of the administration. Their power had increased to such an extent in certain instances that they had assumed an attitude of rivalry and antagonism toward one another, if not toward the Government itself, like the feudal barons of old; their 'prestige' was all-important, and they were generally inspired with a disbelief in the ability of the Filipinos to carry on any important work of government. They stood together upon that issue, like the Old Guard at Waterloo, ready to die, but never to surrender. If not in accord with the policy of the department heads and of the Legislature, they could block to a very large extent the working out of any reform. The new policy would be impossible if bureau chiefs were to perform political sabotage with the official machinery. Only two of the chiefs or assistant chiefs of bureaus were then Filipinos. The problem of Filipinization of the bureaus was, therefore, one of the first magnitude and bound to cause strife." *Ibid.*, p. 77. The new Governor-General had, in fact, demanded of the subordinate officials and employees of the government either absolute loyalty to himself and his policies, or resignation. In a statement made to the bureau chiefs on October 15, 1913, Executive Secretary Frank W. Carpenter declared: "He [the Governor-General] considers that it is elementary, indeed, fundamental, as we all do, that when official and personal loyalty to the Chief Executive, and to the policies which he stands pledged to develop and implant here, can no longer be given by a bureau chief or other officer or employee, such officer or employee will at once resign. . . . Please remember, the test is efficiency and loyalty to our chief." (*Cablenews-American,* October 25, 1913.)

Mr. Harrison devoted 17 pages of his first annual report to an explanation and justification of the changes in personnel which had been made during his first few months in office. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1914, pp. 14-31.)

[2] Public Act No. 240, Sixty-fourth Congress, approved August 29, 1916. Hereafter referred to as the Jones Law, or Organic Act, 1916. It will be recalled that as passed by the Senate in 1916 the bill contained an amendment introduced by Senator Clarke of Arkansas which provided that the independence of the Philippines as "a separate and self-governing nation" should be recognized and American sovereignty over the Islands withdrawn not less than two years nor more than four years from the date of the approval of the Act. In the House of Representatives, however, 28 Democrats, most of them known as Catholics belonging to the definitely Catholic-Tammany group, refused to be bound by the party caucus and defeated this proposal. For the legislative history of the Jones Bill see Kalaw, pp. 335-348; Forbes, II, p. 252 *et seq.;* and Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines, To the End of the Commission Government,* pp. 417-431.

The legislature provided for by the Jones Law consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives, the appointive Philippine Commission being discarded. The Senate is composed of 22 members chosen for six-year terms (11 being elected every three years) from 11 two-member districts by a fairly popular electorate,[2] and two senators appointed by the Governor-General to represent a twelfth district comprising territory inhabited chiefly by non-Christians, and serving until removed by the Governor-General. The House of Representatives consists of 85 members chosen from single-member districts for a three-year term by the same electorate which is entitled to vote for Senators; and nine members appointed by the Governor-General to serve during his pleasure as representatives of non-Christian provinces.

To this legislature Congress granted general legislative power, except as otherwise provided in the Jones Law. Some of the limitations imposed by the law are important, however, both in themselves, and because they indicate that it was the intention of Congress to retain in American hands authority over certain of the functions of government in the Philippines. Acts of the Philippine Legislature with reference to land of the public domain, timber, mining, the currency, coinage, or immigration shall not have the force of law until approved by the President of the United States. While the Act provides that the Philippine Government shall have authority to enact a tariff law, trade relations between the Islands and the United States shall be governed exclusively by laws of Congress; furthermore, acts concerning the Philippine tariff shall not become law until they have received the approval of the President of the United States. No export duties shall be levied or collected on exports from the Philippine Islands, and the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government created by the legislature shall not exceed at any one time $15,000,000, exclusive of the friar land bonds.[1]

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[1] Organic Act, 1916, Sections 19, 21, 22. The Governor-General is appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and holds his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified.

[2] The law provides that the electors shall consist of every male person who is not a citizen or subject of a foreign power twenty-one years of age or over (with the usual exception of the mentally and morally incompetent) who shall have been a resident of the Philippines for one year and of the municipality in which he shall offer to vote for six months, and who is comprised within one of the following classes:

"(a) Those who under existing law are legal voters and have exercised the right of suffrage.

"(b) Those who own real property to the value of 500 pesos, or who annually pay 30 pesos or more of the established taxes.

"(c) Those who are able to read and write either Spanish, English, or a native language."

The Philippine Legislature is authorized to provide different qualifications. (Organic Act, 1916, Section 15.)

The Jones Act provides that all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to Congress, which reserves the authority to annul them. It also guards against unbreakable deadlocks over appropriations by providing that "if at the termination of any fiscal year the appropriation necessary for the support of the government for the ensuing fiscal year shall not have been made, the several sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills, for the objects and purposes therein specified, so far as the same may be done, shall be deemed to be reappropriated for the several objects and purposes specified in said last appropriation bill;". . . The legislature is further limited by a bill of rights very similar to those of the state and national constitutions. Important limitations are imposed upon the legislative authority to grant franchises.

One of the most important powers granted to the new legislature is the authority to organize the executive departments of the Philippine government. This power is limited, however, by the provisions already mentioned as intended to protect the supreme executive powers of the Governor-General, and by the further provisions that there shall be a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to be embraced in one of the executive departments to be designated by the Governor-General; and that the vice-governor shall be the head of the department of education, which shall include the bureau of education and the bureau of health.[2] The act also creates the office of auditor for the government of the Philippines, makes him a Presidential appointee, and confers wide powers upon him, subject to appeal to the Governor-General, and the Secretary of War in case the Governor-General does not sustain the auditor.[3]

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[1] The limit of indebtedness has since been raised. See *infra*, p. 765, n. 2.

[2] Organic Act, 1916, Sections 7-11, 22, 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sections 24-25.

The provisions of the new law with reference to the judicial department of the government were not vitally different from those of the Act of 1902.

A comparison of the Jones Law with the Organic Act of 1902 warrants the statement that the former statute turned the legislative branch of the government almost completely over to the Filipinos, but sought to retain final American control over the executive branch by greatly increasing the authority of the Governor-General and investing him with all of the usual powers of an American chief executive, together with additional authority not given to any other executive official in the American system. There is not a word or a phrase in the body of the Jones Law, or in the records of the Congressional debates which preceded its passage that affords the slightest basis for the assumption that the Governor-General was not intended by Congress to exercise these powers after the manner of an American chief executive, and to maintain them in their entirety in the face of possible legislative encroachment. On the contrary, when Secretary of War Newton D. Baker officially forwarded the new Organic Act to Governor-General Harrison he informed the latter that the Governor-General had been entrusted with unusually wide powers for the express purpose of preventing the Filipinos from obtaining more self-government than Congress had given them in the law itself, and urged him to permit no legislative encroachment upon those powers.[1]

From what has already been said regarding the relations which by 1917 had developed between Governor-General Harrison and his Filipino associates it will be evident that the application of the much heralded "autonomy act" in accordance with the ordinary American canons of constitutional interpretation would have reduced rather than increased the control over their own affairs actually enjoyed by the Filipinos when the law finally was passed. The measure, however, was actually applied wholly in the spirit of the preamble, as interpreted by those who had sought to obtain immediate independence, or, if that were impossible, the greatest possible autonomy pending the termination of American sovereignty over the Islands.

After declaring that it was the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and recognize their independence as soon as a stable government could be established therein, the fateful preamble continued:

"Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by

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[1] Letter of Newton D. Baker to Francis Burton Harrison, dated August 18, 1916. (*Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 67, Part 2, p. 1381.)

the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and extension of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all of the privileges of complete independence: Therefore
"Be it enacted," . . .

The Filipino interpretation of this preamble, and of its bearing upon the body of the law has been plainly set forth by Senator Osmeña. "According to the Jones Law," Mr. Osmeña declared, "the object of the Congress of the United States is 'to confer upon the Filipino people as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States.' Following a cardinal rule of statutory construction we cannot interpret a law by giving effect only to a portion thereof without taking into account the statute in its entirety. If the object of Congress has been to prepare the Filipino people 'to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence,' and to this end, ample powers were given to the Filipinos in the management of their affairs, limited solely to a certain degree by the exercise of sovereignty by the people of the United States, the most logical application of the law would be to respect the free exercise by the Filipino people of the powers granted to them, so long as that exercise does not hinder the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the Government of the United States. These powers comprise executive, legislative, and judicial affairs. The only effect of the limitation prescribed by the Jones Law in the exercise of our autonomous powers is to reserve in favor of the United States sufficient authority and power to prevent the impairment by the Filipino people of the national sovereignty and international obligations of the United States. . . .

"In the eyes of the foreign powers of the world, we are, according to existing treaties, a dependency of the United States; and as such, the United States, internationally, exercises direct, ample, and complete authority over us. But within the circle of our domestic government, the authority of the United States has been delegated to the Filipino people, subject only to certain limitations. . . . The Filipinos know that theirs is now an autonomous régime; that they, and not the Governor-General, are being subjected to a test; that they, and not the Governor-General, are in duty bound to establish a stable government here; and that they, and only they, are committed to the task of hastening the day for the granting of their independence."[1]

In more concrete terms, this doctrine meant that the wide powers which had been vested in the Governor-General had been given him solely for the purposes of preventing the impairment or termination.

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[1] Sergio Osmeña, *The Constitutional Development of Philippine Autonomy*, pp. 13-14, 16, *passim.*

of American sovereignty in the Philippines, and to enable the United States to meet its "international obligations" (presumably the guarantee to foreign states and their nationals of the rights accorded them in the Philippines by treaty or by international law). The Governor-General's carefully guarded power of supervision and control over all executive functions was to be used solely to protect American sovereignty and the rights of foreigners, not to secure good government for the Filipino people. The responsibility for the faithful execution of the laws of the Islands specifically laid upon the chief executive by the law existed only when non-enforcement might impair the sovereignty of the United States or the rights of foreigners. The veto power might be used only to protect American sovereignty and foreign rights, not to prevent unwise legislation which would have only a domestic effect. The bureaus of public health and education were provided for in the Organic Act and put under the control of a Presidential appointee not because Congress wished to continue direct American control over these services as they affected the health and education of Filipinos, but solely to prevent the subversion of American sovereignty or the impairment of foreign rights for which the United States was responsible. And so on, through the long list of powers given to American officials or withheld from the Philippine Legislature.[1]

Applied in this spirit, it is easy to understand why the Jones Law did not alter the course of constitutional development which had been begun in the Philippines in 1913. The first important constitutional step to be taken after the inauguration of the new legislature on October 16, 1916, was the reorganization of the executive departments of the government. The four departments which had been in existence since 1901 were replaced by six: Interior, Public Instruction, Finance, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, and Commerce and Communications.[2] The reorganization act further advanced the growing

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[1] One of the clearest of all official statements of the Filipino interpretation of the Jones Law as applied to actual government was made in a memorandum presented to the President of the United States on behalf of the Philippine Legislature in 1924. In appealing against the Governor-General's veto of a bill remitting the penalty of the land tax for the year 1923, the legislative memorandum declared:

"The bill in question does not run counter to any provisions of the organic act and is of mere domestic concern, and for this reason the Governor-General has *no power* [italics supplied] to disapprove the same." After quoting the preamble of the Jones Law and presenting the usual argument that it embodied the intention of Congress in enacting that measure, the memorandum continued: "Having seen that the reservation of the rights of sovereignty in the Jones Law does not warrant an unrestricted use of the veto power of the Governor-General, let us ascertain what bills he may disapprove according to the intent of the organic act. We may divide such bills into four classes: (1) Those bills which are manifestly unconstitutional; (2) those which are in violation of any treaty of the United States with other nations; (3) those which discriminate against the citizens or subjects of other nations; and (4) those which attempt to challenge or diminish American sovereignty over these islands. All these bills he may veto. The bill in question does not come under any of the above classes." (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1926, pp. 46, 47.)

[2] Act No. 2666, Philippine Legislature, November 18, 1916; and incorporated as Chapter V of the Administrative Code of 1917. (Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917.)

The six departments were to correspond with the "six principal purposes which a fairly well-organized government has to accomplish, to wit:

"(1) The political direction of the various local administrative units, such as depart-connection between the executive and the legislative branches of the government by providing that the department secretaries, with the exception of the Secretary of Public Instruction, should be appointed at the beginning of each legislature, and that any of the secretaries might be called, and should be entitled to be heard, by either house of the legislature.[1] The avowed purpose of the former provision was to

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ments, provincial and municipal governments, and special governments (the department of the interior);

"(2) The guardianship of the State over the mental development and physical welfare of the citizens (the department of public instruction);

"(3) The collection of the public revenues and administration of the finances and business of the government (the department of finance);

"(4) The enforcement of the law and maintenance of order and safeguarding of the citizens and their rights (the department of justice);

"(5) The guardianship in connection with the preservation of the natural resources and the development of its sources of wealth (the department of agriculture and natural resources); and

"(6) The carrying out of such work and services as can not be performed by private citizens, conducive to the common welfare and public prosperity (the department of commerce and communications)."

(*Filipino Appeal For Freedom. The Philippine Parliamentary Mission's Statement of Actual Conditions in the Philippine Islands and a Summary of Philippine Problems,* p. 22. (House Document No. 511, 67th Congress, 4th Session.)

The following brief description of the administration of the government thus organized is also quoted from the *Filipino Appeal for Freedom,* p. 23:

There is in each department an undersecretary to aid the secretary of the department in the performance of his duties. The undersecretary holds his office during good behavior, for unlike the secretaryship there is no provision for a periodic renewal. He performs the duties of the secretary in the latter's absence. Upon the inability of both the secretary and the undersecretary to act, the Governor-General may temporarily designate a secretary or undersecretary of another department to perform the duties.

Besides the six regular departments of the government for administrative purposes, there are four other officials who have departmental authority over the offices under them. They are the Governor-General, who has departmental authority over the bureau of audits, the bureau of civil service, and over all other offices and branches of the service not assigned by law to any department; the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives, who are department heads for the officers and employees of the senate and house, respectively; and the chief justice of the supreme court, who is the department head of employees in the supreme court.

The following are the bureaus and offices under their corresponding departments:

Office of the Governor-General: Bureau of audits, bureau of civil service, Philippine National Guard.

Department of the interior: Bureau of non-Christian tribes, Philippine General Hospital, board of pharmaceutical examiners and inspectors, boards of medical, dental, and optical examiners, board of examiners for nurses, executive bureau, Philippine Constabulary, commissioner of public welfare, cities of Manila and Baguio.

Department of public instruction: Bureau of education, Philippine health service, bureau of quarantine service.

Department of finance: Bureau of customs, bureau of internal revenue, bureau of the treasury, mint of the Philippine Islands, bureau of printing.

Department of justice: Bureau of justice, courts of first instance and inferior courts, general land registration office, public utility commission, Philippine Library and Museum, bureau of prisons.

Department of agriculture and natural resources: Bureau of agriculture, agricultural colonies, bureau of forestry, bureau of lands, bureau of science, weather bureau.

Department of commerce and communications: Bureau of public works, bureau of posts, bureau of supply, bureau of commerce and industry, bureau of labor, bureau of coast and geodetic survey.

[1] *Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands of 1917,* Sections 77 and 80. The secretaries were to appear "for the purpose of reporting on matters pertaining to their respective Departments, unless the public interest shall require otherwise and the Governor-General shall so state in writing."

The Secretary of Finance appeared before the House of Representatives upon at least nine occasions between 1918 and 1923 for the purpose of discussing the budget. Upon the last of these occasions he was present upon five successive days, and in that year the Secretaries of the Interior, Justice, Public Instruction, Agriculture, and Commerce and Communications also appeared to explain their departmental estimates. (Data furnished by the Secretary of the House of Representatives.)

In 1924, when relations between Governor-General Wood and the legislative leaders were strained, the Senate passed a resolution "requiring the secretary of the interior to appear in the Senate and explain his alleged failure to prevent, or at least protest against alleged usurpation of powers belonging to his department by Governor-General Wood, and to give his reasons for his failure to recommend the extension of land tax payments in various provinces." Governor-General Wood informed the Senate, "in writ-bring the chief Filipino executive officials into political harmony with the majority of the legislature after each general election, and of the latter to make these officials responsible to the legislature.[1] It was also provided that, with the exception of the Secretary of Public Instruction, all secretaries should be citizens of the Philippine Islands and have resided continuously in the Islands for three years previous to their appointment. The purpose of this provision seems to be obvious.

The reorganization act also sought in direct terms to make the departmental secretaries responsible to the legislature rather than to the Governor-General. The law provided that the six departments should be "under the direct control of the respective Secretaries of Departments, exercising their functions subject to the *general* [italics supplied] supervision and control of the Governor-General." In 1919 an amendment to the law purported to limit the powers of supervision and control which had been vested in the Governor-General by the Jones Law to "matters of general policy." The same act provided that executive orders and other official regulations relative to matters under the supervision or jurisdiction of a Department, "the promulgation of which is expressly assigned by law to the Governor-General, shall, as a general rule, be issued upon proposition and recommendation by the respective Department." [2]

This restriction is typical of many provisions which required the chief executive to exercise his powers only with the consent of some subordinate official who, in theory, was responsible to the legislature. With reference to many matters, also, the decision of the department head was made final, with no possibility of appeal to or intervention by the Governor-General. The purpose of these acts,—and there were many of them,—was frankly avowed by the Filipino leaders and acquiesced in by Mr. Harrison. The legislature wished, so far as possible, to transfer the control of the executive department from the Governor-General to the departmental secretaries, who were to be responsible primarily to it, and not to the chief executive.

While the powers of the individual departmental secretaries were being made as great as possible and removed from the actual control of the Governor-General, other means for extending the principle of "responsible" government were being developed. Upon the organization of the new government, Governor-General Harrison at once formed

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ing," that adherence to the principle of the separation of the executive, the legislative, and judicial departments, and the public interest, required "that the Secretary of the Interior should not be compelled to appear before your honorable body and be made to answer as to his executive acts." (*The Times,* Manila, July 24, 1924.)

[1] "This, [provision as to appointment] by inference, means that the executive heads are to be appointed after each triennial election, and that they are to be chosen in obedience to the popular will as expressed in such election. Members of the legislature can become at the same time cabinet heads." As to the power of interrogation, Senator Palma declared, "If the houses can demand of them (the secretaries) that they give an account of their official acts, they are responsible to the houses, though ultimately responsible to the Governor-General." (*Filipino Appeal For Freedom,* p. 21.)

[2] Act No. 2803, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1919.

The Honorable Manuel L. Quezon

Member of the Philippine Assembly, 1907-1909; Resident Commissioner, 1909-1917; President of the Senate, 1916—.

a cabinet of the heads of the executive departments. It was hoped that in this body might be centered the leadership of the Filipino elements in the government. To further the accomplishment of this end, Senator Rafael Palma, the vice-president of the Nacionalista party, which completely controlled both houses of the legislature, was included in the cabinet as Secretary of the Interior.

The cabinet failed to solve the problem of centralized, responsible Filipino leadership, however, because it contained neither the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who, as has been intimated, actually controlled the Nationalista party and had long been the unquestioned Filipino leader, nor the President of the Senate, Mr. Manuel E. Quezon, who officially represented the upper house and was already acquiring great personal influence. Consequently, at the suggestion of Speaker Osmeña, the Governor-General, by executive order on October 16, 1918, created a council of state which included not only the department secretaries, but also the Speaker and the President of the Senate.

Thus were brought to the official council board the two men who actually controlled the Filipino portion of the government, and whose advice the Governor-General had habitually followed in exercising the powers of his office. Theoretically, the new council provided for the expression of the will of the Filipino people regarding the administration of their government through officials who, in their capacity of councillors to the American Governor-General, were responsible to the legislature. In reality, the arrangement put the executive power in the hands of the two men who were the absolute masters of the legislative branch of the government, and of the only political party that counted in the country.[1]

The executive order which established the council of state declared that this body was created to "aid and advise the Governor-General upon matters of public importance." To the existence of such an advisory body there could, of course, be no objection. However, were the Governor-General habitually to surrender into the hands of his council the powers assigned to him by the Organic Act, a situation would be created that certainly was not contemplated by Congress when that act was passed,—despite the oft-quoted preamble. This is precisely what Governor-General Harrison did. The result was to carry towards its logical conclusion the indigenous system of government which, with the encouragement of President Wilson, Mr. Harrison and Speaker Osmeña had been developing since 1913.

Furthermore, between 1918 and 1923 the Philippine Legislature in at least 60 distinct instances conferred upon the council of state powers which gave the latter body a wide measure of control over almost every department of the government.[1] Some restrictions provided that money could be spent, or contracts made, only with the approval of the council.[2] One such measure even provided that payments upon contracts for the services of the technical personnel in the office of the Governor-General could be made only for such contracts as might be deemed necessary by this body.[3] Other laws provided that powers conferred by law upon the heads of departments might be exercised only with the approval of the council.[4] Still others made the council legally competent to decide whether certain classes of positions in the executive departments should be filled.[5] Another group of laws required that specified functions assigned to the Governor-General by the Organic Act or by local legislation should be exercised only with the assent of the council.[6]

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[1] The Council of State was created by Executive Order No. 37, October 16, 1918.

The result of the passage of this mass of legislation was to make the council of state much more than a mere advisory group which could readily be discontinued by the issuance of another executive order revoking the one which had created it. Itself an extra-constitutional body, the council was given legal powers which with reference to many matters transcended those of the Governor-General. Many of the functions of the council were clearly executive in their nature, and it is evident that they were neither directly under the Governor-General, nor within one of the departments under the supervision and control of the chief executive, as required by the Organic Act.

During the same period many other laws were enacted which diminished the executive powers of the Governor-General. An "emergency board" was created, consisting of the chairman of the committee on finance of the Senate, the chairman of the committee on appropriations of the House of Representatives, the Secretaries of Justice and Finance, and the Insular Auditor, and this body was given wide powers over the expenditure of funds.[7] Many of the appropriations for public works were made with the proviso that they could be expended by the Director of Public Works only when their distribution had been made by the Secretary of Commerce and Communications, with the approval of a joint committee elected by the Senate and the House of Representatives. Even the American Congress has never sought to place the public works pork barrel so directly and completely under the control of its own members. (See Act No. 3113, Philippine Legislature.)

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[1] List of acts prepared by the Governor-General, dated August 15, 1923, citing laws of the Philippine Legislature which attempt to curtail the powers of supervision and control vested by the Organic Act in the Governor-General, and supplemented by lists subsequently prepared in the office of the Governor-General.

[2] Acts Nos. 2782, 2875, 2935, 2950, 3004, 3009, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3060, 3168, Philippine Legislature. A number of these laws were appropriation acts which carried many restrictive clauses; in certain instances the restrictions were effective for one year only.

[3] Act No. 2935, Philippine Legislature.

[4] Acts Nos. 2875, 2908, 2931, 3217, Philippine Legislature.

[5] Acts Nos. 2875, 3153, Philippine Legislature.

[6] Acts Nos. 2868, 2869, 2931, 2932, 2935, 2950, 2993, 3114, 3123, Philippine Legislature.

[7] Act No. 2319, 1914, and each succeeding general appropriation act up to and including that for 1921, Act No. 2935). From 1922 to 1925, inclusive, the appropriation acts continued the powers of the board.

The capstone of the system which was developed in response to the suggestion of President Wilson, however, was the board of control. During the latter years of the Harrison régime the Philippine Government established and invested millions of dollars in a Philippine National Bank[1] and in a group of enterprises known as the national development companies. The latter comprised corporations for the production of petroleum, for the mining of coal and iron, and the construction and operation of cement plants, sugar refineries, and coconut-oil refineries. The Manila Railway was purchased and operated by the government, and later the railroad acquired the Manila Hotel. At least 51 per cent of the stock of these corporations was required to be owned by the government, and in practice all, or virtually all of it was so owned.[2]

The board of control, composed of the Governor-General, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, was constituted an authority to vote the stock of the government in all of these companies, and thus direct their operation and control their policies.[3] Thus still further executive powers were placed by Philippine law beyond the supervision and control of the Governor-General, and in the hands of Filipino officials theoretically responsible to the Philippine Legislature.

The system of government which has been briefly described was not, like that of the United States, of the "presidential" type. Nor was it, strictly speaking, a "parliamentary" government of the European model. Rather, it was a Filipino government. Senator Osmeña, the chief architect of the system, has said of it: "As Congress did not give—because it could not very well have given to the Philippines—a governmental structure already made, and as it merely assured us of our autonomy by means of an all-Filipino Legislature elected by the people, vested with ample powers to organize an internal government, the first thing the Legislature did was to entrust the powers of administration to Filipino hands. In so doing, the Legislature did not forget that the government sought to be established here was not a government for Americans but for Filipinos, founded on our own civilization; not a government of foreigners inspired by foreign ideals, but a government of Filipinos inspired by their own culture and with the best interests of their country in view. The Legislature realized from the very beginning that the Governor-General was an integral part of the Government, but not being responsible to the Filipino people, it is clear that his authority should be subordinated to the principle of Philippine autonomy. . . .

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[1] See H. Parker Willis, "The Philippine National Bank," in *Journal of Political Economy*, XXV, No. 5, May, 1917), pp. 409-441, for an authoritative account of the establishment of the bank.

[2] For a Filipino account of the business ventures of the government, see J. P. Apostol, *The Economic Policy of the Philippine Government: Ownership and Operation of Business*. "Studies in Social Sciences," University of the Philippines, Vol. I, No. 1, Manila, 1927.

[3] Among the more important acts conferring power upon the board of control may be mentioned Acts Nos. 2705, 2752, 2814, 2849, 2855, 2862, 2894, 2938, Philippine Legislature. Prior to the passage of Act No. 2938 the board had been called a committee.

"Our system of government is ours, truly ours, the product of our policies and of the progressive evolution of the institutions of our country, the natural outgrowth of our achievements in self-government. Whatever gaps and contradictions there may be, they merely show that the progress we have attained was attained only after a tenacious and persistent struggle between the people that demand liberty and the representatives of the sovereign power that have naturally resisted popular impatience." [1]

Thus, with the coöperation of an American governor-general and the encouragement of an American president, the Philippines obtained practically complete autonomy under a system of government which had never been authorized, or even dreamed of by the American Congress. The feat compels admiration for the political sagacity of the Filipinos who performed it. It was inevitable, however, that sooner or later, the American people would inquire into the actual character of the institutions thus established, and into the quality of government which had been given to the Filipinos under them. One of the two dominant Filipino leaders has described the system from the standpoint of democracy. During 1921 Senator Quezon broke with Speaker Osmeña and established a new political party, chiefly to avoid the anticipated displeasure of the people in the approaching elections. In the political struggle that followed Mr. Quezon wrote to the Speaker as follows:

> "Since the government of the Philippines was established by the provisions of the Jones Law . . . it may be said that practically all measures which received your approval were transformed into laws, and no law could be approved without your consent. The department secretaries, individually and collectively, guided their course of action under your inspiration, and nothing against your opinion was ever performed by them. Recommendations on appointments made by the secretaries to the governor-general were made upon your initiative, at least with your consent. Your veto in these cases was final and definite.
>
> "Such practices put the executive and legislative powers of the gov-

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[1] Sergio Osmeña, *The Constitutional Development of Philippine Autonomy*, pp. 5-6, 11-12. See also a lecture delivered by Senator Osmeña at the University of Michigan on December 14, 1925, entitled, *The Problem of Democratic Government in the Philippines—It Salient Aspects,* Washington, 1925. Dean Maximo M. Kalaw, in an article entitled, "The New Philippine Government" (*American Political Science Review,* Vol. XIII, pp. 415-428), gives a valuable account of the early development of the Philippine Government under the Jones Law. A further description of the organization of the government under the Jones Law is to be found in M. M. Kalaw, *Self-Government in the Philippines* (New York, 1919).

ernment of the Philippines in the hands of two men. I say two because all this was allowed to go on with my knowledge and consent, or at least with my tolerance. Thus there was created without provision that would authorize it, and merely with our consent, not as legislators, but as members of the same party, a truly supreme authority over the Cabinet and the legislature."

This pronouncement, which was a campaign document, grossly understates the power of Mr. Quezon, especially as it existed towards the end of the Harrison régime. It also carries an implication that the Speaker exercised an arbitrary or dictatorial rule. He does not seem to have done so, but rather to have established his mastery over the government by a genius for the coördination of the efforts and the conciliation of the interest of various groups and individuals, by patience and steadfastness of purpose, sheer intellectual power, and an infinite capacity for hard work.

Mr. Quezon's declaration, nevertheless, is substantially accurate in its description of the real seat of control in the government of the Philippines between 1917 and 1921. And possession of the government carried with it means of perpetuating the power of the possessors. Of patronage, the *Nacionalista* party controlled the appointments, not only of executive and administrative officials in the central government, but of the judges of the courts of first instance and of all the justices of the peace throughout the Archipelago. It likewise named the provincial fiscals, or prosecuting attorneys, who long have been key men in Filipino politics. It dominated the government of almost every province and municipality. In one district this meant that the humble followers of a local rival of the organization senator repeatedly lost their carabaos, only to be laughed at when they appealed to the authorities for aid in recovering their indispensable work-animals. When they saw the light politically the depredations ceased and their stolen property was returned to them. The election machinery itself was almost everywhere in the hands of the *Nacionalista* organization, so that the president of the *Democrata* party declared, "In the provinces election frauds were the rule rather than the exception."

To these quite usual means of political control were added, during the last few years of the Harrison régime, the disposition of vast sums of money voted by the legislature for the use of the Philippine National Bank, the Manila Railway, and the National Development Companies. Finally, in 1920, as the régime of the Democratic party in the United States was approaching a close, the legislature made an annually recurring appropriation of one million pesos to defray the expenses of the "Independence Commission" composed of all of the members of the legislature. The expenditure of this fund, which was to be automatically reappropriated each year without the necessity of further legislation, was entrusted to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House without the requirement of publicity as to the purposes for which the money was used.

In a tropical country of 11,500,000 population, in which the daily newspaper circulation was not more than 135,000[1] and in which the people had been accustomed from time immemorial to the absolute dominance of a small ruling class, the situation which has been described could hardly have been expected to result in *democratic* self-government. The plain facts are that between 1913 and 1921 "an oligarchy or aristocracy" was thoroughly entrenched in control of the government of the Philippines. For this result it would be exceedingly unjust to blame either the Filipino people or their leaders. No matter how much they may have desired a democracy, they did not possess the materials from which one could be created in less than a decade. Despite the great powers given over to them, they did not have final authority or final responsibility. In the actual conduct of the government Mr. Harrison occasionally asserted himself as Governor-General, usually at some unexpected moment, and upon such occasions was apt to have his way. The situation was artificial and abnormal, and both the Filipinos and their critics have attempted to prove entirely too much from it. Assuming, however, that the government of the Philippines was "stable" in 1920, President Wilson's recommendation to Congress that the Islands be granted immediate independence was in perfect harmony with the traditional Philippine policy of the Democratic party.[2]

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[1] The Wood-Forbes report (page 6) gives the daily newspaper circulation in 1921 as 131,400. The *Statistical Bulletin* gives the following figures: 1919, 51,460; 1920, 63,872; 1928, 164,787. The Wood-Forbes estimate may, therefore, be regarded as the outside figure.

[2] In his last message to Congress President Wilson said: "Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of Congress in their behalf and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands. I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet." (Message transmitted to Congress December 7, 1920.)

The Philippine planks in the Democratic platforms of 1924 and 1928 were almost verbatim reproductions of this recommendation.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE APPRAISAL OF THE "NEW ERA"

WITH the return of the Republican party to power in the United States in 1921 "stability" ceased to be the sole criterion by which the government of the Philippines was to be judged, and the affirmation of the former President that the government of the great dependency was stable enough to warrant the withdrawal of American sovereignty was to be subjected to careful and expert examination. Within a few days after his inauguration President Harding appointed Major General Leonard Wood and ex-Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes as members of a special mission "to the Philippine Islands and to make there a study of the situation and to report thereon, in order that I may have a judgment on which I can base my action and my recommendations with a consciousness that I am dealing justly with the Filipino people and pursuing a policy which the American people will sanction and support." [1]

The judgment of the two commissioners was rendered on October 8, 1921, after an investigation in the Philippines which lasted for four months, covered every corner of the Archipelago, and touched upon almost every aspect of government in the Islands except those directly connected with the purely political phases of the system which had been established. Included in their report were numerous statements bearing directly upon the honesty, efficiency, democracy, or stability of the government as they found it. These declarations present such a clear view of some of the practical results of the Wilson-Harrison policy that the more important of them are quoted herewith. It will be noted that the picture is not by any means entirely a dark one.

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[1] *Report of the Special Mission to the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War*, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session. In requesting the Secretary of War to prepare instructions for the commissioners President Harding first quoted the recommendation of his predecessor in office that independence should at once be granted to the Philippines, and then continued:

"The suggestion made was not acted upon by that session of Congress. Undoubtedly that nonaction was due to the fact that all of the evidence available to Congress was not of this same tenor. Based, however, as it was, on official reports from the highest authority in the Philippine Islands, as well as on current reports from lesser authorities given the widest circulation in the United States, as well as in the islands, it can not, with propriety, be ignored, nor yet can it, in the face of conflicting evidence from many sources, be accepted as the final word on so important a subject.

"I have, therefore, selected Gen. Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to go to the Philippine Islands and to make there a study of the situation and to report thereon, in order that I may have a judgment on which I can base my action and my recommendations with a consciousness that I am dealing justly with the Filipino people and pursuing a policy which the American people will sanction and support." (President Warren G. Harding to the Secretary of War, March 20, 1921. *Ibid.*, p. 7.)

Secretary Weeks in his letter of instructions made this general statement of the task assigned to the commissioners:

"It is asserted with positiveness by persons who have had every reasonable opportunity to know the conditions whereof they speak that the Philippine Government is now in a position to warrant its total separation from the United States Government and that the Filipino people are in a position to continue to operate the Philippine Government without aid of any kind from the United States and that the Government so conducted would be one in which the American people could take pride because of the assistance heretofore given it.

"All of this is quite as positively denied by other persons having similar opportunities to study the situation and to know the exact conditions existing in the Philippine Islands.

"Between these conflicting views you are to render judgment." (Secretary John W. Weeks to Major-General Leonard Wood, March 23, 1921. *Ibid.*, p. 8.)

Public Services

"It is the general opinion among Filipinos, Americans, and foreigners," the Wood-Forbes Report stated, "that the public services are now in many particulars relatively inefficient; that there has occurred a slowing down in the dispatch of business, and a distinct relapse toward the standards and administrative habits of former days. This is due in part to bad example, incompetent direction, to political infection of the services, and above all to lack of competent supervision and inspection. This has been brought about by surrendering, or failing to employ, the executive authority of the Governor General, and has resulted in undue interference and tacit usurpation by the political leaders of the general supervision and control of departments and bureaus of the government vested by law in the Governor General."

Civil Service

"Again, the legislature has passed laws tending to demoralize and introduce into the civil service the infection of politics. For example, numerous exemptions from the requirements of the civil service and many provisions for temporary employment. All these defects can and —unless we fail to understand the spirit of the legislature and the leaders—will be corrected in the islands."

Public Order

"Public order is excellent throughout the islands, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions." . . .

The Courts

"The supreme court has the respect and confidence of the Philippine people. The other tribunals do not enjoy an equal degree of confidence. In the lower tribunals, generally speaking, the administration of justice is unsatisfactory, slow, and halting, and there is a widespread feeling among the people that political, family, and other influences have undue weight in determining issues. . . .

"The condition of the courts of first instance is generally deplorable. . . .

"The justice of the peace courts are the weakest point in the judicial establishment. . . .

THE HONORABLE W. CAMERON FORBES

Secretary of Commerce and Police, June 5, 1904-November 10, 1909; Vice-Governor, July 31, 1908-November 10, 1909; Governor-General, November 11, 1909-September 1, 1913.

"In brief, the independence and stability of the judiciary must be established. It lies at the foundation of stable government." . . .

LAND TITLES

"The land title situation in the Philippines is a serious one. . . . Delay in obtaining titles is also due to the abolition of the court of land registration and to the transfer of land cases to the overloaded courts of first instance. This has resulted in an increase in the number of abuses by which the poor farmer and homesteader, ignorant of his rights, is forced off his land by his richer and unscrupulous neighbor. The situation tends to serious discontent and must be corrected." . . .

PUBLIC EDUCATION

"The Filipinos are deeply interested in public education. Their enthusiasm, their keenness to secure education for their children is beyond praise. The progressive development of the school system has been phenomenal. Indeed, enthusiasm has at times outrun prudence, and expansion has taken place so rapidly that efficiency has not been able to keep pace. However, such mistakes as have been made have resulted from enthusiasm in a noble cause—the education of the youth of the islands." . . .

PUBLIC HEALTH

"The excellent health service which previously existed has become largely inert. Much of the personnel remains, but it has lost the zeal and vigor which formerly characterized it. . . .

"The care of the insane is medieval." . . .

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"We are pleased to note and record many evidences of progressive development [economic] in the islands. . . . It should be noted, however, that whatever mistakes have been made here, they have not been sufficient to arrest the steady rate of progress which these figures prove to have taken place."

NATIONAL FINANCES

After stating that the insular accounts were so kept that the officers of government were unable to obtain a true picture of government costs, the report declared:

"Certain figures, however, stand out so boldly that they can not be questioned. The rate of taxation has been sharply advanced. The insular gross revenues from taxation in 1913, before the Filipinos were given virtual control of their Government, were $12,500,000, as opposed to $28,000,000 in 1920, an increase of 124 per cent. Government expenditures show a still greater proportion of growth. This increase in the general cost of government has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in efficiency; on the contrary, as has been noted elsewhere, there has been a general falling off in efficiency." . . .

Concerning the Philippine National Bank the mission reported:

"The story of the Philippine National Bank is one of the most unfortunate and darkest pages in Philippine history. This bank was started in 1916, and a law was passed [1] compelling all provincial and municipal governments to deposit all their funds in it; and at the same time arrangements were made to transfer from other banks all government funds there deposited, except trust funds, which were held on deposit in the United States; later the bank was put into a position to get control of these moneys and reserve funds. The sum of $41,500,000, held for the conversion of currency, was transferred to the Philippine Islands, the bank making a large profit in exchange in doing so. Much of it was then loaned out to speculative concerns under circumstances which have led to grave doubt as to the good faith of the transactions.

"A man presumed to be experienced in banking was brought from the United States and took the first presidency, which he held a short time. An American inexperienced in banking was then put in charge, and upon his death a Filipino, also without banking experience, became president. The result of all this has been a series of banking losses, estimated by the insular auditor to reach the severe total of $22,500,000. A partner of Messrs. Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants of New York, after a careful examination of the bank, makes the following comment:

"Our examination thus far reveals the fact that the bank has been operated during almost the entire period of its existence prior to the appointment of Mr. Wilson as manager in violation of every principle which prudence, intelligence, or even honesty, dictate.

"As a result of these findings, charges have been filed against Gen. Concepcion, a former president of the bank.

"The Government became alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and secured the services of an experienced banking man from the United States, under whose conservative guidance the affairs of the bank are in a fair way to be put on a sound footing. But a large part of the assets of the bank have been loaned to concerns which will be unable to repay for many years—very largely in sugar centrals and coconut-oil factories. These loans were made in excessive amounts during the period of boom prices, and minimum precaution in regard to security was taken, with the result that the bank has allowed its reserves to run down much lower than required by law, is unable to meet its current obligations, has had to ask other banks not to press for the redemption of its notes, and has further had to ask time for the payment of its obligations to many banks in Shanghai representing many countries, a list of which is among the exhibits, to whom it owes large sums of money as a result of losses incurred in speculation in exchange transactions.

"Among the exhibits will be found a copy of the agreement entered into by the insular auditor and these banks for the settlement of these claims.

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[1] See Section 19 of Act No. 2612 of the Philippine Legislature.

"The bank also established branches and agencies throughout the Philippine Islands, in charge of which they placed untrained Filipinos, and without exception these branches have been mismanaged. Of the four branches in which examinations have been completed criminal charges have been preferred against the managers of each one.

"These losses have seriously involved the Philippine Government, and the fact that it has not been able to meet its obligations has seriously impaired its credit. We have been informed by representatives of banks in North Borneo and Japan that they have received instructions not to honor the notes or drafts of the Philippine National Bank.

"The currency resources have been depleted, the silver on deposit to redeem the currency has been pledged and used for other purposes. The fund for the maintenance of the parity of gold and silver is involved in these losses, with the result that instead of a metallic and cash basis for the currency, its principal support now is the pledge of the Philippine Government and the confidence on the part of the public that the United States will not permit these things to happen again. The currency is now practically a fiat currency.

"In view of good earnings, moderate expenses, inherent wealth, a small public debt, and backed by the credit of the United States, the problem of rehabilitating the credit of the Philippine Islands should be an easy one. The lesson has been a bitter one for the Filipinos and the gravity of the mistake is generally appreciated.

"One of the functions of the National Bank was to manage government exchange. Having transferred all the funds usually available for exchange to Manila, and then loaned the money in such a way that it could not be recovered, the Government had to discontinue selling exchange. The rates ran up as high as 15 per cent, which was equivalent to a depreciation of the Philippine currency to almost that amount, which has resulted in great hardship to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, especially those engaged in business." . . .

PUBLIC WORKS

"In the matter of public works, your mission has to report both favorably and unfavorably.

"The Government and people of the Islands realize the value and necessity of public works, and large appropriations from current revenues have been made annually for such objects as the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation systems, schoolhouses, markets, port works, and artesian wells, among others. We find, however, an undue increase in the cost of public works, due in many instances to construction by administration instead of by contract; this has necessitated the purchase of equipment ordinarily furnished by the contractors. There has also been a deterioration in the quality of the work performed in this service. We find also a lack of competent supervision.

"On the other hand, there has been a great deal of excellent work done. The director, a Filipino, is a man of unusual capacity and foresight, and he impressed the members of the mission most favorably." . . .

ELECTIONS

"Interest in the elections was widespread and election day passed without any serious disturbance. There was a general, quiet acceptance by the minority of the results of the popular vote, although the executive bureau was deluged with complaints. The courts, since that time, have been loaded with fraudulent election cases, the legal action on which has been so slow that there are still 350 cases pending in the courts, and many terms of office will be served out by people who were either fraudulently elected or, in some cases, appointed by executive order to the vacancies, even though their claims to the office had been pronounced by the courts as fraudulent. These were caused not only by the local conditions, to be explained, but by an election law which is undoubtedly defective in providing sufficient safeguards for the ballot and which should be thoroughly revised.

"Under the present election law officers known as 'inspectors of election' are required to prepare the ballot for illiterate voters. This is a fruitful source of frauds. The election machinery is practically in the hands of the dominant parties and the inspectors of election are too often their tools.

"It is surprising that the elections have been conducted as well as they have been, in view of the fact that outside of the larger cities and principal towns the organization of society is very primitive and the people generally are unaware of their civil rights.

"Such social organization as exists is of a patriarchal form, characterized by a strong clan feeling and centuries of leadership by a few influential individuals known as 'caciques.' The subservience of the people to these leaders has not yet been supplanted by new ideals that come with modern education or by a confirmed sense of duty to the State. Whenever representatives of two powerful family groups oppose one another at elections there is sure to be a bitter contest and an unwillingness on the part of the minority to accept the situation.

"During the visit of the mission through the provinces the charges and countercharges of fraudulent practices have been widespread and intense. On the whole, this interest is indicative of a certain development of public opinion which will, in the end, right the wrongs.

"As a rule, there is little evidence of a party system and program, and the elections are fought out upon personalities rather than on principles.

"The party in power is so intrenched that under the present election law it would be very difficult for the people to dislodge it if they wanted to change."

LEGISLATION

"Legislation in which Filipinos have participated may be fairly divided into three periods:

"First, 1907 to 1913. Under the strong, conservative influence of the commission with American majority, the legislation passed was constructive and good, with marked emphasis placed upon the improvement of education and construction of permanent improvements.

"Second, 1913 to 1916. The restraining influence was withdrawn with the appearance of a Filipino majority on the commission. Good, constructive legislation is passed but there are marked tendencies to inject politics into administration and to interfere with administrative efficiency. Injudicious economy by salary cutting and discouragement of government personnel becomes marked. The tendency toward government interference in business and radical government paternalism begins. The legislation also showed a conscious effort to encourage Filipino nationality and independence.[1]

"Third, 1916 to 1921. With an elected House and Senate, the legislation in this period became increasingly radical in its paternalism and government interference with business. Some constructive legislation was passed, but the general trend was toward injection of politics into administration and encroachment of the legislative on the executive. Legislation affecting finance, banking, and currency has been radical and unwise."

General Conclusions

The general conclusions of the Wood-Forbes report which bear directly upon the question of the probable stability of the government in the event of the withdrawal of American sovereignty from the Islands were as follows:

"We find that the Government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government. . . .

"We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the government.

"We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government. . . .

"We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the Government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages.

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[1] It is to be noted that franchises granted by the Government during this period contain the following clause:

"The concession of the privilege mentioned in the preceding section shall not take effect unless the grantee shall accept in writing and make part of this concession the following condition, to wit, 'That the grantee state in writing that it is informed of the message of the President of the United States addressed to the Filipino people and communicated to said people by the Governor General of the Philippine Islands on the sixth day of October, 1913, and of the reply message of the Philippine Assembly made in the name of the Filipino people and approved and sent on October 16, 1913; that said grantee binds itself not to engage in or aid, by means of contributions in cash or otherwise, any propaganda directed against the policy of the Government of the United States outlined in such message of the President and the aspirations of the Filipino people set forth in said reply message of the Philippine Assembly, whether under the pretext of vested interests or under any other pretext, and that said grantee shall further bind itself to exact a similar engagement from its administrators, agents, successors, and assigns.'"

"In conclusion we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government."

Recommendations

The mission concluded its report with the following recommendations:

"1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

"2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted the Governor General under Act No. 240 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the Jones bill.

"3. We recommend that in case of a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments that the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

"4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority."[1]

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[1] The other general conclusions of the report were as follows:

"We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous, and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

"We find everywhere among the Christian Filipinos the desire for independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The non-Christians and Americans are for continuance of American control.

"We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

"We find that the Government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government.

"We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employees are men of good character and ability, and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

"We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

"We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the government.

"We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government.

The Filipino reply to the Wood-Forbes Report, the *Filipino Appeal for Freedom,* was presented by a large Parliamentary mission which visited Washington in 1922. In addition to denying the truth of some of the findings of General Wood and Mr. Forbes, or seeking to evade responsibility for evils which admittedly had developed while Filipinos were in control, this statement calls attention to many constructive achievements of their régime. Among these are the establishment of a modern budget system, a tremendous expansion of the system of public education, an extension of the public roads of the Islands, the maintenance of a condition of law and order, the successful conduct of national and local elections, marked social progress through the development of women's organizations and public welfare work, the social and political betterment of the tribal peoples, especially the Moros, the establishment of a record of constructive legislation by the Philippine Legislature,[1] and a great improvement in the economic condition of the country.

It is the opinion of the writer that the findings of the Wood-Forbes mission are, as a whole, justified by the facts, and that the report presents an accurate picture of the situation in the Philippine Islands in 1921. On the other hand, much of the substantial progress described in the Filipino statement was actually made, and, indeed, was recognized by General Wood and Mr. Forbes. Certain it is that the period between 1913 and 1921 was one of increasing prosperity and contentment for the Filipino people, and that in many ways the material and social progress of the country was rapid during these years. The statistics of the "progress barometer" previously referred to[2] prove these statements beyond question. It should be remembered, also, that if this prosperity and contentment was produced in large part by the high wartime prices that Philippine export products commanded, it was the collapse of the war boom that brought on many of the financial and other troubles with which the country was faced in 1921.

Just as there are differences of opinion regarding the quality of the government of the Philippines during the Harrison administration, so do experts differ as to the effect of the rapid transfer of power from Americans to Filipinos upon the political education of the Filipino people. Mr. Harrison has stated that, although "the extension of self-

"We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

"We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating lack of experience and opportunity, and especially lack of inspection.

"We find that questions in regard to confirmation of appointments might at any time arise which would make a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate."

[1] Special attention is invited to the Parliamentary Mission's survey of the laws passed by the Philippine Legislature since its establishment in 1907, pages 81 to 88. The record shows a large amount of constructive legislation which the most hostile critic would be compelled to admit was for the benefit of the Filipino people, however unwise other measures may have been.

[2] See Chapter XXXII, *supra.*

government and spread of democracy may in themselves have impaired somewhat the efficiency of administration," yet, "if so, that disadvantage is more than offset by the gain in contentment of the people, the growth of respect and friendship for the United States, and the valuable lessons in self-government secured by the Filipinos." [1] Other Americans feel that most of the political lessons learned by the Filipinos while American supervision and control over their government was virtually suspended were bad and will have to be unlearned before progress can be resumed.

The writer is of the opinion that despite marked retrogression in administration important advances in the art of self-government were made during the period both by the masses of the people and their leaders, and that much of this political education could not have been gained had not the Filipinos been entrusted with almost complete control over their own affairs. The price that was paid was high, especially in the toll of human lives and suffering which directly resulted from the disastrous failure of the public health service,[2] and a necessary part of it was the loss of some of the political power enjoyed by the Filipinos between 1913 and 1921. The ultimate decision as to whether the price was too high will be made by the future historian.[3]

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[1] Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*, p. 88.

[2] See pages 339, n. 1, and 341, n. 1, *supra.*

[3] For the most telling criticism of the Harrison régime see Daniel R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines*, Chapters VII and VIII; and Forbes, II, Chapters xxi, xxii, xxiii. The opposite view is presented in Charles E. Russell, *The Outlook For the Philippines* (New York, 1922), a volume subsidized by the Independence Commission; and M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Antonomy, 1872–1920*, Chapters XII, XIII. See also the *Statement of the Commission of Independence to the Special Mission to the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1921.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Reversal and Rehabilitation

The appointment of Major-General Leonard Wood as Governor-General of the Philippines and his acceptance of the office were generally considered as evidence that the findings and the recommendations of the Wood-Forbes mission were approved, at least by the executive branch of the American Government. Within less than a year, however, President Harding officially declared to the Filipino people: "No backward step is contemplated, no diminution of your domestic control is to be sought." Filipino opposition to the Wood administration, culminating in the resignation of the native members of the Council of State in July, 1923, was based chiefly upon two grounds. It was asserted, first, that General Wood's policy violated President Harding's promise and resulted in a curtailment of the autonomy enjoyed under Governor-General Harrison; second, that the Governor-General's policy and many of his specific acts were tyrannical, arbitrary, illegal, subversive of the best interests of the country, or all four of these things. For real understanding of what happened in the Philippines during the Wood régime it is necessary to differentiate between these two categories of criticism.

As to the first category, there cannot be the slightest doubt that "backward steps" were taken, and that diminution of the "domestic control" exercised by Filipinos in 1921 was sought and achieved. General Wood took the position that the Organic Act, which is, in effect, the constitution of the Islands, cannot be modified except by action of Congress itself in express language; that no act of commission or omission on the part of the Governor-General or the President, working in conjunction with the Philippine Legislature, can operate to change this fundamental law. In his inaugural address he declared that it was his purpose, so far as lay within his power, to conduct "a government of the people by their representatives, *to the extent provided in the Jones Bill*" [author's italics]. In pursuance of this policy he consistently exercised the powers of his office after the manner of an American chief executive, and not in accordance with the previously accepted theory of quasi-parliamentary government. In so doing he did reduce the autonomy which had been enjoyed by the Filipinos during the term of his predecessor in office. Prior to the break of July, 1923, however, General Wood had not ignored or overridden any of the Philippine statutes limiting his authority as Governor-General. He considered them unconstitutional, and had recommended that if the Philippine Legislature did not repeal them Congress should annul them. Meanwhile, he did the best that he could under the limitations which they imposed.

With reference to the second category an exactly opposite answer must be given. General Wood's attitude and acts were neither illegal, arbitrary, nor tyrannical. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the government of the Philippines between the inauguration of General Wood and the resignation of the Council of State was the coöperation between the Filipino members of the government and the chief executive. This coöperation resulted from two main causes. The first was the eagerness of General Wood to coöperate with the Filipino leaders in the manner contemplated by the law. Far from being overbearing or high-handed in his dealings with them, his course of action was so conciliatory that it was criticized as hopelessly weak by many local Americans, by most of the foreign colony in Manila, and by the Filipino opposition party. In so far as administration was concerned, it was the policy of the Governor-General never to enter any department for the purpose of inspection or to intervene in its affairs. As chief executive he secured agreement in the Council of State upon the broad general policy of government and then called upon the department heads to carry it out, leaving to each complete autonomy, subject only to the broadest supervision in order to secure adherence to the general plan. During the entire period he did not appoint a single employee or official in any department or bureau without reference to the unit involved, and in practically all cases appointments were made upon the recommendation of the department secretary or bureau chief.

General Wood did not, of course, blindly approve all departmental recommendations. Where there was doubt in his mind he conferred with the secretary concerned and succeeded in getting the matter put into proper shape, or received an explanation which enabled him to carry out the recommendation. Needless to say, his influence was often decisive. It rested, however, upon a perfectly legitimate basis: that of the legal authority of his position, plus incessant industry, an intimate knowledge of the problems to be solved, wide administrative experience, sound, independent judgment, and strong character.

Granting that the Governor-General was to exercise any powers of supervision and control whatever, General Wood exercised them in an absolutely unexceptionable manner. In point of fact, the chief executive and the department heads worked together harmoniously until the breach of July, 1923. The break which finally came was engineered by the legislative leaders, whose unconstitutional control over the ex-

MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD
Governor-General, October 15, 1921-August 7, 1927.

ecutive branch of the government had been greatly reduced by the Wood policy.[1] After the resignation of the Council of State the records of every branch of the government were combed for something that would indicate a lack of consideration or courtesy, or an infringement upon the rights or privileges of some Filipino official or body. No letter or endorsement was found which the Governor-General's opponents cared to publish.

The second explanation of the two years of coöperation which preceded the break between General Wood and the majority leaders is, perhaps, of greater practical significance. From the Filipino standpoint there was no immediate necessity for coming to grips with the new chief executive, because, in those larger matters of policy concerning which he and the Filipino leaders differed, they and not he were in control. General Wood sought to "get the government out of business" by transferring the operation of the Manila Railroad to an American corporation expert in such enterprises; by closing up, or changing the character, of the Philippine National Bank; by selling or leasing the government sugar centrals on the best terms possible; and by terminating the other business enterprises undertaken by the state prior to 1921. Prior to 1923 he failed, in whole or in part, at every point of this program. His hands were almost as effectually tied in other directions. After the election of 1922 he announced his intention of giving the strengthened minority party some representation among the department secretaries and hence on the Council of State. The majority leaders objected on the ground that the heads of all departments should be selected from and responsible to the party enjoying a legislative majority. After a prolonged struggle their objection prevailed. It was well known that the Governor-General wished to replace the Filipino governor of the Mountain Province with an American, and to place either Americans or strong Filipinos in certain other key offices. It was also understood that the Senate would not confirm such appointments, and they were not made. In short, in 1923 the powers of the chief representative of American sovereignty in the Philippines were largely negative in character. He could prevent many abuses, but he could not put through any program requiring the appointment of important officials, the appropriation of money, the control of the business enterprises of the government, or the passage of legislation, without the consent of the Philippine Legislature, over which he had neither legal nor political control.

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[1] The documents concerning the resignation of the Council of State on July 17, 1923, including the letter of resignation, General Wood's reply thereto, the cablegrams which thereupon passed between the Governor-General and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of War and the Filipino leaders, an outline memorandum on the Conley case which precipitated the resolutions, and memorandums in which the Philippine Legislature supported the Council of State and formulated its case against the Governor-General, together with the reply of President Coolidge to Speaker Roxas, will be found in the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1923, p. 35, *et seq.*

An examination of the actual relations between the Governor-General and the Filipino leaders between his inauguration and the resignation of the Council of State leads, then, to the conclusion that the real grievance of the men who dominated that body was not that General Wood used the powers of his office arbitrarily, or harshly, or even unwisely, but that he exercised them at all in matters which concerned the domestic affairs of the Philippines. The two parties held absolutely different conceptions of that office. If General Wood's conception were to prevail, the system of quasi-parliamentary government under which the Filipinos had gained virtual autonomy between 1913 and 1921 would disappear. If, on the other hand, the governor-generalship were to remain permanently what Mr. Harrison and the Filipinos had made it, the actual control of the American Government over the government of the Philippines would be reduced to something closely approaching zero; and, without the sanction of Congressional act, there would be permanently "established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority." This fundamental conflict was recognized by Secretary Weeks when he declared: "The controversy with the legislative leaders and certain executive officers is at bottom a legal one."

In this controversy, which had become acute and outspoken when the Council of State resigned in July, 1923, Governor-General Wood was subsequently victorious at every point. Indeed, the progress of events after that date was not unlike the ballroom march of children who, having been led into a tight coil, are miraculously led out into a straight line again. The resignation of the departmental secretaries and the withdrawal of the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate from the Council of State brought that body (which thereafter consisted of the acting-secretaries, the Secretary of Public Instruction and the Governor-General) under the control of the chief executive. The council was not abolished, it committed suicide as an instrument of legislative control over the government.

The first official pronouncement of the Coolidge government upon the situation at Manila gave the Governor-General both political and legal support. On October 11, 1923, Secretary Weeks cabled to General Wood, "an authoritative statement of the views of the administration," reached after "personal conference with the President." The Governor-General was declared not to have exceeded or misused the powers of his office, and it was stated that "if the legislature has enacted legislation violative of the provisions of the organic law, such legislation is to that extent null and void, and, in so far as it provides for encroachment on the authority of the Governor-General, is in no way binding on that official." The delegation of legislative power by the Philippine legislature in violation of the principles of constitutional government was said not to effect a modification of the Organic Act, even though Congress had not annulled the statutes involved. The veto power of the Governor-General was declared to be applicable to all legislation, whether local or otherwise.[1]

Secretary Weeks' cablegram definitely stated the position of the American Government on the legal aspects of the controversy between General Dood and the Filipino majority leaders. On March 5, 1924, in reply to representations made to President Coolidge by the Philippine Legislature and Filipino Commissioners in Washington, the President set forth at length the Philippine policy of his administration. This statement is, perhaps, the most important executive document with reference to the Philippines since the instructions issued by President McKinley to the Taft Commission in 1900. The communication undoubtedly sets forth principles of action which will not be deviated from lightly so long as the Republican party remains in power.

Practically every sentence of President Coolidge's carefully prepared letter is an expression of the Philippine policy established by McKinley, Root, Roosevelt, and Taft, written into Republican platforms for a quarter of a century, and translated into deeds when the Republican party has controlled the government. Every phase of that policy is there: a frank determination to brook no unlawful challenge of American sovereignty over the Islands; a recognition that a large and substantial element of the Filipino people regard the indefinite continuance of the American tie as a blessing; the intention not to leave the Philippines without having fully discharged America's obligations to the Filipino people and to civilization by giving to them an opportunity to establish themselves as a nation; the establishment in the Philippines of a permanently stable government based upon the fundamental ideas of the democratic-republican state; the support of worthy American officials in the Philippines, and the encouragement of Filipinos to coöperate with them; the extension of self-government to the Filipino people as rapidly as they are able to exercise it for their own good; the grant of independence if the Filipino people desire it when, in the opinion of the American Government, the Philippines are able to meet the responsibilities of an independent nation.

The President's statement as to independence was a paraphrase of a paragraph in the Philippine plank of the Republican platform of 1924. "If the time ever comes," the President declared, "when it is apparent that independence would be better for the people of the Philippines, from the point of view both of their domestic concerns and their status in the world, and if when that time comes the Filipino people desire complete independence, it is not possible to doubt that the American Government and people will gladly accord it." To these words Mr. Coolidge added the sentence: "Frankly, it is not felt that that time has come."[1]

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[1] A translation of this cablegram appears on pages 41-42 of the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1923.

The cablegram from Secretary Weeks and the letter to Roxas put the stamp of Presidential approval upon the policy which had thus far been followed by Governor-General Wood. They did not, however, of themselves transfer back to the Governor-General the powers of his office that by law and by practice had passed into Filipino hands during the régime of his predecessor in Manila. General Wood had to win back these prerogatives, or those of them which it was possible to regain, in a series of hard fought struggles which lasted during most of the rest of his term.

The first of these controversies to be decided was over the use of the veto power conferred upon the Governor-General by the Jones Law.[2] In supporting the veto of General Wood in a test case President Coolidge, acting in accordance with a very conclusive opinion rendered by the Judge-Advocate General of the Army, declared that "there is absolutely no ground for the contention that in the exercise of the duty imposed upon the Governor General by the organic law in this respect is in any way limited to a particular class of bills. . . . The assumption that the Governor General could not veto bills of certain classes [all except those that were unconstitutional or of more than domestic concern] carries with it the assumption that he must approve such bills contrary to his own conscientious judgment."[3] Thus was the conflict over the veto power decided by the highest authority to which appeal could be made.

The next step in the devolution of the system which had been developed between 1916 and 1921 was the disallowance of the annual million peso "independence fund." Acting upon an opinion of the Attorney General of the United States rendered on April 30, 1924, the Insular Auditor on June 30 of that year ruled that the act creating this standing annual appropriation was unconstitutional and refused to pass in audit any further payments from this fund. The legal grounds upon which the ruling was based were: that membership on the Commission of Independence, for the support of which the appropriation was avowedly made, was an office of trust, the election to which was vested in the legislature, and therefore could not lawfully be held by any member of the legislature; that the functions of the Independence Commission were executive in their nature and therefore, under the terms of the Jones Act, could legally be placed only "directly under the Governor-General or within one of the departments under the supervision and control of the Governor-General"; that the standing annual appropriation could not be considered necessary for the support of the legislature and therefore its expenditure must, in accordance with the Organic Act, come directly under the Governor-General or one of the departments under his supervision and control; and that the purposes for which the appropriation was made and the Independence Commission created were unconstitutional.[1]

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[1] *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 45-48 for this letter. Another important statement covering the Philippines made by President Coolidge is his letter to the Governor-General giving his reasons for vetoing the "Plebiscite Bill" passed over the Governor-General's veto in 1926 (Senate Bill No. 214, Seventh Philippine Legislature). In this document the President set forth at length the views of his administration concerning Philippine-American relations, stressing the economic advantage to the Philippines of their American connection. (President Calvin Coolidge to Major-General Leonard Wood, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, April 6, 1927, *Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, p. 64, *et seq.*)

[2] The Filipino position upon this question is stated on page 738, n. 1, *supra*. During his seven years in the Philippines Governor-General Harrison had vetoed only five bills, none of them of first-rate importance. General Wood vetoed six bills among a total of 65 bills passed in 1922; 33 out of 79 in 1923; 17 out of 73 in 1924; 24 out of 72 in 1925; and 44 out of 122 in 1926, a total of 124 bills vetoed out of 411 passed. During the same period 287 bills were approved. A full discussion, with complete data, of General Wood's vetoes is to be found in the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, exhibit E, p. 37, *et seq.* This exhibit also includes all of the papers relating to the appeal of the Philippine Legislature to the President of the United States from the Governor-General's veto of a bill providing for the remission of the penalty of non-payment of the land tax, the test case on the veto power.

[3] Letter from President Calvin Coolidge to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, April 12, 1924. (*Ibid*, pp. 55, 56.)

The last of the readjustments affected by Governor-General Wood was the abolition of the Board of Control. Although convinced of the unconstitutionality of this body, General Wood did not proceed to its destruction until experience had demonstrated that its two Filipino members would never consent to his plans for the reorganization of the Philippine National Bank and the disposal of the government-owned industries. Finally, however, in April, 1926, he sought and received from the Judge Advocate General of the Army, and the Attorney General of the United States opinions which held that the relevant acts of the Philippine Legislature were invalid in so far as they provided that the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should be members of the board or committee of control.[2] Even then, as he personally stated to the writer in July, 1926, he hoped that he might reach an amicable agreement with President Quezon and Speaker Roxas which would make it unnecessary to abolish the board. Failing to do so, however, on November 9 he issued an executive order which declared that the powers and duties heretofore exercised by that body should after that date be exercised solely by the Governor-General, pursuant to the executive power vested in him by the Organic Act.[3]

On December 6 a legal issue over the exercise of these powers was definitely raised between the Governor-General and the two Filipino members of the board. The latter took their cause to the Supreme

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[1] The ruling of the Insular Auditor appears in the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, pp. 27-33. Under the vigorous administration of the Hon. Ben F. Wright the Insular Auditorship became one of the most important offices in the Philippine Government.

[2] The opinions appear in the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, pp. 27-35.

[3] Executive Order No. 37, November 9, 1926. (*Ibid.*, p. 36.)

Court of the Philippine Islands, which in two important decisions completely upheld the legality of the action of the Governor-General.[1] Upon appeal, the Philippine tribunal was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States.[2]

Thus the highest courts of the Philippine Islands and of the United States sustained the legality of the course of Governor-General Wood in refusing to execute laws of the Philippine Legislature which were contrary to the provisions of the Organic Act, the fundamental law of the Philippines.[3] In so doing, they gave the highest judicial sanction to the course which General Wood had followed and the Washington administration had supported throughout the long constitutional struggle with the Filipino leaders. In its decision the United States Supreme Court, in effect, declared unconstitutional a large part of the system of government which, with the sanction of President Wilson, Governor-General Harrison and certain Filipinos had built up between 1916 and 1921.

The courage and steadfastness with which General Wood pursued to its conclusion the course marked out for him by the obligations of his office will in time be appreciated at their true worth by both the American and the Filipino peoples. Not only did he have to face continuous and bitter opposition in the Philippines, but his position was constantly threatened by a virulent campaign consisting in part of abuse and misrepresentation carried on against him in the United States by representatives of the "Independence Commission," financed by the million peso "independence fund."[4] His ultimate victory was made possible by the unswerving support of the Coolidge administration, and the writer believes that his decision that constitutional government must be restored in the Philippines has already been recognized by American public opinion as being sound.

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[1] The Government of the Philippine Islands *v.* Springer, *et al.*, Milton E., 50 Philippine Reports 259; and The Government of the Philippine Islands *v.* Agoncillo, *et al.*, Gregorio, 50 Philippine Reports 348. Both decisions were given on April 1, 1927, and that rendered in the Springer case appears, with some emendations, in the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1927, pp. 25-61.

[2] Springer, *et al. v.* Government of the Philippine Islands, 277 U. S. 189; Agoncillo *v.* Government of the Philippine Islands. *Ibid.* The cases were decided May 14, 1928.

[3] The concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Johnson of the Philippine Supreme Court was especially definite upon this point, declaring: "It is the sworn duty of the Governor General of the Philippines to execute the laws. That duty, however, does not require him to execute an illegal act of the legislature. When he is advisd by his legal department that a certain act, or any part thereof, of the legislature is illegal and void, he may do one of two things: (a) He may disregard it and refuse to execute it, or, (b), he may formulate an issue on the alleged illegality and have that question presented to the courts for solution. He is acting within his powers whichever of these courses he elects to take. To disregard an illegal and void act of the legislature is neither tyranny nor a violation of his sworn duty. It would be a violation of his sworn duty to enforce or permit the enforcement of an illegal act." Government of the Philippine Islands *v.* Milton E. Springer, *et al. Op. cit.*

[4] A document which was widely circulated both in the United States and the Philippines is a 45-page pamphlet entitled, *What They Think of Wood in America (A Symposium of American Editorial Opinion Against the Administration of Governor-General Wood in the Philippines)*, Manila, 1923.

Propaganda of an entirely different sort was, *General Wood and the Law, A Discussion of the Legal Aspect of the Political Crisis in the Philippine Islands,* prepared by Jorge Bocobo, Dean of the College of Law, University of the Philippines. (Manila, 1923.) This pamphlet is a carefully prepared brief from the pen of a legal authority whose opinions are always worthy of serious consideration. See also Rafael Palma, *Our Campaign For Independence,* Manila, 1923. Anti-independence propaganda is well illustrated by Norbert Lyons., *The Philippine Problem Presented From a New Angle,* Manila, 1924.

As for General Wood's Filipino opponents, having fought their case to the end, they accepted the decision of the sovereign power with that dignity which is characteristic of their race. The system of government which they built up had the sanction of the American government of the day, and their interpretation of the law eventually was upheld by a minority of the justices of both the Philippine and the American Supreme Courts.[1] A political change in the government of an alien country on the other side of the globe resulted in the modification of the fundamental institutions which they had developed in good faith and which they regarded as genuinely their own. Such an experience could hardly fail to harden the determination of a self-respecting people to gain an effective control over their own destiny.

Of the administrative measures by means of which the finances of the Philippines were rehabilitated and the efficiency of the government greatly increased between 1921 and 1927 no extended account can be given here.[2] Under authorization of Congressional amendments to the Jones Law,[3] and with the coöperation of the Philippine Legislature and Department of Finance, Governor-General Wood increased the bonded indebtedness of the Islands, and with the help of this money restored the stability of the Philippine currency,[4] reduced by about $6,000,000 the amount of government money on deposit in the virtually bankrupt Philippine National Bank, and replaced an overdraft of almost $18,000,000 on the government's cash surplus fund by a surplus of almost $20,000,000. By the end of 1923 the budget expenses of the government were reduced by 35 per cent and brought within the current revenue. This achievement "was simply brought about by the increase in efficiency of the personnel and by inculcating a spirit of coöperation and economy in those having to do with the disposing of government funds."[1]

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[1] Associate Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented from the decision of the United States Supreme Court.

[2] For an interesting and informing account of the administrative achievements of the Wood régime by an able American newspaper man who was editor of the Manila *Times* during most of the Wood administration, see Walter Wilgus, "Cleaning Up the Philippines," *Review of Reviews*, LXXVI, No. 2, p. 147 (August, 1927).

[3] Public Act No. 42 approved July 21, 1921, doubled the debt limit imposed by the Jones Law by providing that the Philippine government might incur a total indebtedness by the issue of bonds in an amount not to exceed $30,000,000 at any one time, exclusive of the Friar Land Bonds, and further provided that additional bonds up to $10,000,000 might be issued if secured by an equivalent amount of municipal or provincial bonds. Public Act No. 228, approved May 31, 1922, increased the amount of indebtedness which the Insular Government and the City of Manila might issue to ten per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of their property. At the end of 1927, under these laws, the debt limit of the Insular Government was $88,202,386. At that time the net bonded indebtedness of that government was $74,800,000, while the obligations of the provincial and municipal governments amounted to an additional $9,192,500. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 172.)

[4] Act No. 3058, Philippine Legislature, abolished the currency reserve fund and established in lieu thereof, the gold standard fund and the treasury certificate fund. The gold standard fund is to maintain the parity of the silver peso with the gold peso, while the treasury certificate fund is to redeem the treasury certificates issued. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1923, p. 125.) $10,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness were paid off during 1923.

After securing the best of expert advice, the affairs of the Philippine National Bank were put in a legal position by the operation of the rehabilitation act of 1924.[2] It was estimated at that time that the total losses of the bank since its organization had amounted to $38,000,000. Both economic and political conditions made difficult a ready liquidation of the frozen assets of the bank, especially of its investments in the government sugar centrals. With the development of the sugar industry, however, it seems probable that a considerable proportion of the capital thus invested will in time be regained.[3] Under the new administration the further expenditure of government money in the other development corporations was stopped, although prior to the end of 1926 the Filipino majority on the Board of Control made it impossible for the Governor-General to close up these enterprises or to sell them to private interests.[4]

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[1] Official memorandum prepared in 1924 for the Secretary of War, quoted in Forbes, II, p. 314.

[2] Act No. 3174, Philippine Legislature, November 24, 1924.

[3] An analysis of the situation of Philippine National Bank appears in the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1924, p. 38. Within a short time after the revelations concerning the condition of the bank the Philippine courts convicted General Concepcion, the president of the bank and a number of his associates of violation of the banking laws and sentenced them to imprisonment for considerable terms.

[4] The *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, pp. 10-11, contains the following statement of the situation existing at that time with reference to the government-owned companies: "The affairs of the companies were conducted by the Boards of Directors elected by Governor-General Wood along the same general lines as previously. Prior to his departure to the United States, however, he wrote to the Directors of each of the government owned corporations calling to their attention the previously announced policy of getting the Government out of business and asking their coöperation in carrying out this policy. With this end in view, he authorized the various boards to take the necessary steps to dispose of the government holdings under conditions which would safeguard public interest.

"Acting under this authority, the affairs of the National Coal Company have been practically liquidated and its assets, consisting of certain leases of coal land and mining equipment in Mindanao, have been transferred to the National Development Company, the parent company from which all funds for the development of the coal company have been derived. The Development Company took over all the assets and paid the claims of outside creditors and began negotiations for the sale of the property. These are still pending. Negotiations were also begun by the Development Company for the sale of the Cement Company. These negotiations were also pending at the close of the year. Likewise steps were taken to sell the shares of stock in the Manila Hotel owned by the Railroad Company, and the equity in the sugar centrals owned by the Philippine National Bank. While offers have been received for all of these properties, no definite action was taken principally because the offers were regarded as unsatisfactory. Proposals were also received from third parties for the operation, rather than the purchase, of the Manila Hotel and the Cement Company. These contemplated getting the Government out of the business of operation but, under proper safeguards, retaining the title to the property used in the business. The sudden death of Governor Wood caused matters to be held in abeyance until the appointment of a new Governor General.

"The Philippine National Bank reports a net profit of the year of over ₱4,000,000 as against slightly less than ₱2,000,000 for 1926. The indebtedness of the sugar centrals was reduced from approximately ₱48,000,000 in 1926 to ₱39,000,000 at the end of 1927. Under Act 3174, commonly known as the Rehabilitation Act, the capitalization of the bank was reduced from ₱35,300,000 to ₱10,000,000. This act placed upon the bank the obligation to reduce its circulating notes then in existence to an amount not exceeding the unimpaired paid-up capital of the bank. As a result, the circulating notes were reduced from ₱32,000,000 in 1924 to ₱22,000,000 at the end of 1927, over ₱6,000,000 having been retired in 1927. It is expected to retire the balance amounting to twelve million pesos in about four years.

"The National Cement Company reports a net profit of ₱379,329.87. This does not take into account, however, any return on the original investment by the Government."

A memorandum of the Insular Auditor of January 28, 1929, released by the War Department on March 26 showed that the bank had accumulated in excess of 50 per cent

The administration of justice, which had been so severely criticized in the Wood-Forbes report, was steadily improved after 1921. In this vitally important work General Wood received invaluable assistance from his appointee as Secretary of Justice. Judge José Abad Santos, a Filipino of high legal attainments and great energy and courage. In 1923 the courts were reorganized by legislative act and the number of judges of first instance increased by eleven.[1]

Other achievements of the period were the stamping out of smallpox and cholera, which an inefficient and negligent public health service had allowed needlessly to take thousands of Filipino lives; a scientific campaign for the improvement of the health of the Islands conducted with the assistance of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation; great progress in the detection, segregation, care and cure of lepers; the extension of hospital facilities throughout the provinces with the assistance of a $500,000 appropriation by the Insular Legislature;[2] the appropriation of larger funds for the support of the Bureau of Science and a reinvigoration of this invaluable institution; a steady reduction of the deaths of cattle from rinderpest from 35,740 in 1921 to 2,123 in 1927;[3] the appropriation of large funds for education and health work among the tribal peoples; the completion of the magnificent new legislative building, a Filipino achievement which is convincing evidence of the architectural, engineering and artistic genius of the race; and the Monroe Survey of the school system of the Islands and a definite improvement in the quality of instruction given in the public schools.

It should be noted that the policy of Filipinization was not reversed,

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of its capital stock, the surplus reported being 5,058,138.18 pesos. Referring to the report, the memorandum stated: "It has also set up the reserve for its circulating notes, returning to the Treasurer of the Islands the amount which the government had put up for that purpose.

"It has also paid to the government 99,414.54 pesos, this being the first payment on account of deposits and capital surrendered to the bank under the rehabilitation act. Hereafter, under that act, three-fourths of the net profits of the bank should be paid in to the treasury of the Islands to refund to the government the amounts which the government assumed in taking over the losses of the bank.

"The report also shows that in the month of January the six sugar centrals financed by the bank paid on the principal of the debt 2,140,000 pesos and 567,000 pesos interest, being the interest in full due to December 31, 1927. January was the first month of the present sugar season during which payments would be made to the bank."

[1] Act No. 3107, Philippine Legislature, March 17, 1923.

[2] Act No. 3114, Philippine Legislature, March 19, 1923.

[3] The following figures supplied by the Bureau of Agriculture show the number of reported deaths of cattle from rinderpest since 1912 (Forbes, II, p. 242, n. 1; *Statistical Bulletin,* 1928, p. 58):

1913	2,787	1921	35,740
1914	2,715	1922	34,306
1915	2,305	1923	23,220
1916	18,251	1924	15,350
1917	26,951	1925	10,747
1918	15,747	1926	7,470
1919	11,285	1927	2,123
1920	18,911	1928	2,692

It is interesting to note that by 1922 the use of the Boynton serum and a rigid enforcement of the quarantine laws had completely eliminated rinderpest from Formosa, where conditions are essentially similar to those in the Philippines and where this disease had been equally destructive of cattle.

but was continued during the administration of Governor-General Wood. The extent to which the government is now in Filipino hands is made clear by the following statement prepared by General Wood in 1925:

> "The degree of autonomy granted the Filipino people by the organic act was most generous, and its application has resulted in the government being almost entirely in the hands of Filipinos. The increase in the proportion of Filipino personnel as compared with the American has continued during the past three years, as shown by the following figures: In 1923 the percentage of Americans in the government, including school-teachers, was 3.9 per cent; in 1924, 3.4 per cent; and in 1925, 3.1 per cent. The percentage of Americans in the government not including school-teachers in 1925 was approximately only 1.5 per cent.
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> "The following brief statement will serve to illustrate the situation: The legislature is wholly Filipino. Of the 6 secretaries who are the heads of the executive departments, through whom the Governor General exercises to a large extent the executive authority vested in him by the organic act, 5 are Filipinos and 1 an American. Of the justices of the supreme court, 5 are Americans and 4 Filipinos, the chief justice being a Filipino. The attorney general and the solicitor general are Filipinos. The fiscals (prosecuting attorneys) throughout the islands are all Filipinos. Of the 55 judges and auxiliary judges of first instance, only 2 are Americans. Of the 893 presidents of municipalities, none are Americans. Of the 48 governors of Provinces, only 3 are Americans (these are in the non-Christian Provinces). Of the many hundred justices of the peace, all are Filipinos excepting two or three on United States military reservations. Of the officers of the Philippine Constabulary, the only force of the insular government for the maintenance of law and order, only 3 per cent are Americans. Of the 28 bureau chiefs, only 4 are Americans. The personnel in the bureau of civil service, bureau of the treasury, and the coast-guard service is entirely Filipino; the personnel of the bureau of customs and bureau of posts is more than 99½ per cent Filipino, and that of the bureau of lands and bureau of internal revenue is 99 per cent Filipino. The teachers under the bureau of education are more than 98½ per cent Filipino and more than 96 per cent of the civil-service employees in the bureau of health are Filipinos. The insular auditor is an American, the deputy auditor is a Filipino, and the district auditors throughout the islands are Filipinos. The officials of the treasury department are all Filipinos. In other words, outside of school-teachers there is only a handful of Americans holding positions in the insular government."[1]

In an effort to increase the efficiency of the Constabulary and to provide a number of young American officers for duty at posts in the territory of the tribal peoples, General Wood prevailed upon a number of former Constabulary officers of distinction to return to the service, and appointed a few young American soldiers of exceptional promise as third lieutenants in the Constabulary.

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[1] *Report of the Governor-General,* 1925, p. 5.

These achievements, and the many other accomplishments of the period, are convincing evidence that the deeper currents of progress in the Philippines have flowed steadily on despite the political and constitutional struggles which have tended to monopolize the public attention. Statistics and all other instrumentalities of judgment show very clearly that except during post-war slump the Filipino people for the past thirty years have been making steady progress in all of the processes of life by which the advance of a people in prosperity and civilization is measured. Despite the political differences between Governor-General Wood and the majority of the Filipino leaders, there never was a time when the latter actually sought to deadlock the government, or even ceased to coöperate with the Governor-General in those projects which were essential to the welfare of the country. Despite themselves, the Filipinos responded to the leadership of the great man who was serving them, and the achievements of this period, as of the preceding ones in Philippine-American history, were the joint accomplishments of Americans and Filipinos.

Presumably for the purpose of obtaining an opinion concerning conditions in the Philippines from a distinguished citizen who was in no way connected either with the War Department or the Philippine government, President Coolidge in the spring of 1926 requested Colonel Carmi A. Thompson to "make a survey and report to me on what I might possibly do to secure a better administration of affairs in the Islands and a further development of their economic conditions."[1] Colonel Thompson spent three months in the Philippines during the following summer, and in December, 1926, presented his report to the President.

In this document Colonel Thompson expressed the opinion that complete Philippine independence is impossible now and will remain so for a long time to come, and declared that practically all Filipinos really hope for the ultimate settlement of their relations with the United States upon a basis of internal autonomy, rather than complete separation. Although he felt that the "military atmosphere of the present administration has been unfortunate in its reactions upon the Filipino leaders," the President's commissioner reported that, "On the whole, General Wood is to be commended for his efficient conduct of affairs during his administration."

Among measures for the improvement of conditions in the Philippines, Colonel Thompson recommended: that the United States government establish an independent department for the administration of the Philippine Islands and other overseas territory; that the Governor-General be provided with the necessary civil advisers in order to relieve him from the present necessity of selecting such advisers from the United States Army; that Mindanao and Sulu should not be separated from the rest of the Islands, but that American control be strengthened in the Moro country; and that the Philippine Legislature should amend the Philippine land laws (with proper safeguards) so as to bring about such conditions as will attract capital and business experience for the development of the production of rubber, coffee, and other tropical products, some of which are now controlled by monopolies.[1]

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[1] *Conditions in the Philippine Islands* (Senate Document No. 180, 69th Congress, 2d Session), p. 1. The Thompson report appears as Appendix VI, p. 819, *infra.*

Colonel Thompson was accompanied during his visits to every part of the Philippines by representatives of a number of the great American newspapers, of the great press associations, and of the American and Filipino press in Manila. His mission undoubtedly stimulated American interest in the Islands and their problems, and forcibly directed the attention of the Filipino people to the desirability of developing more rapidly the rich, but largely unused, natural resources of their country.

General Wood's service in the Philippines came to an end in 1927. Although weakened and harassed by the recurrence of disabilities caused by an old injury, he had refused to return to the United States for rest and surgical attention until the major portion of the work which he had undertaken in 1921 had been put in the way of completion. When he finally came home for a brief leave in the early summer of 1927 an operation was found imperative, and on August 7 he died. As truly as though he had fallen on the field of battle he sacrificed his life in the service of his country and for an alien people for whom he had a deep and abiding affection.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] The problems of the Philippines in 1926, as viewed by an able American journalist who is a specialist in the affairs of the Orient, are discussed in Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem,* New York, 1926. For the government and constitutional law of the Islands, see George A. Malcolm, *The Constitutional Law of the Philippine Islands* (Rochester, 1920); George A. Malcolm and M. M. Kalaw, *Philippine Government* (New York, 1923); and José P. Laurel, *Local Government in the Philippine Islands,* (Manila, 1926).

CHAPTER XL

Coöperation Under the Jones Law

Between August 7, 1927, and March 1, 1928, the Hon. Eugene A. Gilmore of Wisconsin served as acting Governor-General of the Philippines. Mr. Gilmore, who had become Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction in January, 1922,[1] had rendered invaluable assistance to General Wood during almost the whole of the latter's term of office, and had himself accomplished an important work in improving the public school system and adapting it more nearly to the practical needs of the Filipino people. With this background of experience, and possessing the confidence of the Filipino leaders as well as of the American community in the Philippines, Governor Gilmore was in a position to exercise a much more vigorous leadership than it is possible for the ordinary interim chief executive to assume.

Perhaps the most constructive accomplishment of this period was the investigation of the interisland shipping situation made by an advisory committee on interisland shipping appointed by the acting Governor-General in July, 1927. Composed of representative Americans and Filipinos of ability and standing, this committee presented a report which went to the bottom of the conditions in interisland shipping which have for years hampered the development of the Philippines and imposed hardship and inconvenience upon the shipping and traveling public. The investigation laid the foundation for reforms which have long been recognized as being of capital importance in the economic development of the Islands.[2]

Through effective coöperation between the acting Governor-General and the legislature a record program of constructive legislation was passed by the third session of the Seventh Legislature. Among the important laws to be enacted were measures: repealing the peonage act,[3] appropriating $2,000,000 for port works at Cebú, appropriating $2,175,000 for similar construction at Iloilo, completely revising the election law, requiring radio on interisland vessels, authorizing a bond issue for the extension of the line of the Manila Railroad to northern

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[1] Mr. Gilmore had been professor of law in the Law School of the University of Wisconsin and had served as exchange professor in the University of the Philippines.

[2] This report, with accompanying documents, appears in the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 94, et seq.

[3] See page 543 n. 1, *supra.*

Luzón, preventing hasty marriages, providing a fund of $250,000 for the promotion of agricultural and vocational education, authorizing the organization of coöperative marketing associations, and authorizing an economic survey of Mindanao. It is doubtful whether more legislation of unquestionable public value has ever been enacted during a single session of the Philippine Legislature.[1]

Acting Governor-General Gilmore found time to continue General Wood's policy of actively inspecting the work of the government through the provinces, as well as in Manila, and under his leadership the efficiency of the public services continued the steady improvement which had been characteristic of the period since 1921. Increasing prosperity and sound financial policies further strengthened the financial position of the government,[2] and afforded a solid basis for the general feeling of optimism and confidence which came to prevail. Shortly before the arrival of Governor-General Stimson to assume the duties of his office Governor Gilmore was tendered a great banquet by a body of citizens representative of all of the Filipino political parties and all of the communities and interests in Manila. No official in the history of the Philippines has ever received a more definite testimonial of practically unanimous public approval and appreciation, and similar expressions of approbation appeared in the editorial columns of virtually every newspaper in the Islands, Filipino as well as American.

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[1] For a list of the bills signed and bills vetoed during this period, see the *Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, pp. 62-64. The passage of a bill dividing the province of Misamis into Occidental Misamis and Oriental Misamis was regarded by many people as being of doubtful wisdom, but may in time be justified by the rapid development of northern Mindanao.

[2] "The following statement shows in brief the operation of the finances of the Philippine government, the currency situation, the indebtedness of the government, and the outstanding features of the economic situation at the end of 1927. The finances are in good condition, the currency is amply secured, the bonded indebtedness is being properly provided for by the sinking funds, and the general economic prosperity of the country is satisfactory."

	1927	1926	Per cent increase (+) decrease (—)
Total budget revenues (actual)	₱77,977,658.68 [a]	₱78,413,363.51	—½
Total budget revenues (estimated in budget)	72,289,450.00	74,027,800.00	— 2
Total budget expenditures (actual)	74,595,811.68	90,948,609.22	—18
Extraordinary expenses [b]	76,130.00	21,289,671.79	....
Ordinary budget expenditures	74,519,681.68	69,658,931.43	+ 7
Total budget expenditures (estimated in budget)	76,102,487.00	69,561,754.00	+ 9
Total budget surplus (including continuing assets, advances to money-order fund, and unexpended appropriations)	35,591,566.39 [c]	32,209,719.39	+10
Net cash balance unappropriated	12,320,454.50	12,582,479.30	— 2

[a] Decrease mainly due to fall of import duties on rice.

[b] Includes extraordinary expenditures for rehabilitation of sinking funds and Philippine National Bank and creation of loan fund under act 3335.

[c] Includes ₱23,271,111.89 of "continuing assets," "advances to money-order fund," and "balances of outstanding appropriations," leaving unappropriated cash surplus on Dec. 31, 1927, of ₱12,320,454.50 as against ₱12,582,479.30 on Dec. 31, 1926. (*Report of the Governor-General,* 1927, p. 8.)

THE HONORABLE EUGENE A. GILMORE

Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction, 1922—; Acting Governor-General: May 28, 1927 to March 1, 1928; February 23 to July 8, 1929.

The announcement of President Coolidge that the Honorable Henry L. Stimson of New York had been appointed Governor-General of the Philippines was received with satisfaction both in the United States and in the Philippine Islands.[1] Colonel Stimson commanded general confidence among men of both political parties in the United States and among Filipinos as being above all self-seeking in public service. His ability and integrity had been demonstrated both in his professional career as a member of the New York bar and his long record in public office. United States attorney for the Southern District of New York, Republican candidate for governor in New York, Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Taft, a leader among the distinguished citizens who dominated the New York constitutional convention of 1916, the colonel of a fighting regiment in France, special representative of President Coolidge in Nicaragua, Colonel Stimson was definitely associated with the Roosevelt tradition of vigorous, courageous and disinterested public service. Nor did the new Governor-General enter upon his office without a considerable background of knowledge concerning the Philippines. In addition to having as Secretary of War been the official of the American government in Washington chiefly responsible for the administration of the Islands, Colonel Stimson had been intimately associated both officially and personally with Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, W. Cameron Forbes and Leonard Wood. During 1926 he had been the guest of Governor-General Wood in Manila, had traveled extensively through the Islands, and had made many friends among the Filipino leaders.

The personal prestige of Colonel Stimson has been mentioned not only to record the caliber of the man sent to succeed General Wood, but because to no official under the flag is a secure place in the confidence of the American people more valuable than to the Governor-General of the Philippines. Serving on the other side of the world among a people whose characteristics and needs are not widely understood in the United States, subject to attacks at home from his local political opponents and from American parties and interests who may seek to destroy him, a Governor-General in whom his fellow-countrymen do not thoroughly believe may at any time be placed in a position in which not only his own political future but the interests of the United States and the Philippines will be imperiled. For these, as well as for other reasons, the possession of national standing at home is a most desirable qualification for the office of Governor-General of the Philippines.

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[1] A good deal of disappointment was expressed in Manila that Vice-Governor Gilmore was not made Governor-General. It seemed to be recognized locally, however, that the unusual circumstances then existing might justify the President in departing from the sound precedents established by other Republican chief executives, who (except in the unusual circumstances of 1921) had invariably filled the Governor-Generalship by merited promotion.

It is too early to evaluate the accomplishments of the year during which Governor-General Stimson held office in the Philippines.[1] A brief sketch may be given, however, of the policies of his administration and the political and economic changes which were inaugurated during his term of office.[2] In his inaugural address Colonel Stimson made it clear that the establishment of harmonious coöperation between the American and the Filipino elements of the government, under the Jones Law, and the stimulation of the industrial and economic progress of the Philippines would be the chief objects of his policy as Governor-General.[3] In point of fact, hearty coöperation already existed between the Filipino leaders and the acting Governor-General. The task which lay before the new chief executive was to establish political institutions which would place such coöperation upon a more substantial basis than personal relationships.

Conditions were well-nigh perfect for the establishment of such institutions. The steadfast determination of General Wood had virtually wiped out of existence the unconstitutional features of the system which previously had been the vehicle of Filipino-American coöperation not under, but in contravention of, the Jones Law. The Filipino leaders showed no disposition to renew openly the battle which had gone against them. Indeed, Senate President Quezon and Senator Osmeña had called upon Colonel Stimson in New York prior to his acceptance of his appointment, and had assured him that "they were prepared to do their uttermost to help make our joint administration a success and that they were prepared to that end to coöperate and to try to do their best to see that coöperation was perfect between the Executive and the Legislature."[4] Thus the new Governor-General found in Manila a clean slate upon which to write, and was assured in advance of one of the two most valuable assets which an American chief executive in the Islands can possess, the coöperation of the leaders of the Filipino people.[1]

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[1] The Honourable Henry L. Stimson took the oath of office as Governor-General, January 24, 1928, and arrived in the Philippine Islands. March 1, 1928. He left the Islands February 23, 1929, and on March 28, in Washington, took the oath of office as Secretary of State of the United States.

[2] For an authoritative Filipino sketch of the Stimson régime, see M. M. Kalaw "Governor Stimson in the Philippines," *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 372-383. (April, 1929.)

[3] Upon the former subject Colonel Stimson said: "What we have to establish together in the successful administration of government in these Islands, can only be achieved by the fullest measure of sympathetic and patient coöperation. For my own part, I shall use my utmost endeavor to establish such harmonious coöperation under the Organic Law under which it is our joint duty to labor." (*Inaugural Address of Governor-General Henry L. Stimson,* March 1, 1928, p. 3, Manila, 1928.) Four of the seven pages of his address were devoted to a discussion of the importance of economic progress to the Philippines and the opportunity which their American connection gave them to achieve it.

[4] *Governor-General Stimson's Farewell Address to the Philippine Legislature.* (War Department Release, February 11, 1929.) The Filipino leaders were not unacquainted with Colonel Stimson's general views upon the constitutional problems of their country. These views had been stated in an article by Colonel Stimson, "Future Philippine Policy Under the Jones Act," which had appeared in *Foreign Affairs* in April, 1927. (Vol. V, pp. 459-471.) Colonel Stimson had also written an enlightening article, "First-hand Impressions of the Philippine Problem" published in the *Saturday Evening Post,* March 19, 1927. Furthermore, the leaders had discovered during a number of informal conferences held in Manila in 1926 that their views and those of Colonel Stimson were not far apart.

By the end of August, 1928, Governor-General Stimson was able to report to the War Department that he had reached one of the two objectives which he had set up for his administration in his inaugural address: the establishment of institutions which would insure coöperation between the executive and the legislative branches, and the chief Filipino and the American elements in the Philippine Government. This report explains so clearly and definitely the constitutional steps which had been taken, and the political theories behind them that it is reproduced in full, as follows:

> "The Governor General, after conference with the leaders of the majority of both Houses of the Legislature, has issued the following Executive Order: 'Manila, August 30th, 1928. A Council of State is hereby created to advise the Governor General on such matters of public policy as he may from time to time lay before it. He shall be the presiding officer of such council of state and it shall consist of such persons as from time to time may be appointed and summoned by him. Until otherwise ordered by him it shall consist of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority floor leader of the Senate, the majority floor leader of the House of Representatives, and the heads of the six executive departments. Henry L. Stimson, Governor General.' This executive order is the last of four steps taken this summer to accomplish regular and responsible coöperation between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Philippine Government, all of the four steps being part of the same deliberate program.
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> "The first was the Belo bill giving to the Governor General the much needed means for exercising his duty of supervising heretofore stated, enabling him to permit the development of discretion and autonomy in the departments and bureaus without himself losing the command of the situation in case of emergency or dereliction which the Organic Law expects him to have.
>
> "The second was the nomination of a cabinet whose members were chosen after conference with the leaders of the majority in the Legislature and which is thus expected to be in harmony with that majority.
>
> "The third was the amendment to the rules of procedure of both Houses of the Legislature giving to members of the cabinet the privilege of the floor of both Houses with the right to speak on subjects relating to their departments and the duty under proper safeguards of submitting to interrogation thereon.
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> "The fourth, the Council of State, creates a body which the Governor General can regularly consult as to such matters of public policy as he chooses to lay before it in order to obtain advice and guidance for his subsequent action. It is purely an advisory body and the results

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[1] The other asset the new Governor-General also had: the confidence of the American people and the unswerving support of the government in Washington.

of its deliberations are not binding either upon the Governor General or upon the Legislature. It is for conference merely. It will possess none of the powers which certain subsequent statutes attempted to impose upon the former council of state of taking binding action by the vote of its members. It will thus afford no opportunity for the one branch of the Government to entrench upon or usurp the functions of the other.

"It is hoped that these four steps will carry forward and systematize the task of securing coöperation between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Philippine Government. This task under the Organic law is peculiarly difficult as well as extremely important. The Governor General is appointed by and is responsible to the President and the Senate of the United States while the Legislature is elected by the suffrage of the Filipino people, the two branches being thus responsible to entirely different constituencies representing widely separated places and peoples. For these reasons, unlike the situation in the States of the American union, coöperation between the Governor General and the Legislature cannot be secured through the influence and control of a common political party.

"This divergency of origin, however, is not an accident or a fault. The Governor General is the chief remaining instrumentality by which the United States is now carrying forward its 30 year old policy of developing self-government in the Philippines and his powers, including the choice and supervision of the heads of the executive departments and bureaus, represent a deliberate and essential part of that American policy. On the other hand unless he and his appointees work in regular and close coöperation with the representatives of the people in the Legislature it is useless to expect either intelligent legislation based on executive experience or responsible administration faithfully intended to carry out the laws duly enacted by the representatives of the Filipino people.

"With the aid of these four steps to aid such coöperation it is hoped that system of mutual action will gradually be established which will not subordinate either branch of the Government to the other, but on the contrary will facilitate the necessary coöperation in their action and will materially assist in the development of an efficient administration in these Islands which will become more and more responsible to the deliberately expressed policies of a self-government electorate." [1]

The revived and enlarged Council of State is the heart of the system thus established. The addition of the floor leaders of the majority party has increased its representative character. The recognition of the principle that the cabinet, composed of the secretaries of departments, should openly represent the majority party in the legislature and be chosen after consultation with its leaders, has increased both the power and the responsibility of that party, and at the same time has settled a controversy of long standing between the Governor-General and the party leaders. The acceptance of the principle that the council is a purely advisory body and that it shall not possess the power to take binding action formerly given it by statute has removed a legitimate objection to the council as it was developed during the Harrison régime. The new council, indeed, seems to be admirably constituted to accomplish the purposes which that veteran statesman, Senator Osmeña, had in mind when he suggested the creation of the prototype of the present body, "in order that instead of dispersion and antagonism there may be harmony in the government, that at all times a collective and responsible counsel emanating from the people may be available, and that the government may move with all efficiency." [1] The real test of the new system will come, however, when it is placed in the hands of officials who were not responsible for its creation, and subjected to the strains which governments undergo in times of economic adversity or political controversy.

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[1] War Department Notes, August 31, 1928. Governor-General Stimson frequently issued statements in the form of wireless dispatches released to the press of the United States through the War Department. These statements are cited as "War Department Notes," or "War Department Release."

A word, perhaps, should be said concerning the Belo Bill.[2] It is difficult for one not familiar with the situation in Manila to realize the (officially) isolated and, in a sense, unsupported position of the Governor-General of the Philippines. Granted wide powers and assigned heavy responsibilities as the chief representative of American sovereignty in the Islands, there are associated with him no other American officials of high rank save the Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction (who himself has heavy departmental duties), the Insular Auditor, and the five American Justices of the Supreme Court.

No provision whatever was made in the Jones Law for a secretarial or technical staff to make it physically possible for the Governor-General to perform the duties and meet the responsibilities assigned to him by that Act. The secretarial assistance provided him by the government of the Philippines was sufficient only to perform the routine work of the executive office [3] and could not be expected to assist the chief executive in solving the technical and political problems which pressed upon him from all sides, or to be his eyes and ears in the accomplishment of the enormous work of inspection which must be done if the Governor-General is to have accurate, dependable information as to how the insular, provincial, and municipal governments are actually functioning.

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[1] Sergio Osmeña, *The Problem of Democratic Government in the Philippines—Its Salient Aspects*, p. 12.

[2] Act No. 3431, Philippine Legislature, August 8, 1928; the first act passed by the Eighth Philippine Legislature.

[3] For years Mr. C. W. Franks, secretary to the Governor-General, and Mr. R. R. Ely, assistant secretary, served General Wood with an energy and devotion, often expressed in long hours of overtime work unrequited financially, that partially compensated for the inadequacy of the funds appropriated for the performance of the important functions of their office.

In these circumstances, it became customary for the Governor-General to call upon the War Department for the assignment of army officers capable of rendering him a part of the assistance with which the law failed to provide him, but without which he would be virtually unable to perform a large part of the duties of his office. The Army had supplied this aid for years and the government of the Philippines had added to the pay of the officers thus assigned a small *per diem* payment which partially offset the added personal expenses involved in this service. Some of the officers whose services were thus secured for the Philippines performed work of incalculable value to the people of the Islands.[1]

During the long controversy between General Wood and the legislative leaders this group of military men, who were serving the Governor-General in strictly civilian capacities, became the target for bitter attacks by the political opponents of the chief executive. Pictured in the United States as a "cavalry cabinet" composed of saber-rattling imperialists, they furnished an effective weapon against the Governor-General, who himself happened to be a soldier.

Viewed in any light, the situation thus created was unfortunate, and it was proposed to end it by securing Congressional authority for the Governor-General to expend for the purposes of obtaining civilian technical assistants, and for the advancement of the welfare of the Filipino people, the large sum of money annually collected in the United States as internal revenue upon Philippine tobacco products and now covered back into the Insular treasury. The Filipino leaders were opposed to this proposal, which was embodied in the Kiess-Willis Bill pending in the 70th Congress. By the Belo Act the Philippine Legislature made a standing appropriation of $125,000 per year to accomplish essentially the same purposes.

The following statement, issued by Governor-General Stimson upon the passage of this measure, shows his conception of the purpose of the statute and of the manner in which the assistants thus provided for should be used:

"The evident purpose of the statute is to provide for the employment of men whose duties will not be administrative in character but will be limited to giving advice upon technical matters or assisting the Governor General in those informative and supervisory functions to accomplish which he is now without any adequate means. Administration is placed by law in other hands; namely, in the heads of the six executive departments and their subordinates. To attempt to form a super-cabinet of administrators with this appropriation in my opinion would be not only contrary to public opinion both in the United States and in these Islands but clearly illegal. It is inconceivable that it would be attempted.

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[1] An example is Major A. Parker Hitchins of the Army Medical Corps, who as medical member of the attached staff of Governors-General Wood, Gilmore and Stimson has for a number of years been one of the strongest forces in the Philippines for the improvement of the health of the people, and whose work in the campaign which has been conducted against malaria has been of the highest value to the Philippines and to science.

"The true purpose of the statute is just the opposite; namely, to develop the autonomy of the heads of the departments by placing the Governor General in a position where he can safely entrust ever-widening powers of discretion to those department heads with the assurance that he will nevertheless be kept in touch with the progress of government and so provided with the information necessary for his action under the Organic law in cases of dereliction or neglect of duty on their part. Not only the Organic law but the Administrative Code already imposes upon the Governor General the duty of keeping thus informed by investigation and inspection. Hitherto, it has been necessary for him either to borrow inspectors from the military and other branches of the Federal Government or to forestall the need of inspection by keeping his own hand closely upon administration, thus frustrating the development of autonomy.

"With the aid of this provision I look forward to the flexible development of a proper and balanced system of government under which as experience in administration grows a constantly increasing measure of departmental autonomy can be encouraged without running the risk of the serious setbacks which might occur if the duty of supervision imposed upon the Governor General by the Organic law was not adequately performed. I regard the measure as one of the most important forward steps which have been taken in the development of responsible government in the Philippines." [1]

In passing, it may be noted that Governor-General Stimson by no means dispensed with the military aides and advisers whose presence at Malacanang had furnished certain Filipino leaders with one of their chief weapons for attacking General Wood. On the contrary, he not only retained the "cavalry cabinet" with only one important change in its personnel, but even added a naval aide to its ranks. The only Filipino criticism that ensued was from political opponents of the dominant party leaders, who charged the latter with weakness and inconsistency in cheerfully acquiesing in the continued presence and activity of the military assistants of the chief executive. Even the subsequent appointment of a major-general of the United States Army to succeed Mr. Ben F. Wright as Insular Auditor evoked little criticism from official Filipino sources.

The most important definite accomplishment of the Stimson program for the economic development of the Philippines was the passage of an act which liberalized and modernized the corporation law of the Islands. This measure permitted the merger of two or more corporations without first dissolving them, allowed corporations to issue stocks of no par value and stock dividends, and made it lawful for corporations to engage in more than one activity.[1] Other measures designed to forward the business of the Islands were enacted into law or otherwise initiated during the Stimson régime. Four bills were passed strengthening and modernizing the banking system of the Philippines and creating the office of Superintendent of Banks;[2] the Radio Corporation of the Philippines was enlisted in a trial for one year of the private operation of radio stations at eight important provincial cities; a franchise was granted for the establishment of improved facilities for long distance telephone communication;[3] ten additional auxiliary judges of first instance were authorized to relieve the congestion in the legal registration of land titles;[4] and the land registration law was amended to expedite the work of the Bureau of Lands.[5]

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[1] War Department Release, August 9, 1928.

Efforts to liberalize the land laws of the Islands were abandoned in the face of almost unanimous Filipino opposition. In an address before the Philippine Agricultural Congress Senate President Quezon bluntly declared:

> "The explanation of the suspicions, if not the open opposition to the announced policy of economic development I can find only—and why should I not say it—in the belief that this program means primarily and chiefly the surrender of our immense plains in Mindanao to certain American corporations.
>
> "Well and good. To end once and for all this atmosphere of distrust I will say without beating around the bush that it is useless to expect that the Filipino people will give its assent to any policy which will permit the acquisition of great tracts of public lands by individuals or corporations."[6]

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[1] Act No. 3518, Philippine Legislature, approved by the Governor-General December 3, 1928, and by the Congress of the United States March 1, 1929.

Concerning this measure Colonel Stimson stated:

"The enactment of the corporation law will, I believe, mark a new era in Philippine history not only by reason of the importance of the bill itself but chiefly because of what its passage signifies. The debate over it has filled not only the halls of the Legislature, but public meetings outside, as well as the columns of the daily press. In view of the inexperience of the Filipino people with modern business as well as their most natural desire to hold fast to their inheritance of public land and to avoid abuses of exploitation, the course of this debate and its result have been in a high degree creditable and praiseworthy. Their leaders, particularly Senate President Quezon, have shown great courage and vision and have succeeded in winning over public opinion, which at first was suspicious and hesitant, to the support of what I firmly believe will signalize a new epoch in Philippine economic development. In the course of the debates the bill has been most carefully discussed and scrutinized and I believe there is nothing in it which could be used as a means of evading the policy of the Land Laws of the Philippine Islands. I shall, however, follow most carefully the working of this law and shall be the first to suggest amendments should any evils seem likely to arise from it." (War Department Release, November 12, 1928.)

[2] Acts Nos. 3519, 3520, 3521 and 3522, Philippine Legislature, approved February 20, 1929.

[3] Act No. 3436, Philippine Legislature, November 28, 1928.

[4] Act No. 3433, Philippine Legislature, October 25, 1928.

[5] Act No. 3517, Philippine Legislature, January 30, 1929.

[6] War Department Release, September 21, 1928.

It is probable that in this instance, as in so many others, Senator Quezon correctly interpreted and frankly expressed the sentiments of his people. Filipino fear of the possible evil consequences of a more liberal land policy will not easily be overcome. On the other hand, the necessity of greatly increasing the taxable wealth of the Islands if the social and political aspirations of their people are to be realized are gradually being more generally understood throughout the Archipelago. The mission of Colonel Carmi A. Thompson was very effective in turning Filipino thought in the direction of economic development.[1]

Not the least interesting political event of Colonel Stimson's administration was the general election of June, 1928. Aside from the personal factors which always loom so large in Philippine politics, the chief issue of the campaign was whether the majority, or *Nacionalista-Consolidado,* party and its leaders should be supported in their whole-hearted coöperation with the new Governor-General and their apparent abandonment of many of the positions which they had maintained in their long struggle with the Coolidge administration and General Wood. The result of the balloting was a sweeping victory for the majority leaders and their followers. The Honorable Isauro Gabaldon, long a powerful figure among the *Nacionalistas,* who resigned as resident commissioner in Washington and returned to the Islands to accuse the coöperating leaders of treason to the cause of independence and raise a political revolt against them, was overwhelmingly defeated, along with most of his adherents. The *Democrata* party, which without actually advocating non-coöperation had been extremely critical of the actual steps of the majority towards that end, and had accused the *Nacionalistas* of abandoning their efforts to obtain independence within a reasonable time, likewise suffered disaster. It failed to elect a single one of its senatorial candidates, was materially weakened in the House of Representatives, and lost its six-year control over the city of Manila.[2]

In an editorial printed on June 8, 1928, the *Philippines Herald* expressed the generally accepted interpretation of the election when it declared:

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[1] Colonel Thompson's report to the President appears as Appendix VI, p. 819, *infra.* Statements illustrating the views of Governors-General Wood and Stimson upon this subject are given on page 50, note 2, *supra.* A non-economic law of importance which was passed but vetoed during the first special session of the Eighth Legislature, was an act establishing an intermediate court of appeals, with limited jurisdiction, for the purpose of relieving the Supreme Court of the excessive pressure of business to which it had long been subjected. A similar measure was afterwards enacted.

[2] Data compiled from official and unofficial sources showed the results of the election to be as follows: Senators: *Nacionalista,* or *Nacionalista-Consolidado,* 11; House of Representatives: *Nacionalista,* or *Nacionalista-Consolidado,* 61; *Democrata,* 17; *independiente,* 6; *Liga Leyte,* 1. A large proportion of the independent candidates were later found within the ranks of the victorious party. A table showing the strength of each political party in each successive Philippine Assembly, and subsequently in the Senate and House of Representatives of each successive legislature from 1907 to 1925 is given in the excellent chapter on Philippine political parties in Governor Forbes' book. (Forbes, II, p. 119.)

"Two outstanding facts have been reaffirmed by the results of the recent general elections; namely, that the Philippine electorate stands behind the Nationalist program of government, and that it is coöperationist in sentiment. . . . By the defeat of the candidates who stood for non-coöperation as against the policy of harmony with the Chief-Executive adopted by the leaders Governor Stimson can now feel sure of a solid support here."

It might be added that the election of 1928 seems to have demonstrated that the tremendous hold which Senators Quezon and Osmeña and their associates have upon the Filipino people does not rest wholly, or even in large part, upon the ability of these gentlemen to appeal to the nationalistic sentiments of the electorate and to play upon racial prejudices among the voters. In this case it was the opposition that "waved the bloody shirt." It is probable that the consummate political skill of the established leaders, and the immeasurable advantages possessed by the "ins" in the Philippines played an important part in their victory at the polls. Even discounting these factors, however, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Messrs. Quezon and Osmeña are solidly established in the confidence of their countrymen,—that they are accepted and will be followed as the national leaders and spokesmen of the Filipino people.

From the standpoint of the development of democratic institutions of the American type in the Islands, the destructive defeat of the *Democrata* party in 1928 would seem to have been distinctly unfortunate. In the elections of 1922 widespread popular dissatisfaction with the *Nacionalista* party, which had been in power since the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, resulted in a serious split within the *Nacionalista* ranks and the organization of the bolters into the *Colectivista* party under the leadership of Senator Quezon. Taking advantage of this situation, the *Democratas*, who for some time had been almost unrepresented in either chamber of the legislature, elected approximately one-third of the representatives and enough senators to be an important factor in the upper house. They assumed, in short, the functions which the opposition regularly performs in democratic, representative systems of government.

In 1925, even in the face of the reunion of the two wings of the *Nacionalistas*, the *Democratas* again made a creditable showing at the polls and seemed destined to remain a powerful party of opposition. Early in 1926, however, the directorate of the party agreed with the *Nacionalista-Consolidado* leaders to form a "National Supreme Council" for the "high direction of Filipino policy in all that concerns the campaign for independence, all matters which may affect the relations between the United States and the Philippines, and the administration

THE HONORABLE HENRY L. STIMSON
Governor-General, January 24, 1928-March 28, 1929.

of the interests of the country in general."[1] The avowed purpose of the Council was to unite all Filipino parties and individuals for the protection of the rights of the country from further invasion by American "imperialists"; and there is no doubt that defense of the "national ideal" was one of the ends in view. The practical effect of the party union, however, was that the *Democratas* abdicated their position and abandoned their functions as the opposition party. A strong minority within the group never accepted the arrangement made by the leaders, and when certain offices which had been promised to *Democratas* were not delivered, the discipline of the party became still weaker. These circumstances very probably contributed to its failure to maintain its position in the elections of 1928.

Further disintegration of the party would probably render it quite incapable of playing the rôle of an organized opposition to the dominant group, which it seemed successfully to have assumed in 1922 and 1925. An inevitable result would be an almost complete return to the personal politics which had previously characterized the activities of Philippine parties.[2] It should be added, however, that a party system resting upon personal leadership and personal relations, rather than upon more or less permanent political principles and policies is almost inevitable in the Philippines. The United States can give to the Islands, and they can accept, a form of government which rests upon American, rather than Filipino experience and aptitudes. The political parties that give that govèrnment life, however, are sure to be the expression of Filipino, rather than American political genius. They are the realities of political life in the Philippines, and they are bound to be organized and to function in harmony with the realities of Filipino character, modes of life, and methods of conducting human affairs. In all other relationships the Filipino is personal to an extent unknown in Anglo-Saxon countries. He is not otherwise, and will not soon become otherwise in the most vital of his political activities. It is significant that during the two periods when American efforts to force the Filipino into American political molds were somewhat relaxed, the Harrison and the Stimson periods, both the formal government and the political parties of the Islands rapidly assumed more definitely native forms than they had exhibited during the remainder of the American régime. It was the willingness of Colonel Stimson to guide, and perhaps to limit, but not to thwart this development that won him the coöperation of the Filipino leaders.[1] It is still too early to judge the expediency of the particular measures by which a working system of government that the Filipino leaders believe to be adapted to their needs has been established. As to the soundness of the principle that the Filipinos should be encouraged to develop truly Filipino political institutions, the writer believes that there can be no doubt. Certainly no principle is more explicitly laid down in President McKinley's instructions to the Taft commission, or more deeply embedded in our national Philippine policy.[2]

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[1] *Constitucion y Reglamento del Consejo Supremo Nacional,* p. 6. (Manila, 1926.) The agreement bears the date of January 6, 1926.

[2] A clear, but uncritical, account of the formation and the organization of the National Supreme Council is to be found in Felix Morley, *Our Far Eastern Assignment,* Chapter XV. (New York, 1926.) See also, Forbes, II, p. 120. The most complete and authoritative study of Philippine politics is M. M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics, 1872-1920.*

As a matter of record, it should be added that a large number of the experienced permanent American residents of the Philippines viewed the political arrangements made by Governor-General Stimson with disapprobation and apprehension. They felt that he had "given away all that General Wood had regained," and predicted that the

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[1] Upon taking the oath of office as President of the Philippine Senate on August 31, 1928, Mr. Quezon delivered an address in which he explained the grounds upon which he and Senator Osmeña had undertaken to coöperate with the new administration, and gave his estimate of the significance of the steps which had already been taken to give that coöperation a definite institutional basis. Mr. Quezon said:

"When soon after our conference with the President of the United States, the nomination of the Honourable Henry L. Stimson as Governor of the Philippines was submitted to the Senate for confirmation. I assumed the responsibility of publicly stating that appointment was satisfactory, and that we would coöperate with the New Administration. This I did, because as Resident Commissioner I had occasion to know Mr. Stimson when he was Secretary of War, and had then learned that he was in full sympathy with the purposes of President McKinley, when upon the occupation of the Philippines, he announced that America had come not to exploit, but to develop our country, and to train our people in the science of self-government. . . .

"I was, moreover, persuaded to take this stand, because I was also convinced that the views of Governor Stimson as to the proper relations between the Executive and the Legislature in the Philippines and the responsibilities and powers that should be granted to the Department Heads were substantially in accord with our own. Such a stand received the sanction of the people at the last general elections.

"It is as yet too early to pass judgment on the present Administration, but we can already point to certain steps taken by Governor General Stimson which justify the hope that his administration will be instrumental in bringing about a situation which will make it possible for America to discharge her obligations in the Philippines with honor to herself and satisfaction to our people.

"The first step taken by the Governor General involving questions of public policy of far reaching significance was the formation of the cabinet. Governor General Stimson acted exactly as we expected him to act,—with due regard to the law and in accordance with the will of the people as expressed at the polls.

"When the results of the last general elections were known, he summoned the leaders of the victorious political party and, in consultation with them, formed his cabinet. He has thereby established a system which recognizes the right of the people to choose the political party which, under the control and supervision of the Governor General, shall assume responsibility for the management of the executive departments.

"Again, we have just witnessed the reëstablishment of the Council of State. This Body offers the means for the regular and frequent contact between the Executive and the Legislature so necessary for the intelligent discussion of matters of public policy. This, of course, does not mean that either the Executive or the Legislature is deprived of its freedom of action, as an independent and coördinate branch of the government.

"These two steps constitute a real advance towards responsible government,—a government under which our people can give expression to their genius and desires and where their rights and interests are left largely to their own care." (*The Tribune*, Manila, September 1, 1928.)

[2] President McKinley instructed the Commission that: "In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government." (*Instructions of the President to the Second Philippine Commission*, p. 795, *infra*.) Colonel Stimson was long and intimately associated with the Honorable Elihu Root, who drafted these instructions.

Filipino people would again pay a heavy price for a too rapid extension of power to their political leaders. When, upon the eve of Colonel Stimson's departure, Auditor Ben F. Wright discovered and disclosed that serious graft had developed in a number of the most important departments of the government the critics of the Stimson policy felt that the soundness of their position had been demonstrated, at least in part. Under the active leadership of acting Governor-General Gilmore vigorous steps were taken to eliminate dishonesty in the public service and punish the grafting officials.

To Governor-General Stimson fell the happy lot of building upon the foundations laid by Osmeña, Quezon, Harrison, Wood and other Filipinos and Americans who have striven to solve the problems of government which have arisen in the Philippines since the accession of the Democratic party to power in a country 6,000 miles distant from Manila turned the Philippine world upside down. In his farewell address to the Philippine Legislature, Secretary Stimson alluded to the spirit of friendly coöperation in which the problem of responsible government in the Philippines had been approached during his term of office, and exemplified the spirit which had made this approach possible. He said:

> "That has been the problem which we have faced during the past year and that has been the problem which your leaders, on the one side, and I, on the other, have been endeavoring to solve, not only by our own personal efforts but by the construction of appropriate official machinery which will carry on the same process of coöperation in the future. And right here I think it is proper for me to say that the present machinery which has been working, as I believe, so admirably during the past year is a great tribute in itself to the constructive political thought of the men of these Islands. As you all know, and as I am very glad to admit and acknowledge, the machinery which now, for the first time, is working here is machinery which has been under discussion by your leading men for many years. It was a happy accident that those same problems were problems which I, ten thousand miles away in America, had been considering in connection with some of the problems of coöperation in my own State.[1] But you here had made the initial progress along these lines which I believe to be the necessary and sound lines of development in this government and I pay my tribute to those leaders of those among you who for years have been discussing and working out this problem."

It is in this spirit of mutual confidence and coöperation that Americans and Filipinos are now working together to achieve their common goal in the Philippine Islands: the development of a Philippine people able to take and maintain its place as an independent member of the family of nations. If, when that goal is reached, "the Filipino people desire complete independence it is not possible to doubt that the American Government and people will gladly accord it." To do otherwise would be unprofitable economically, dangerous politically, and degrading morally. The currents of progress represented by the steady increase in the population, wealth and political maturity of the Philippine Islands, and by the growing political morality of the world, will almost certainly bear that beautiful country to a position in which it can genuinely control its own destiny. These forces may carry the Islands away from America and finally snap the bonds which connect the two nations; or, they may unite them permanently under mutually acceptable conditions. Until the time shall arrive when it is proper for the final decision to be made, the interests of the Philippines will be best served and the responsibilities of the United States most fully met by the strengthening of Filipino confidence in the integrity of the purpose for which America still retains sovereignty over their country, and the development in the United States of an informed public opinion which will make it evident to all of the world that America will not depart from the policy which, as a nation, it has established to govern its relations with the Philippine Islands.

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[1] Clearly a reference to the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1916.

APPENDIX I

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE FIRST PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON, January 21, 1899.

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith a copy of the instructions which the President has drawn up for the guidance of yourself and your associates as commissioners to the Philippines.

"I am, with great respect, sincerely yours,

"JOHN HAY."

"Honourable JACOB G. SCHURMAN,
"The Arlington."

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, January 20, 1899.

"THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

"My communication to the Secretary of War, dated December 21, 1898, declares the necessity of extending the actual occupation and administration of the city, harbour, and bay of Manila to the whole of the territory which by the treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, passed from the sovereignty of Spain to the sovereignty of the United States, and the consequent establishment of military government throughout the entire group of the Philippine Islands. While the treaty has not yet been ratified, it is believed that it will be by the time of the arrival at Manila of the commissioners named below. In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific, and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I have named Jacob G. Schurman, Rear-Admiral George Dewey, Major-General Elwell S. Otis, Charles Denby, and Dean C. Worcester to constitute a commission to aid in the accomplishment of these results.

"In the performance of this duty, the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila and to announce, by a public proclamation, their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that, while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

"The commissioners will endeavour, without interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report through the Department of State, according to the forms customary or hereafter prescribed for transmitting and preserving such communications, the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose.

"The temporary government of the islands is intrusted to the military authorities, as already provided for by my instructions to the Secretary of War of December 21, 1898, and will continue until Congress shall determine otherwise. The commission may render valuable services by examining with special care the legislative needs of the various groups of inhabitants, and by reporting, with recommendations, the measures which should be instituted for the maintenance of order, peace, and public welfare, either as temporary steps to be taken immediately for the perfection of present administration, or as suggestions for future legislation.

"In so far as immediate personal changes in the civil administration may seem to be advisable, the commissioners are empowered to recommend suitable persons for appointment to these offices from among the inhabitants of the islands who have previously acknowledged their allegiance to this Government.

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs, and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the Government of the United States. It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honoured and authorized representatives of the American Republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill, and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection, and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation.

"William McKinley."

APPENDIX II

PROCLAMATION OF THE FIRST PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

To the people of the Philippine Islands:

The treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, ratified several weeks ago by the former, having on March 20 been ratified by the latter, the cession to the United States, as stipulated by the treaty, of the sovereignty which Spain possessed and exercised over the Philippine Islands has now, in accordance with the laws of nations, received a complete and indefeasible consummation.

In order that the high responsibilities and obligations with which the United States has thus become definitely charged may be fulfilled in a way calculated to promote the best interests of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, his Excellency the President of the United States has appointed the undersigned a civil commission on Philippine affairs, clothing them with all the powers necessary for the exercise of that office.

The commission desire to assure the people of the Philippine Islands of the cordial good will and fraternal feeling which is entertained for them by his Excellency the President of the United States and by the American people. The aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfilment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by the acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well being, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Philippine people and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world.

His Excellency the President of the United States believes that this felicity and perfection of the Philippine people is to be brought about by the assurance of peace and order; by the guaranty of civil and religious liberty; by the establishment of justice; by the cultivation of letters, science and the liberal and practical arts; by the enlargement of intercourse with foreign nations; by the expansion of industrial pursuits, trade and commerce; by the multiplication and improvement of the means of internal communication; by the development, with the aid of modern mechanical inventions, of the great natural resources of the archipelago; and, in a word, by the uninterrupted devotion of the people to the pursuit of those useful objects and the realization of those noble ideals which constitute the higher civilization of mankind.

Unfortunately, the pure aims and purposes of the American Government and people have been misinterpreted to some of the inhabitants of certain of the islands. As a consequence, the friendly American forces have, without provocation or cause, been openly attacked.

And why these hostilities? What do the best Filipinos desire? Can it be more than the United States is ready to give? They are patriots and want liberty, it is said. The commission emphatically asserts that the United States is not only willing, but anxious, to establish in the Philippine Islands an enlightened system of government under which the Philippine people may enjoy the largest measure of home rule and the amplest liberty consonant with the supreme ends of government and compatible with those obligations which the United States has assumed toward the civilized nations of the world.

The United States striving earnestly for the welfare and advancement of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, there can be no real conflict between American sovereignty and the rights and liberties of the Philippine people. For, just as the United States stands ready to furnish armies, navies and all the infinite resources of a great and powerful nation to maintain and support its rightful supremacy over the Philippine Islands, so it is even more solicitous to spread peace and happiness among the Philippine people; to guarantee them a rightful freedom; to protect them in their just privileges and immunities; to accustom them to free self-government in an ever-increasing measure; and to encourage them in those democratic aspirations, sentiments and ideals which are the promise and potency of a fruitful national development.

It is the expectation of the commission to visit the Philippine peoples in their respective provinces, both for the purpose of cultivating a more intimate mutual acquaintance and also with a view to ascertaining from enlightened native opinion what form or forms of government seem best adapted to the Philippine peoples, most apt to conduce to their highest welfare, and most conformable to their customs, traditions, sentiments and cherished ideals. Both in the establishment and maintenance of government in the Philippine Islands it will be the policy of the United States to consult the views and wishes, and to secure the advice, coöperation and aid, of the Philippine people themselves.

In the meantime the attention of the Philippine people is invited to certain regulative principles by which the United States will be guided in its relations with them. The following are deemed of cardinal importance:

1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.

2. The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.

3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

4. Honour, justice and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

6. The collection and application of taxes and revenues will be put upon a sound, honest and economical basis. Public funds, raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine govern-

ment, and for such general improvements as public interests may demand. Local funds, collected for local purposes, shall not be diverted to other ends. With such a prudent and honest fiscal administration, it is believed that the needs of the government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

7. A pure, speedy and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby the evils of delay, corruption and exploitation will be effectually eradicated.

8. The construction of roads, railroads and other means of communication and transportation, as well as other public works of manifest advantage to the Philippine people, will be promoted.

9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture and other industrial pursuits, and the general development of the country in the interest of its inhabitants will be constant objects of solicitude and fostering care.

10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people shall be educated. Appropriate facilities will also be provided for higher education.

11. Reforms in all departments of the government, in all branches of the public service and in all corporations closely touching the common life of the people must be undertaken without delay and effected, comformably to right and justice, in a way that will satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the Philippine people.

Such is the spirit in which the United States comes to the people of the Philippine Islands. His Excellency, the President, has instructed the commission to make it publicly known. And in obeying this behest the commission desire to join with his Excellency, the President, in expressing their own good will toward the Philippine people, and to extend to their leading and representative men a cordial invitation to meet them for personal acquaintance and for the exchange of views and opinions.

MANILA, *April 4, 1899.*

JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN,
President of Commission.
GEORGE DEWEY,
Admiral U. S. N.
ELWELL S. OTIS,
Major General U. S. Volunteers.
CHARLES DENBY,
DEAN C. WORCESTER.

JOHN R. MACARTHUR,
Secretary of Commission.

APPENDIX III

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE SECOND PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 7, 1900.

SIR: I transmit to you herewith the instructions of the President for the guidance of yourself and your associates as commissioners to the Philippine Islands.

Very respectfully,
ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of War.

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT,
President Board of Commissioners
to the Philippines Islands.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *April 7, 1900.*

SIR: In the message transmitted to the Congress on the 5th of December, 1899, I said, speaking of the Philippine Islands: "As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands."

To give effect to the intention thus expressed I have appointed Hon. William H. Taft, of Ohio; Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Hon. Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Hon. Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Prof. Bernard Moses, of California, commissioners to the Philippine Islands to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact.

The commissioners named will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board. It is probable that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers will be gradual and will occupy a considerable period. Its successful accomplishment and the maintenance of peace and order in the meantime will require the most perfect coöperation between the civil and military authorities in the islands, and both should be directed during the transition period by the same Executive Department. The commission will therefore report to the secretary of war, and all their action will be subject to your approval and control.

You will instruct the commission to proceed to the city of Manila, where they will make their principal office, and to communicate with the military governor of the Philippine Islands, whom you will at the same time direct to render to them every assistance within his power in the performance of their duties. Without hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty.

The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions corresponding to counties, departments or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines, or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subserved by a common administration. Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you, with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control.

Beginning with the first day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the secretary of war, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor, under such rules and regulations as you shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph, or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders, having the effect of law, for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character.

The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil-service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for. Until the complete transfer of control the military governor will remain the chief executive head of the government of the islands, and will exercise the executive authority now possessed by him and not herein expressly assigned to the commission, subject, however, to the rules and orders enacted by the commission in the exercise of the legislative powers conferred upon them. In the meantime the municipal and departmental governments will continue to report to the military governor and be subject to his administrative supervision and control, under your direction, but that supervision and control will be confined within the narrowest limits consistent with the requirement that the powers of government in the municipalities and departments shall be honestly and effectively exercised and that law and order and individual freedom shall be maintained.

All legislative rules and orders, establishments of government, and appointments to office by the commission will take effect immediately, or at such times as they shall designate, subject to your approval and action upon the coming in of the commission's reports, which are to be made from time to time as their action is taken. Wherever civil governments are constituted under the direction of the commission, such military posts, garrisons and forces will be continued for the suppression of insurrection and brigandage, and the maintenance of law and order, as the military commander shall deem requisite, and the military forces shall be at all times subject under his orders to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and the enforcement of their authority.

In the establishment of municipal governments the commission will take as the basis of their work the governments established by the military governor under his order of August 8, 1899, and under the report of the board constituted by the military governor by his order of January 29, 1900, to formulate and report a plan of municipal government, of which his honour Cayetano Arellano, president of the audiencia, was chairman, and they will give to the conclusion of that board the weight and consideration which the high character and distinguished abilities of its members justify.

In the constitution of departmental or provincial governments, they will give especial attention to the existing government of the island of Negros, constituted, with the approval of the people of that island, under the order of the military governor of July 22, 1899, and after verifying, so far as may be practicable, the reports of the successful working of that government, they will be guided by the experience thus acquired, so far as it may be applicable to the condition existing in other portions of the Philippines. They will avail themselves, to the fullest degree practicable, of the conclusions reached by the previous commission to the Philippines.

In the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the commission, the presumption is always to be in favour of the smaller subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental government shall be vested in that government, and so that in the governmental system, which is the result of the process, the central government of the islands, following the example of the distribution of the powers between the states and the national government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

The many different degrees of civilization and varieties of custom and capacity among the people of the different islands preclude very definite instruction as to the part which the people shall take in the selection of their own officers; but these general rules are to be observed: That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others.

It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans which after a time may well be filled by natives of the islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil office should be put in force. An indispensable qualification for all offices and positions of trust and authority in the islands must be absolute and unconditional loyalty to the United States, and absolute and unhampered authority and power to remove and punish any officer deviating from that standard must at all times be retained in the hands of the central authority of the islands.

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

At the same time the commission should bear in mind, and the people of the islands should be made plainly to understand, that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar.

It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed these inviolable rules:

That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offence, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex-post-facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed.

It will be the duty of the commission to make a thorough investigation into the titles to the large tracts of land held or claimed by individuals or by religious orders; into the justice of the claims and complaints made against such landholders by the people of the islands or any part of the people, and to seek by wise and peaceable measures, a just settlement of the controversies and redress of wrongs which have caused strife and bloodshed in the past. In the performance of this duty the commission is enjoined to see that no injustice is done; to have regard for substantial right and equity, disregarding technicalities so far as substantial right permits, and to observe the following rules:

That the provision of the Treaty of Paris, pledging the United States to the protection of all rights of property in the islands, and as well the principle of our own Government which prohibits the taking of private property without due process of law, shall not be violated; that the welfare of the people of the islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right; that if it becomes necessary for the public interest of the people of the islands to dispose of claims to property which the commission finds to be not lawfully acquired and held disposition shall be made thereof by due legal procedure, in which there shall be full opportunity for fair and impartial hearing and judgment; that if the same public interests require the extinguishment of property rights lawfully acquired and held due compensation shall be made out of the public treasury therefor; that no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or upon any citizen of the islands; that upon the other hand no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between state and church shall be real, entire and absolute.

It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. This instruction should be given in the first instance in every part of the islands in the language of the people. In view of the great number of languages spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.

It may be well that the main changes which should be made in the system of taxation and in the body of the laws under which the people are governed, except such changes as have already been made by the military government, should be relegated to the civil government which is to be established under the auspices of the commission. It will, however, be the duty of the commission to inquire diligently as to whether there are any further changes which ought not to be delayed; and if so, they are authorized to make such changes, subject to your approval. In doing so they are to bear in mind that taxes which tend to penalize or repress industry and enterprise are to be avoided; that provisions for taxation should be simple, so that they may be understood by the people; that they should affect the fewest practicable subjects of taxation which will serve for the general distribution of the burden.

The main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people should be maintained with as little interference as possible. Changes made should be mainly in procedure, and in the criminal laws to secure speedy and impartial trials, and at the same time effective administration and respect for individual rights.

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the islands the commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform. Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation; and, without undue or petty interference, constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs.

Upon all officers and employees of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words:

"This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honour of the American army."

I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the Government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labour for the full performance of this obligation which concerns the honour and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labours all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,
Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX IV

EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

An excerpt from the report of the Joint Educational Committee of the Philippine Legislature, presented August 10, 1926.[1]

EDUCATIONAL AIMS PRESENTED

In order that those responsible for the educational system and those interested in the educational welfare of our people may know what responsible officials and leaders think ought to be done, we devote considerable space to statements of policies, aims, and objectives. Our hope in doing this is that more people may know whither we are tending and that, conscious of our aims and ends, greater coöperation may exist.

THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The Secretary of Public Instruction in his reply to the Concurrent Resolution of the Legislature made the following statement of fundamental principles of public education:

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

That the policies just set forth are essentially sound and are not in violation of democratic principles, will appear from a brief statement of the fundamental principles underlying the public system of education. These are well known, but a restatement may tend to clarify the situation and to indicate the direction in which the educational program, so far as it is carried by the Insular Government, should proceed.

A system of public schools is based upon the fundamental proposition that for the sake of the individual himself and for the sake of the society to which he belongs, he should come, in a systematic way, into possession of a sufficient portion of human knowledge to enable him to meet adequately his own personal needs and to discharge properly his social obligations. It is important to keep clearly in mind that education serves both an individual interest and social interest, and that the social interest is always paramount. So far as the state is concerned, the primary aim of education is to prepare the individual to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently and to perform the duties of citizenship fully and honestly. Public education is primarily an instrument of self-preservation. The individual is educated at public expense, not for his own sake primarily, but for the security of the state. A minimum of educational achievement, both in extent and quality, is essential if this primary interest is served. Beyond this minimum the public interest is less significant but none the less important. The problem of a system of public schools involves, therefore, the education of the entire group up to a certain level and the providing of opportunities for smaller groups beyond this level. When we speak of the universality of educational opportunity which a democracy should provide, we have in mind not merely an opportunity for the sake of the individual but a minimum prerequisite for the safety of the government. Within this minimum, opportunity and obligation are identical. The state should provide this minimum opportunity and the individual should utilize it. The undertaking to supply education beyond this minimum is based upon a larger and more general conception of social interest. How much the government will undertake will depend upon its resources and how broad and substantial the social interest is. The supplying of educational facilities at the expense of the state should run no further than the social interest in education may fairly be said to exist in substantial degree, and preference should be given to the primary grades where the social interest is greatest. Up to a certain level, equality and universality of educational opportunity should be the aim, but beyond this level, the democratic principle does not require universality. The educational system should be open from bottom to top for those of ability. All children are entitled to an opportunity to enter the doors of the public schools, with an even chance. But the upper reaches and levels in education will depend upon aptitude, ability, and fitness. As we ascend the educational scale, selection and elimination take place, either as a result of inherent conditions, economic or personal, or as a result of the application of some educational policy. But quite apart from the natural elimination which occurs in any educational system, it is doubtful whether the public obligation for universal education should extend beyond those levels which represent that degree of educational achievement deemed essential for the stability and effective functioning of the state, and whether beyond those levels, educational opportunity should be open to any except those who, by aptitude and ability, are able to utilize the opportunity with profit to themselves and to the community.

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[1] Joint Educational Committee of the Philippine Legislature, *Joint Legislative Committee Report on Education,* Chapter II, pp. 23-44, *passim,* Manila, 1926.

Whatever the ideal might properly be, the government, having regard to its economic resources, should not attempt the impossible. Here in the Philippines we have set up the ideal of universal education. Worthy as this ideal is, its wise pursuit calls for much deliberation and some discrimination. It is not within the limits of the practical to expect that all of the children of the community will be passed through the system of education from the primary school to the university. This result, even if desirable, is unattainable, due to economic considerations and to the inherent inequalities of capacity and fitness of the persons to be educated. Some place down the scale, a line must be drawn. Up to the level indicated by that line all children have a right to be educated, and the state, for its own security, has a right to demand that they acquire this amount of education. Above that level, however, the social interest in education becomes much less. The individual interest predominates and the promotion of this interest may properly be left largely to individual initiative and support. Only so far as the community interests are definitely served by education beyond this level can the public-school system justify the expenditure of public funds.

Without attempting to fix precisely the level up to which the universality of educational opportunity should be provided at the expense of the public, the Department believes that, as regards the present imperative educational needs in the Philippine Islands, the recommendation of the Survey is sound and should be followed.

Beyond the level above indicated, the providing of educational opportunity at public expense should be governed by the nature of the public interests which need to be promoted and the extent to which the education supplied will promote those interests. In general, those interests lie largely along the line of training in vocations for which the community has a real need. In the field of what we call secondary education and even somewhat below this level, the decided tendency should be upon the supplying of vocational knowledge and the preparation for productive activities.[1]

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[1] Reply of the Secretary of Public Instruction to the Concurrent Resolution of the Philippine Legislature Requesting an Expression of Views on the Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, pp. 11-13.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

The members of the Committee requested the Director of Education for a statement of the aims and objectives of the public-school system, and in reply he submitted the following:

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

The declared purpose of the United States in the Philippines is to develop the country into a representative democracy.

The Philippine public-school system is the most effective agency for the accomplishment of this purpose.

FINAL OBJECTIVES

In formulating an educational program for the Islands, consideration must be given to the following fundamental objectives:

1. To extend primary education until every child has the opportunity to attend a complete primary school within three kilometers of his home.
2. To extend intermediate education until every primary graduate has the opportunity to attend a complete intermediate school in the municipality in which he lives or in the municipality nearest his home.
3. To extend secondary education until every intermediate graduate has the opportunity to attend a complete secondary school in the province in which he lives.
4. To extend special agricultural and farm schools until every farmer's son will have an opportunity to attend a farm school offering practical courses in farming in the province where he lives. (The farm sites at these schools would provide facilities for such demonstration and experimentation as other governmental entities interested in agricultural development might wish to undertake.)
5. To extend vocational (agricultural, normal, trade, commercial, and domestic-science) education to the limits that social conditions demand and that economic conditions make feasible.
6. To provide each school with site, building, equipment, and supplies that are conducive to the highest type of instruction.
7. To have the education of the children of the country receive primary consideration at all times and to have the Government always realize its obligation thereto.
8. To bring about additional taxation for school purposes, because it is the keynote to improvement in, and extension of, all educational work. (To this end an extensive educational program should be inaugurated for diffusing correct information and advice on the prime need for the payment of taxes and the necessity of imposing sufficient taxes to have those most benefited support the schools in a large proportion to the benefits enjoyed.)
9. To have a curriculum so well balanced and so flexible that all of the children may be developed into good healthy citizens, trained for occupations that make them useful citizens. (To this end, the curriculum must include instruction (1) in at least the "three R's," to make for literacy; (2) in physical culture and in health measures, to make for physical vigor and bodily well-being; (3) in some vocation, to make for economic power; (4) in good manners and right conduct, to encourage the formation of habits of courtesy and of morality; (5) in civics, to develop habits of thought and of action that are fundamental in the conduct of a successful democratic government.)
10. To have enough textbooks to provide each child, either by sale or by loan, with all of the books prescribed by the courses of study and to have enough of other classroom, laboratory, field, and shop materials to make for the most effective instruction possible. (The money available for the purchase of textbooks and supplementary readers has not been sufficient to furnish them to all children in the public schools. This has been exceedingly poor economy because the lack of textbooks causes an increased number of failures and thus a larger expenditure

of money for the education of repeaters. Adequate funds have not been available for acquiring animals, tools, or materials for efficient vocational instruction.)

11. To have all teachers possessed with at least four years of education or preparation, including attendance upon a normal course, beyond the completion of the intermediate school. (This objective should be reached by June, 1926. Provision should be made for summer courses at our normal schools and at the College of Education of the University of the Philippines, to enable teachers already in the service to obtain such further education and training as may be required to meet the standard set for that time.)

12. To bring about the recognition of the teacher as the great factor in educational progress and to put into effect salary schedules that will attract to the teaching service an adequate supply of trained teachers.

13. To have teachers' cottages in connection with all schools, particularly in connection with barrio schools. (The residence of a teacher in a cottage on the barrio-school site is prerequisite to giving the teacher and the school the place in the life of the barrio that they deserve; that is, to make them the center of the social life of the community.)

14. To develop the departments of tests and measurements and of revision of curriculum so that the officials can measure objectively the progress that is being made in the schools, and can easily adapt the curriculum to changing conditions.

15. To give proper attention in the elementary schools to agricultural and industrial instructions with pre-vocational aims which are based primarily on family, home, and community improvement.

16. To give proper emphasis in the secondary schools to agricultural and industrial instruction with vocational aims which are based primarily on economic and occupational values.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

There are a number of limited or intermediate objectives that come into play in connection with the attainment of the final objectives just listed. They include all steps that can possibly be taken to reach the final goal, consideration being given to the development of the wealth of the country and to the rapidity with which it is possible to enlarge the supervising and the teaching force without sacrificing efficiency.

University of the Philippines President's Statement

We also requested the President of the University of the Philippines to submit his views as to the aims and objectives of the educational system from the standpoint of a state university. We here reproduce his reply.

In compliance with your request of May 20, 1926, for a comprehensive statement of the aims and objectives of the educational system of the Philippine Islands from the standpoint of the University of the Philippines, I have the honor to submit the following:

As stated in the Charter, the purpose of the University is to provide advanced instruction in literature, philosophy, the sciences, and the arts, and to give professional and technical training. To carry out this purpose, the governing body is authorized to establish and has already established the Colleges of Agriculture, Education, Engineering, Law, Liberal Arts, Medicine, Veterinary Science, and Junior College of the University; the Schools of Dentistry, Fine Arts, Forestry, and Pharmacy, and the Conservatory of Music.

The University of the Philippines, designed as it is to meet the needs of the country, aims, firstly, to extend the field of scientific knowledge; and, secondly, to mold character. Accordingly, the University, by maintaining the highest standard attainable, is to make men of high character and ideals; to train individuals in practical knowledge and independent judgment, able to contribute to the progress of the country.

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LEGISLATIVE STATEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Having now the statements from official representatives of education, it is interesting to know the views of the Legislature with respect to education in the Philippine Islands. Such may be gauged from the following expression embodied in a Concurrent Resolution outlining the policy of the Legislature with respect to education. This was approved at the first session of the Seventh Philippine Legislature.

[CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 17]

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OUTLINING THE LEGISLATURE'S POLICY WITH RESPECT TO EDUCATION

WHEREAS the Filipino people are desirous of establishing a self-governing Philippine state, independent, and democratic;

WHEREAS democracy to be stable and enduring requires an enlightened citizenry;

WHEREAS education is recognized as the bulwark of modern democracy;

WHEREAS the time has come to enunciate a progressive educational policy for this country; Therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Philippine Senate concurring, That it is the sense of the Philippine Legislature, that the first duty of the Government is toward the education of the masses, insuring to every child of school age as soon as possible free elementary education, which is his rightful heritage;

2. That the finances of the Government should be largely devoted toward reducing and, if possible, wiping out illiteracy through the extension and improvement of elementary education including teacher-training facilities, thus insuring a literate and useful citizenship;

3. That its next duty is the development of a culturally and vocationally trained body of citizens capable of limited leadership as is produced by educational institutions of secondary grade;

4. That in order to meet the demand for higher education for the purpose of training a nucleus of men and women adequately prepared for leadership, culturally, professionally, and vocationally, the Philippine Legislature passed Act Numbered Eighteen hundred and seventy, known as the Charter of the University of the Philippines, conferring upon the Board of Regents the power to provide for the establishment of one or more Colleges of Liberal Arts; a College of Law; a College of Social and Political Science; a College of Medicine and Surgery; a College of Pharmacy; a College of Dentistry; a College of Veterinary Science; a College of Engineering; a College of Mines; a College of Agriculture; a College of Education; a School of Fine Arts; a School of Forestry; a Conservatory of Music, and such other colleges and schools as the Board of Regents may deem necessary: *Provided,* That the Board of Regents may establish these colleges, or any of them, in Manila or in any other place in the Archipelago, as soon as in its judgment conditions shall favor their opening and funds shall be available for their maintenance: *And provided, further,* That the Board of Regents shall have power to combine two or more of the colleges authorized by this Act, in the interest of economy and efficiency: *And provided, finally,* That the Philippine Medical School, as established by Act Numbered Fourteen hundred and fifteen, as amended, shall become the College of Medicine and Surgery of the Philippine University as soon as two or more colleges of the University of the Philippines shall have been established and in actual operation; and

5. That in order to maintain proper educational standards for collegiate and university training and as a guiding policy in the continuation or establishment of junior colleges, pursuant to the power conferred upon the Board of Regents, the following general principles should govern in view of the provisions of the University charter:

(*a*) The continuation or establishment of University branches is primarily a question for determination by the Board of Regents.

(*b*) So far as public funds are needed for such extensions decided upon by the Board of Regents, they should come from the appropriation made for the support of the University.

(*c*) No new branches should be established until existing schools and branches thereof have been adequately developed.

(*d*) This extension should, under no circumstances, be undertaken if it will impair the efficiency of the existing schools and colleges.

(*e*) The expenditure of the University funds should be devoted to the facilities already in operation until the University is assured of a permanent income.

(*f*) When, in the judgment of the Board of Regents, the time arrives that the establishment of branches in strategic centers of education, such as Northern Luzon, Pangasinan, Southern Luzon, Cebu, and Iloilo, should be undertaken, the Board should give serious consideration and great weight to the amount of aid in the form of adequate school grounds, suitable buildings, equipment and contribution to operating expenses which the local communities should provide either in the form of regular and continuing contribution from available local finances or as endowments.

Adopted, November 9, 1925.

We commend a serious study of these aims and purposes, the better to adjust the content and method of education to such aims and objectives so as to realize most effectively the noble purposes and lofty ideals therein enunciated.

In all adequate study of education in any country, a study must be made of the social composition of the population, the existing economic conditions, and a just and proper regard of the ideals and aspirations of the people. The Secretary of Public Instruction himself admits that tax-supported institutions have a social or political, as well as economic, aspects. "Not only must the individual be competent to discharge his political obligations well," says Secretary Gilmore, "but he must be competent to contribute to the economic needs of the community." And he adds, "As the state has a right to control education in such a way as to meet this political need, likewise it has a right to control education to meet its economic need, and the pressure of economic rivalry may be depended upon to drive even a democracy into so adjusting its educational program that those who are educated at the expense of the state will be economically, as well as politically, efficient." [1]

We prefer to quote the words of an American Secretary of Public Instruction with respect to the relation of tax-supported educational institutions to political ends in order that it may not be said that this Joint Committee, consisting as it does of legislative members, would naturally stress the political aspect. If, as the Director of Education states, the Philippine public school system is the most effective agency for the development of this country into a representative democracy; if America is sincere in her announcement that she came here not to exploit but to develop the Philippines and to make it a self-governing democratic state, then the Filipino people are right in demanding and expecting that the educational system of the country must be so administered and managed as to contribute to the establishment of a self-governing Philippine state, democratic and independent, and to the development of an enlightened citizenry, loyal and devoted to the supreme interests of the country. There should be greater attention given toward education for union and coöperation, for democracy and freedom, and for progress and happiness. In proportion as the educational work contributes to the realization of these great ends, the Philippine Legislature should, and, we believe, will, give the support expected of it within the limitations of the country's economic resources and the Government's finances.

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[1] Reply of the Secretary of Public Instruction to the Concurrent Resolution of the Philippine Legislature Requesting an Expression of Views on the Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, p. 15.

APPENDIX V

Excerpts from the Annual Report of the Honorable John C. Early, the Provincial Governor of the Mountain Province, for 1925.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, BONTOC, P. I.

January 8, 1926.

THE DIRECTOR,
Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes,
Manila, P. I.

SIR: Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2604 (h), Revised Administrative Code, and in accordance with your letter dated October 23, 1925, I have the honor to submit herein below my annual report covering the period from January 1 to December 31, 1925.

General Statement

Mountain Province lies along the high ridges of the Northern Luzon uplands, extending from the border of Pangasinan to within a few kilometers of Pata point on the extreme north coast. Its extreme extension north and south is 382 kilometers, from east to west 167 kilometers and its average width, 100 kilometers. To visualize its extent by comparison it marches with Union, Ilocos Sur, Abra, and Ilocos Norte on the west and with Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, and Cagayan on the east. The river systems drain to the east and northeast, except in Benguet and a part of Bontoc, where the drainage is west and north. The trend of the mountain ranges is northeast and southwest although they are so torn and broken that definite ranges do not appear until northern Kalinga and Apayao is reached. The range crests run about six thousand feet in elevation in Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga, and drop to about forty-five hundred feet in Apayao. In Benguet masses rise to eight thousand feet and higher.

This broken upland has a very distinct effect upon the people it holds. Like Switzerland in Europe and the Caucasus in Asia, the province holds a bit of all peoples who have ever trodden the mountain paths, but the base of the mass is Malayan, and Malayan in its primitive state, in social organization, and religious and legal development.

Isolation has intensified among these mountaineers the cult which once must have held all southeastern Asia; and the terrible struggle of sea-faring wanderers to live amid cold, barren hills has bred in them a stubbornness against social change not found elsewhere in the Philippines, coupled with a faith in the efficacy of old formulæ in religion which three hundred years of active missionary labor has been unable to change. Their development of a legal procedure, too, is quite definite and logical. Their reaction toward the statute law is much like that of the medieval European peasant toward the black magic of his time. It is from the evil one, but if you propitiate the agent of it (the lawyer) sufficiently, he will so twist it that you may escape punishment for offences done, or get possession of the property of your neighbor. At the same time you will escape all penalties accruing from violation of the law laid down by Lamauig, for the punishment attending the violation of the old customary law is more psychical than physical. The violator of old customary law believes all manner of ill luck will follow him (and of course it does) and that fear, while the creed holds, is worth several companies of Constabulary as a deterrent to crime. Practically, I believe the government could well make an outlay for the expense of a commission headed by a man like Professor Boyer to study this customary law which holds without force and so bend the statute law to meet it that the statute law would gain the potency which customary law now holds. As a first step, I have advised the justices of the peace to study the customary law and apply it when they can in their justice work. The justices of the peace of Banaue and Bontoc, eager young men, both law graduates, have taken the suggestion enthusiastically.

Another direct effect of the isolating environment in which these people have lived is the development of differing linguistic groups and, by separation of cultural group from cultural group, each, perhaps, the remnant of a larger linguistic group on the sea or in the lowlands, the development of peoples differing in speech, social customs, religious beliefs. For the primitive Malay like the primitive Greek has his intimate gods, and peculiar physical characteristics. In Benguet, we find the Ibaloi and Kankanai. The Ibaloi is no doubt a cousin of the Pangasinan and the Kankanai of the Ilocano. The Ibaloi considers Kabayan his seat or home and from there he has spread to Bokod, Tublay, Trinidad, a part of Kapangan and a part of Atok. He considers himself a superior person, and strangely, the Kankanai concedes it. The Kankanai considers Suyoc in old Lepanto his seat from whence he has spread to old Amburayan including the barrios of Tagudin, Buguias, Kibungan and parts of Atok and Kapangan in Benguet, all of old Lepanto, including the part attached to Ilocos Sur, and the part now called Western Bontoc, and Sagada in Bontoc proper, although the Sagada people claim cousinship with Candon in Ilocos Sur which they say migrated to the coast from Sagada.

These two language groups cover all the western watershed in Mountain Province. The people are peaceful farmers and herders, rarely bothering their neighbors and content to be let alone. Like most non-resistors they are not avid of progress and instead of resisting stoutly, they are quite content to bow their heads and let the storm pass. I have seen men in Sigay, for example, baptized Roman Catholics, Methodists, and United Brethren dancing industriously in the cañaos. It was easier to submit to baptism than to withstand argument, but the old gods called when the ganza sounded. In education they are much the same. Banaao and Sabangan have had schools in their midst for twenty-four years and have never placed a child in the intermediate grades. Economically, this very passivity makes the Kankanai and Ibaloi easy victims of the exploiter; and Benguet, Lepanto, and Amburayan are full of exploiters, the greediest of whom are the rich Igorots in and around Baguio.

The Ibaloi build small houses squat on the ground and usually bank the earth about and put on a heavy thatch of cogon grass because their lands lie in the rain belt where the first care is to establish a warm, dry retreat. They normally dress in gee-string, shirt, and blanket, but now a goodly number dress in complete attire at all times and in gala times most can muster a suit of clothes. The women dress in tapis and jacket at all times. The dress of the women is particularly suitable and attractive. Their great want is more and better food and warmer clothing and better houses. The richer and more enlightened are now getting those necessities.

The Kankanai builds on the plan of the Ibaloi but does not reach the skill of his neighbor. In dress he resembles also the Ibaloi and like him he feels the need of more clothes and the favored few are getting them. He also needs more food.

To the south and east lies Ifugao. The Ifugao shows his warrior strain by claiming direct descent from the gods and asserting that all outside people are descended from his line and for some reason were cast off from time to time and cut off from his speech. The Ifugaos are somewhat larger physically than the Ibaloi but not so big as the Bontocs. The dress of the men is normally the gee-string of dark blue or black, and blanket, but with wealth and education they too are acquiring clothes. The women wear fewer clothes than their sisters across the ranges and almost no clothing on the upper body. The houses are small but well constructed and the overhanging roofs are heavily thatched, for when the rain is not falling the sun heats mercilessly in the rocky valleys denuded of trees. Each house has a high pitched roof the peak of which serves as a storeroom. In intensive farming the Ifugao surpasses the Ibaloi and Kankanai and, in fact, all the Mountain people. He carries water for miles to a place where land may be terraced and then cascades it down terrace by terrace making it do duty a dozen, twenty, fifty times before it escapes into the stream bed. In the terraces he grows rice, camotes, cabbages, tobacco and cotton.

In temperament the Ifugao stands between the negative Kankanai and the positive Bontoc. Not so stubborn as the latter, he has his courage and resourcefulness as a warrior and being more pliable makes an excellent soldier or gang laborer. The Ifugao needs more food and clothing. His irrigation water is all doing duty and expansion there is sharply halted. I will speak of possible ways out later.

Across the Polis range to the north of the Ifugao lies the Bontoc, his hereditary foe. When the Ifugao priest drives out evil spirits from the sick he directs them to go to Bontoc. We will follow them over and see what kind of host receives them. We will find a fine upstanding man having little fear of man, much respect for the gods and a distinct fear of the devil. He lives in villages in contrast to the scattered hamlets of the Ifugaos and acts in larger groups for labor, play, and raising the entity he most fears. Bontoc is in the innermost center of Mountain Province and here we find the people most set in their ways and positively resistant to change. But in that very positiveness lies the hope. If they change, and when they change it will be no half measure. We see it already in the men and women who have stepped into the light. Unlike the weaker peoples, they never step back and their people who have not stepped out cast them wholeheartedly out of their villages. It seems at first glance a rupture between the new and the old, but both understand and the old knows in its heart that the whole social body will follow the few tendrils into the light.

In housing we find a step down from the Ifugao. The houses are principally a roof in the peak of which is a storeroom and the eaves of which turn both chilling rains and blistering sun. Around the roof shade on the ground is a fence about two feet high which marks the living room and above which the light enters. Within are the cooking place and sleeping box —a large oblong lidded bed into which the parents crawl, when night comes, and shut themselves in by dropping the lid. The children go to the *ato* dormitories for boys and girls, respectively, which each *ato,* or ward, maintains. Each town is divided into *atos* or divisions for social and political administration. Each *ato* comprises about three hundred people, the descendants of an original family. The dormitories in addition to being sleeping places are schools as well in which the law and religion of the tribe are handed down. This is the one fact which makes the people so unchanging. The whole people is drilled in the old things and but a fraction of them in the new. For this reason also attrition will be slow, but it is the only way. Attempts to break down social customs by force have always failed. In fact pressure sets them. The Scotch Highlander would no doubt have cast off his kilt long ago had not George I tried to breech him by force of arms.

The present movement away from the village center is slowly increasing. In Bontoc, for example, a considerable section of the Christian town is given over to Bontocs who have left the old way through the influence of the schools and churches, and who of necessity have left the old town as well; for the Bontoc regards his village as a religious institution and matching intolerance with the intolerance of some churches refuses to permit any one not of his faith to make permanent habitation there.

Social organization in Benguet, Ifugao, and Bontoc is so nearly alike that it may be handled as a whole. This section is the land of the *cacique* par excellence. All the land worth having, that is, all the land which may be watered, is held by the ruling families in each village and the mass of the people live by the will of the *bacnang.* These *bacnangs,* by intermarriage cement their hold from generation to generation and in some places have established a blue-blooded aristocracy. In Bontoc a woman of any group below the upper middle class marrying into the aristocracy pulls her husband and her children out of the charmed circle. A man making a similar alliance not only does not better his condition, but makes it decidedly worse, for persecution follows him. This condition makes it exceedingly difficult to thin the population by moving out a part of the people. The *bacnang* believes that hungry mouths make cheap labor and he resists the diminution of his labor supply by economic pressure and appeals to village patriotism. For that reason an organization like the Philippine Scouts which the *bacnangs* are used to and do not fear would be an excellent thing were it camped in a place where there are possibilities for settlement. The soldiers and their families could be settled in the new place and new ones recruited until the balance between men and fields was reestablished. Failing this, either forcible migration must be carried out, which would be a severe wrench to the social organization, or new sources of food must be developed. Tree crops, like avocado, which has been aptly called bread and butter on a tree, would solve the question for some generations, or the grazing of sheep and cattle would offer some relief. The people in these districts are now below the line of subsistence and we can look for no great advance until they are better fed and clothed.

North of Bontoc lies Kalinga, a subprovince which has abundance of water in the highlands, and therefore a plentiful irrigation supply, and plenty of unoccupied land in the foothills, good tillable land easily cultivated and menaced only by locusts. Kalinga holds three pretty distinct cultural groups. On the Bontoc border the people (Lubuagan), resemble those of Tinglayan who are first cousins of the Bontocs. In the west in the Saltan and Mabaca valleys the people are Itnegs or Tinguianes quite recently immigrants from Abra and in the eastern foot-hills are Kalingas, a strange nomadic people, who, tradition says, descended from Joloanos deported from their southern home and settled in the Spanish semi-penal colony of Tabuk.

Among these groups the Itnegs are the most prosperous and forward looking, the Lubuagan people next, and the Kalingas least. Abundance of land and water and recent settlement makes for economic independence and we find caciquism in but embryo form among the Itnegs and Lubuagans and non-eixstent among the Kalingas. In gregariousness the people resemble the Ifugaos more closely than the Bontocs, but this is adaptation to environment rather than imitation because there has never been interchange of ideas between Ifuago and Kalinga. The Lubuagan people build neat tight houses square or hexagonal with heavy cogon thatch and when the ground permits, as in Mabuntot, the houses are arranged along regular streets. Rice is abundant and cheap and the people are more independent of the gods than in Benguet, Ifugao, or Bontoc. Here is none of the despairing propitiation of the hard-faced deities which causes food to disappear quickly from the granaries and prevents the super-abundant harvest necessary to the continuance of the teeming population. The Lubuagan cultural area has plenty to eat and much to sell and they can afford to turn their backs upon the old gods and toy with the strange gods from overseas and they do so. Naneng, a prosperous rice center, decided that it was cheaper to worship in the Christian way and invited in a minister of the new cult to show them that way: proof that they felt their independence of the spirit world. In their social organization, valor, rather than wealth, leads a man to preeminence in the Lubuagan cultural area. Their forays and little wars of the past have been due to desire to excel in feats of arms and not hunger drives. These happily have given place to forays into the realm of letters—the Lubuagan and Itneg cultural areas now hold more intermediate schools than existed in the entire Mountain Province three years ago. The Itneg or Tinguian cultural area is as good as the Lubuagan in most things and better in some, for example, in the education of girls. The Tinguian houses are much more substantially built than the houses of their brothers in Abra because material is more abundant and also because the cream of a people is found in its emigrants. Their terraced fields are larger and more abundant because the hills in Kalinga are still coated with trees and water is plentiful. In social organization too they have left their Abra relatives as the Lubuagan men have left their Bontoc relatives. They have abundance of food and leisure to think and are emancipated from fear of the gods.

Passing to the third section we come to grips with our most elusive problem in Mountain Province, the nomadic Kalingas of eastern Kalinga and eastern Bontoc. Towns have been established here and there. The houses stand, but the people have slid across into Isabela and Cagayan. Put pressure upon them there, and they will slide back, but wherever they are they are a constant menace to the intending homesteader. Our direct trouble arises from their attacks on hunters from the valley. The Kalinga, like the ancient American Indian, looks upon the deer as his cattle and is ready to use his lance upon any gun-man who invades his pasture. Time will settle the dispute, but while time is slowly acting some blood is bound to be spilled. I would suggest as a policing method that the Constabulary mount a company and give its commander a commission to follow the Kalingas through the three provinces and keep order.

Socially, the Kalingas are most primitive. Their hamlets are scattered throughout the grass lands, cultivation is scant and half hearted and the family wealth may be rolled in a handkerchief any hour and a new shack of *caña bojo* run up far from, or near to the old one, depending upon the persistence of the annoying outsider. We are trying to fix these Kalingas to the soil by means of settlement farm schools and have succeeded well in Delnacan or Calaccad, but in Bacarri the school is still wavering between success and failure. The solution of the problem is adequate policing first, and then the encouraging of cattle growing which will establish a mass of values. We have tried cattle in Calaccad and Bacarri settlement farm schools with complete success.

North of Kalinga is Apayao, the largest, at present the poorest and potentially the richest of the subdivisions of Mountain Province. The terrain slopes from west to east, a mountain range rising to forty-five hundred feet rimming the west from which run broken hills and then wide plains to the swamp country bordering the Cagayan valley. The country holds forest wealth beyond computation from present exploration, and when the forest is removed a rich soil will be opened to the agriculturist.

The people in the south are Itnegs or Tinguianes. They live in hamlets in the forest and construct their houses of strong material with bamboo thatch. This bamboo is cut into short lengths and laid on layer by layer shingle-fashion with small overlap to a depth of six layers when it is practically everlasting. Agriculture is at present a discouraging task. The jungle presses on every side, the locusts come, and the farmer quits; his number is too small.

In the west and northwest are a people who call themselves Isnegs. They live in the valley of the Apayao and struggle against the jungle as do the people of the south. These people show the greatest contrast, village from village and even man from man: Hindu, Japanese, Chinese, Malay, all in the same nook in the jungle. This seems a melting pot in which fusion has not taken place. In the northeast is the Negrito, a shy forest dweller who is rarely seen but who always sees. His social economy is much the same as that of his brothers elsewhere—elemental.

The Isneg and Tinguian are democratic. Land has little value when it is so abundant as to be a nuisance; and as only land holding founds a real aristocracy, we have democracy. The need of the people is more people. More hands to fight the jungle, more voices in the clearing at night.

* * * * * * *

Population

Subprovince	Christian	Pagan Non-Christian	Total 1925	Total 1924	Increase	Percentage of Non-Christians
Apayao	372	9,812	10,184	9,918	266	97%
Benguet	2,663	36,688	39,351	34,394	4,957	93%
Bontoc	1,100	60,200	61,300	65,691	Decrease 4,391	98%
Ifugao	273	66,385	66,658	66,814	Decrease 156	99%
Kalinga	424	27,553	27,977	22,703	5,274	99%
Total	4,832	200,638	205,470	199,520	Difference 5,950	97%

Note: Bakun and Tinglayan of the subprovince of Bontoc are included in Benguet and Kalinga, respectively.

It is thought the population recorded does not give the full number of people now living within Mountain Province. An effort will be made to have a recount by barrios this year, using local officials to make it.

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POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

(a) It is the policy of the government to get into personal touch with each settlement group and every community so that problems of administration and development may be studied at first-hand and something may be done to relieve a tightness when found. This something varies from place to place and from child to grandfather. Sometimes it means charges against a dishonest official who has preyed upon the people; sometimes, it means the devising of ways to make quarantine effective; sometimes, it means merely listening to tales of fancied wrongs or the confession of real offences. The important thing, however, is for the official,—Governor, deputy governor, Constabulary officer, supervising teacher, engineer, health officer,—to get out into the towns and barrios and get in touch with the people. The second thing of importance is for the people to come and see him in return. To do this without unnecessary waste of time, it is necessary that roads and trails be maintained where built and built where needed.

(b) When relations are established on friendly terms, it is the policy of the government to place as much power as is wise in the hands of the people. This is much when the people are accustomed to acting in group council and know by instinct that one man's means liberty should end where another man's liberty begins; and little when greed bears down justice.

(c) The details of placing individual highlanders in official position are carried out when vacancies occur and suitable candidates are found.

(d) It is the policy of the government to put the highlanders and lowlanders into sympathetic touch. Relations between the two depend upon the people touching and not upon any governmental act. For this reason, the lowlanders coming into Mountain Province in any capacity should be men and women of high character and utmost probity. One liar, cheat, gambler or seducer, will blacken the name of a whole lowland community; and it is exactly such an one who will rush into print as a persecuted martyr when brought to justice.

(e) It is the policy of the government to people waste places with highlanders when the climate and terrain are suitable, and with lowlanders when climate and terrain are suitable. It is not believed to the best interest of the general government to hold land vacant indefinitely.

ORGANIZATION

Mountain Province is divided into five subprovinces for administration although division lines are not tightly drawn nor legally existant. Each subprovince is in charge of a deputy governor to whom the Provincial Governor has delegated control over municipal officials and municipal police and any other power needed to make him the potent head in his subprovince. Seventeen municipal districts are organized with powers analogous to those which they held under the old township law, and twenty-two are unorganized—that is, the Provincial Board legislates for them and their expenses are drawn from a common fund. . . .

PUBLIC ORDER

There was no concerted breach of public order during the year past. Crimes against the person and crimes against property decreased. This decrease is due, I think, to the removal of Insular prisoners to lowland prisons. The Bontoc prison had little deterrent effect because the prisoner lived in his accustomed climate and could see his relatives at regular intervals, but he dreads the lowland climate and suffers acutely when separated from relatives. . . .

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EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES

The policy of the government is to fill places with natives of the province as soon as vacancies occur. It is believed that natives can fill all positions in time. Two young men of Ifugao and Bontoc, both graduates of Trinidad, were given positions in the Governor's office effective January 1st. A statement is attached showing the number employed in the past three years. Details of positions can be given for 1925 only. A table is attached in the appendix giving progress in inducting natives into the service.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

There are in Mountain Province 167 schools in which fifteen thousand children are taught by four hundred teachers in 131 primary schools, 34 intermediate, and two high schools. One hundred and seven of these teachers are natives of Mountain Province, and this number includes two supervising teachers, several intermediate school principals and a number of classroom teachers. All the subprovinces have some of their own people enrolled among the teachers, and in Benguet and Kalinga there are districts in which all the personnel from the supervising teacher to barrio teacher are highlanders. The course of study is being flexed from year to year to meet the need of the Mountain people, and year by year the schools and teachers are becoming better housed. The people of Kalinga show greatest enthusiasm in constructing buildings, housing teachers, and sending their children to school. They have a vision of stepping into the light prepared to take their places among regular provinces on exact equality with them and they are going at the problem in the right way. The present generation is willing to make sacrifices to put the rising generation forward. Apayao and Ifugao, too, are making a fine showing. Two high schools are located in Benguet: one in Baguio giving the general and teaching courses, one in La Trinidad giving the agricultural course. The last is the school for the Mountain people and we hope to build it into a second Tuskegee—a torch to light the whole Province.

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JUSTICE

The details of crime and punishment are touched upon under Public Order under Justices of the Peace courts. The larger aspect, the administration of public justice remains. The greatest obstacles to public justice we now have are a class of men sworn to uphold it—attorneys at law. These unfaithful stewards are few, but it is unfortunate that they come among these untaught people, promise them earth and heaven, and after pocketing the last ten-cent piece the poor fools can find secure postponement of cases by legal adroitness and never appear again. There is abundant field for good honest lawyers here as Judge Mina demonstrated in his practice the last term of court. Lawyers' brokers, too, ply their trade industriously. These panders work on fee or commission and by straining their ears find what the fiscal is about to move. If it be for dismissal they then run to the friends of the prisoner and secure ten, twenty, fifty pesos "for securing the acquittal." A remedy is a public defender who would defend as the fiscal prosecutes, from a sense of duty.

We have been fortunate in having a Judge like Judge Tecdoro—he has administered justice wisely and raised the standard of legal ethics in the Province.

PRISONS

The Insular Prison for Highlanders was transferred from Bontoc to Manila last May by order of His Excellency, the Governor-General, upon recommendation of the Director of Prisons, as a measure of economy. It has had a most happy result as a penal measure as well. Formerly six years in prison in Bontoc where friends might be seen weekly was a small price to pay for the glory which surrounded the head-hunter. A stern judge and a lowland prison absolutely away from relatives is having a deterrent effect. Only one purely head taking killing has occurred since the prison was removed although several cases of internecine killing such as happen in all provinces occur from time to time.

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COMMERCE AND SHIPPING

Commerce is largely internal either between units of the province and other provinces like Kalinga with Cagayan, Ifugao with Isabela, and Apayao with Ilocos Norte or between different units within the province like Bontoc with Kalinga. Kalinga and Ifugao export rice and import foreign foodstuff and clothing, Apayao exports tobacco and forest products and imports foreign food and clothing. Bontoc and Benguet import food and clothing both domestic and foreign, paying for the imports in cash earned by working on public works, building construction, transportation to and from the exporting subprovinces, etc. Benguet also exports vegetables in large quantities for the Manila market. The market system started by Governor Dosser some years ago to bring the Ifugaos into trade relations with the people of Isabela have been quite successful in increasing the exports of rice and imports of meat products. Baguio and Bontoc are the largest trading centers. It is estimated that the former does a business running into millions of pesos yearly, but this is but a guess as no data is at hand. Bontoc does a business of ₱150,000 per annum. This trade is divided between Christian Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, and non-Christian Filipinos. In addition to these trade centers within the province, Cervantes in Ilocos Sur lives wholly on Mountain Province trade and Tuao in Cagayan lives partly upon this trade as does Bayombong in Nueva Vizcaya. This is a disadvantage because merchants seek large profits, naturally, and the greatest profit in Mountain Province is in gin because local merchants are prohibited from entering the trade. Cervantes in particular pours a steady stream of gin into the province to the constant hurt of the people.

SHIPPING

Subprovince	Total Value of Exports	Total Value of Imports
Apayao	₱ 1,326.50	₱ 20,000.00
Benguet	3,311,467.75	70,690.00
Bontoc	15,000.00	150,000.00
Ifugao	7,508.00	20,000.00
Kalinga	14,400.00	25,000.00
Total	₱3,349,702.25	₱285,600.00

ELECTIONS (INFORMAL)

Informal elections were held in Benguet in May and in all of Bontoc, except Sadanga, Tinglayan, Talubin, and Natonin in August. The Provincial Governor conducted the elections in Benguet, assisted by the deputy governor and the third member of the Provincial Board, except in Trinidad where the deputy governor had charge. He also conducted the election in Bontoc, Sagada, Bauko, and Sabangan, assisted by the deputy governor and the third member. The deputy governor and third member conducted the election in Kayan, Mankayan, and Besao. The method adopted was by standing vote of electors. All electors were assembled at a convenient hour, usually noon, and then the candidates for presidentes were seated across the plaza. At the word the electors crossed over and surrounded the man of their choice. A few minutes sufficed to count the votes and record the result, when the next position was filled. The electorate divided by barrios for the election of councilmen, each barrio choosing its own man. This method lacks secrecy, but it avoids suspicion of unfairness among a people unable to read or write and among whom ballot marking must be done by proxy. It also makes contests futile because the whole town assists in the count.

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INSPECTIONS

Inspections have been made by the undersigned covering all municipal districts and most barrios during the year either as Superintendent of Schools or Provincial Governor. The Provincial Treasurer has visited all municipal seats. The third member of the Provincial Board has visited most municipalities in Benguet, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Apayao. The deputy governors cover their subprovinces regularly, ranging from once a month in Benguet to tri-monthly in Apayao, varying with the extent of the subprovince. The District Health Officer has been very active in covering the province and his sub-health officers have covered the subprovinces. The engineers usually confine inspection to places where they have live projects. Of the Insular bureaus, the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Constabulary have been active and have been in constant touch with the people. The Constabulary has been confronted with the physically impossible in patrol work. If the companies were kept full or another company assigned here their work could be lightened. Ilocos Sur has been a hive of rinderpest the past six months and Cagayan of surra. We have employed over two hundred special police to aid in quarantine because the Constabulary have been so overburdened. . . .

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PERSONNEL

The personnel has been reduced during the year and efforts have been made to increase its efficiency. Attention is invited to the appendices which give the detail of the employment of highlanders in the service.

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APPENDIX "A"

PUBLIC WORKS

Roads	Kilometers	Total Kilometers
First Class		
Trinidad Road	7.0	
Bua Road	4.7	11.7
Second Class		
Trinidad St. Farm	2.5	
Mt. Trail (Benguet Section)	28.4	30.9
Third Class		
Trinidad St. Farm	2.3	
Major Road	3.0	
Pakdal Road	2.5	
Bontoc-Cervantes (Cart Road)	51.5	
Cervantes-Butac (Cart Road)	45.5	
Bontoc-Lubuaga (Cart Road)	70.0	
Bontoc-Kiangan	85.0	
Kiangan-Bagabag	34.0	
Sagada-Bagnen-Tue (Cart Road)	29.5	
Bontoc Town	3.0	
Mt. Trail (Bontoc Section)	45.5	371.8
Trails		
Horse and Miscellaneous Trails		
Benguet	309.2	
Apayao	153.0	
Kalinga	254.0	
Bontoc	396.0	
Ifugao	336.0	1,448.2
Maintenance		
First Class	₱ 4,000.00	
Second Class	3,600.00	
Third Class	34,142.14	except Benguet
Miscellaneous Trails	34,616.50	except Benguet

Note: Cervantes-Bontoc and Kiangan-Bagabag were transferred under the supervision of the District Engineer of this province during this year. An automobile of 5 passengers has been running regularly from Bontoc to Calacaban (Bontoc-Cervantes Road), a distance of 44 kilometers. Kiangan has already been reached by automobile via Kiangan Bagabag road. Automobiles have gone up to Kilometer 49 on the Mt. Trail (Benguet Division).

APPENDIX "B"

Comparative Statement of Employment of Natives

Subprovinces	1923	1924	1925
Apayao	60	61	63
Benguet	...	...	229
Bontoc	262	267	478
Ifugao	32	30	38
Kalinga	229	235	278
Total	583	593	1,086

Table of Employment of Natives During 1925

Deputy Governor	1
Physicians	2
Supervising Teachers	2
Teachers	105
Clerks	40
Nurses	5
Sanitary Inspectors	27
Police and Guards	286
Warden	1
Pest Inspectors	4
Public Works	97
Messengers and Janitors	10
Municipal Treasurers	5
Municipal Presidents	39
Rangers	3
Others	459
Total	1,086

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Respectfully submitted,

J. C. Early,
Provincial Governor
Ad Interim

APPENDIX VI

CONDITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TRANSMITTING A REPORT BY COLONEL CARMI A. THOMPSON ON THE CONDITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS TOGETHER WITH SUGGESTIONS WITH REFERENCE TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLANDS [1]

Message

To the Congress of the United States:

In my annual message to the Congress I referred to Col. Carmi A. Thompson's survey, at my request, of conditions in the Philippine Islands.

I contemplated that in transmitting his report to the Congress I might wish to make more specific recommendations than those made in my annual message. I find, however, that the general line of his conclusions are in such close agreement with what is already recommended that this seems unnecessary, but on account of the interest in the text of Colonel Thompson's report and a desire to secure it, I am transmitting it herewith for the information of the Congress.

In my message I recited the fact that Governor Wood had administered his office as Governor General with tact and ability and to the advantage of the Filipino people. Many, although not all, of the recommendations contained in the report undoubtedly would meet with the approval of Governor General Wood as they have been recommended by him in the past.

It will be noted that the report of Colonel Thompson is more candid and intimate than is the usual published report, but I have not felt that I should on that account withhold it from the Congress. Colonel Thompson has freely and fearlessly expressed his views on the Philippine situation. While I do not agree entirely with all his views and recommendations, I believe that the report is an excellent one and merits your careful consideration. He went to the Philippine Islands as a volunteer. He gave his time. He paid a large sum for his own expenses. For all of this he is entitled to sincere thanks.

Calvin Coolidge.

The White House, *December 22, 1926.*

Conditions in the Philippine Islands

Cleveland, Ohio, *December 4, 1926.*

Mr. President:

In the spring of 1926 you requested me to proceed to the Philippine Islands at the earliest possible date for the purpose of making a survey of conditions there, and to report to you, making such suggestions as might occur to me, especially with reference to the administration and economic development of the islands. Subsequently you handed me the following letter of instructions:

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[1] Senate Document No. 180, 69th Congress, 2d session.

May 20, 1926.

My Dear Mr. Thompson: As you are leaving for the Philippines to make a survey and report to me on what I might possibly do to secure a better administration of affairs in the islands and a further development of their economic conditions, I am sending you this letter which you are at liberty to present to Governor General Leonard Wood, with the request that he give you any assistance he can in meeting these requirements. I suggest that if you have occasion to confer with government officials you do so through General Wood as an intermediary. I have no doubt that he would also be pleased to arrange for you any meeting with private parties in the islands.

I trust that you will find your journey comfortable and interesting, and that a benefit to the Filipino people and the American Government may be derived from it.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

Calvin Coolidge.

I sailed from Seattle on June 15, arriving in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, on July 9. My first action was to call upon Governor General Leonard Wood, to whom I presented your letter. For the ensuing three months, lacking five days, I spent my time in traveling throughout the islands and in interviewing representative Americans and Filipinos in Manila and elsewhere. On October 4 I sailed from Manila, stopping in China and Japan for the purpose of studying general economic and political conditions in those countries as they are related to the Philippine Islands. I arrived in Seattle on November 19.

This report is based upon information gathered from personal observations; from conferences with representative Americans and Filipinos; from speeches, memorials, petitions, and various other written documents; and from reports and statistical data prepared by the executive departments of the Philippine government and the American trade commissioner in Manila. I have summarized this material in a memorandum which is herewith submitted as a supplement to this report.

FUNDAMENTAL NEED OF PHILIPPINES

It became apparent to me early in my inquiry that the political problem is the fundamental problem in the Philippines. The political and the economic elements of the situation in the islands are so inextricably bound together that it will be impossible to bring about any economic development there before the political status of the archipelago has been settled finally, or for a long time to come. Although the Philippines have vast natural resources and remarkable advantages in geographical location, soil, climate, timber, mineral deposits, and water power, the development of which would make it a land of wealth and prosperity, they lack capital and business energy. They can obtain capital in considerable amounts only from external sources, and for some time, at least, a part of the business energy without which capital is useless must come from abroad. Under the present conditions of political turmoil and uncertainty outside capital and business energy are not attracted to the Philippines, and the Filipinos discourage their entry into the islands on the ground that it would lead to economic exploitation and permanent political domination of their country by Americans.

Business in the islands is practically at a standstill. Not only is it impossible to obtain new capital but many existing investments are regarded as unsafe. In some of the more essential enterprises, such as the erection and operation of sugar centrals, the mining of coal, and the manufacture of cement, the Philippine government has sought to stimulate economic development by supplying the necessary capital. These ventures were inefficiently managed, with the result that the government suffered heavy losses.

Philippine labor is without sufficient employment and is emigrating to Hawaii, the United States, and other countries. Eighty-five per cent of the land is still public domain, most of it original forest. Although the Philippines contains large areas of unused land which could be converted into the finest rice fields in the Orient, lack of production compels the importation of a part of the country's requirements of this staple food. Further development of the islands through education, public-health agencies, and the construction of roads, port facilities, irrigation works, and other aids to business and agriculture is made virtually impossible by the lack of adequate national revenue; and the government can not materially increase its revenue until the taxable wealth of the islands has become much greater than it now is.

In this situation the fundamental need in the Philippines is the solution of the political problem in such a way as to assure the existence for a considerable period of time of a government which will be reasonably favorable to economic development and financial investment, and which will inspire confidence on the part of investors.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

The political problem has two principal phases: First, a widespread and insistent agitation for immediate, absolute, and complete independence; second, a deadlock between the Governor General and the legislature.

Complete independence is impossible now and for a long time to come, for the following reasons:

1. The Philippines lack the financial resources necessary to maintain an independent government. The revenue derived from taxation in 1925 amounted to ₱88,507,000 ($44,253,500).

This would not be enough to enable an independent Philippine government to meet those expenses from which the Philippines is now relieved—those of an army, navy, diplomatic corps, a consular service, and other establishments—entirely aside from the cost of maintaining the existing departments and of carrying on essential internal activities such as public education, sanitation, irrigation, and road building. New sources of taxation can not be found until the natural resources of the country are more fully developed.

The poverty of the Filipinos as a whole is illustrated by the fact that practically all of the bonded indebtedness of the Philippine government is held by citizens of the United States, who bought the securities relying upon the continuance of American sovereignty over the islands, only a small part of these securities being held by Filipinos. The financial weakness of the Philippines makes it almost a certainty that these bonds would greatly depreciate in value should immediate independence be granted and eventually they might become worthless. If the payment of these bonds were made a prerequisite to independence, the Philippine government would have no means with which to redeem them.

2. Because they lack a common language, and for other reasons, the Filipinos do not have the homogeneity and solidarity which are prime requisites of a strong, democratic nation. Eight principal dialects are spoken in different parts of the islands, most of the common people of each group being unable to communicate with those of the other groups. The members of the so-called ruling class throughout the islands are able to communicate with each other in Spanish or English. This group, however, constitutes but a small proportion of the people. Such a gulf as exists between the upper and lower classes in the Philippines is unknown in America. This gulf is so wide that no genuinely popular government is possible. Nor will it be possible until the position of the masses of the Filipino people has been raised by education and economic improvement, and until a common second language of the masses has been established. This common language should be English. Were the United States to grant independence before these conditions are corrected, the government might become an oligarchy or the Philippines might be split up into warring factions led by chieftains of the various language groups. The bitter religious and other differences between the Mohammedan Moros and Christian Filipinos might also accentuate the danger of civil strife should independence be granted at this time.

3. The controlling public opinion which is necessary for the support of a democracy does not now exist in the Philippines, nor can it until the daily press and other vital organs of public opinion are very much more widely circulated and read than they are at present.

4. From the standpoint of American commercial interests in the Far East, it would be unwise to relinquish control of the Philippines at the present time. Our trade with the Orient has been expanding year by year and all indications point to an increased volume of business for the future. We need the Philippines as a commercial base, and the retention of the Philippines will otherwise be of great benefit to our eastern situation.

5. Abandonment of the Philippines at this time might complicate international relations in the Orient.

6. The granting of complete and immediate independence would end the free-trade relationship between the United States and the Philippines. This and other resulting conditions would bring about economic disaster for the Philippines. The sugar industry would not be able to compete with Cuba and other countries nearer to the American market. The coconut oil, tobacco, and many other industries would be affected in like manner. The Filipino people who, under free trade with America, have been taught the benefits of the higher standards of living than they previously enjoyed, would be forced to compete with other orientals, having a much lower standard of

living. Such competition would, without doubt, have an adverse effect upon them and upon political and other conditions in the islands.

The independence propaganda might give one unfamiliar with political methods the impression that the Filipinos will not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence, which would mean an entirely independent Filipino nation. During my stay in the islands I sought every opportunity to obtain the private opinions of Filipino political leaders and business men on this subject. I believe that no leader, either in politics or business, expects independence for a long time to come. I learned that all Filipinos, with the exception of a small radical minority, really hope for an ultimate settlement of their relations with the United States on a basis which would eventually give them complete autonomy in internal affairs but with the United States directing all foreign relations.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND THE LEGISLATURE

The second phase of the political problem in the Philippines is the breach between the Governor General and the legislature. This breach has reached the stage where the legislative branch of the government has, or claims to have, lost faith in the executive branch of the government, and the executive branch appears to have no confidence in the leaders of the legislature. Consequently no constructive legislation is possible. The conclusion of the legislative memorial addressed to you and unanimously adopted by a joint session of the legislature on the day of my departure from Manila reads as follows:

> With respect to the relations between the executive and the legislature, the present situation is unsatisfactory. The facts which have given rise to this state of affairs are of common knowledge and have been submitted to the President of the United States. Hence it is unnecessary to relate them again. So long as the causes which have created those difficulties remain, it is not to be expected that the situation will improve. The plan to enlarge the powers of the Governor General, far from relieving conditions, would only aggravate them.

The lack of coöperation between the Governor General and the legislature since their break in 1923 has caused the senate to refuse confirmation of many appointments made by him, and the legislature has rejected many recommendations designed to improve the administration of government and to develop the economic resources of the country. During the period of this break very little constructive legislation has been passed with the exception of the annual appropriations and public works bills.

On the other hand, the Governor General has vetoed many bills passed by the legislature. Some of these measures were passed with the apparent intention of furthering the independence movement and limiting the powers of the chief executive. Others dealt with the ordinary affairs of government. In some cases the legislature has repassed bills over the executive veto with the evident intention of bringing the controversy to the attention of the President. Apparently this deadlock will exist as long as the present conditions continue.

Responsibility for the friction appears to be divided between the executive and the legislative branches of the government. The legislature and its leaders have consistently sought to exercise powers vested in the Governor General by the organic act of 1916, the fundamental law of the Philippine Islands. Many of these powers were virtually abandoned to them by the chief executive who preceded General Wood in office, and they have stubbornly contested General Wood's efforts to regain and exercise them. It may be noted that in the contest with the legislature and its leaders, the Governor General has been supported by the proper authorities in Washington.

On the other hand, the military atmosphere of the present administration has been unfortunate in its reactions upon the Filipino leaders. The Governor General, himself a distinguished soldier, is surrounded by a group of American Army officers who serve as assistants, aids, and confidential advisers. These officers have excellent military records but evidently lack training and experience in the duties of civil government and in dealing with legislative bodies and civilian officials. Instead of facilitating coöperation between the Governor General on the one hand and the Filipino heads of the executive departments and the legislative leaders on the other, this group has been one of the factors which have made such coöperation difficult. This situation gives the Filipino leaders an opportunity to protest that the islands are under militaristic rule. On the whole, General Wood is to be commended for his efficient conduct of affairs during his administration.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION NO LONGER NECESSARY

The Governor General maintains that under the present system he can secure American advisers only from the War Department, under whose supervision the islands have been governed since American occupation, and that these advisers are, therefore, necessarily Army officers. The Philippines may have presented a military problem in the early days of American sovereignty, but internal problems of the islands are now primarily those of civil administration and economic development. I found no evidence of any anti-Americanism which would necessitate military control. Provided that we avoid exploitation in our conduct toward the Filipinos, there seems to be no danger of sedition or insurrection. My observations lead me to believe the people would be more contented and less inclined toward unrest under a more purely civil administration. In the past there has been no coördination between the government of the Philippines and that of our other overseas possessions. The transfer of the administration of all of these overseas possessions to a special insular bureau in one of our civil departments or to an independent establishment reporting directly to the President would unquestionably produce increased efficiency in their management and would tend toward a reduction of friction in the Philippine Islands.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

The fundamental obligations of the United States with reference to the Philippines are clear. America must not abandon these islands to the risks of an independent existence without reasonable preparation to meet the economic competition or the political aggression of stronger nations. We must not drop the task which we assumed a quarter of a century ago until we have satisfied ourselves that the Filipinos are fully prepared for complete self-government. Nor should we take from the Filipino people their aspiration to govern themselves whenever they are able to stand erect as an independent people, a condition of which the United States must be the final judge. The United States should not be swerved from these purposes either by Americans who may desire to exploit the Philippines or by Filipinos who are demanding a premature relinquishment of American sovereignty over the islands.

However, while we are preparing the Philippines for self-government we should not reduce the internal autonomy which they have already been granted unless their conduct should make this step necessary. Our policy should be gradually to extend autonomy in internal affairs in accordance with the capability of the Filipinos to shoulder these responsibilities. We should convince the Filipinos by our conduct that we will not exploit and will not permit others to exploit the natural resources of the country, but will facilitate and expedite the growth of a strong, united nation with sufficient development of its natural wealth to insure a revenue great enough to provide for the proper functions of government. With this end in view, steps should be taken at once to restore the confidence of the Filipinos in our good faith in order that there may be complete coöperation between the two peoples and the two Governments.

PENDING CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION

The Christian Filipinos are unanimously opposed to the measures now pending before Congress, known as the Kiess bills Nos. 1 and 2 and the Bacon bill. I question the wisdom of giving greater power to the insular auditor, an American, as provided for in Kiess bill No. 1. However, his authority may need to be clarified.

Kiess bill No. 2 provides that the revenue derived from the tax on Philippine tobaccos sold in the United States shall be transferred to the general funds of the Philippine government and expended for certain general purposes at the discretion of the Governor General. It seems to be unquestionable that this money, which is a part of the revenue of the United States, should be appropriated by Congress in the same way that other public moneys are appropriated instead of being covered into the general treasury of the Philippine government. It is not advisable, however, to place this sum in the hands of the Governor General to be expended at his discretion. If Congress desires to present this sum to the Philippine Islands for the benefit of the Filipino people, it should appropriate the money in such a way as to provide for its expenditure, under the direction of the Governor General, for specific purposes in the same manner as other appropriations are made.

I know of nothing which would shake the confidence of the Christian Filipinos in the good faith of the United States more than the passage of an act which might permanently segregate the southern islands from the remainder of the Philippine Archipelago. The opponents of the Bacon bill say the passage of this bill would produce that result. Furthermore, it is my conviction that the southern islands of the Philippines should not be permanently separated from the rest of the archipelago. Their unoccupied lands afford a necessary outlet for the rapidly increasing population of the islands to the north and their natural wealth is very essential to the upbuilding of the strong Philippine nation which it is the purpose of both Filipino people and the United States to establish. It should be pointed out in this connection, however, that the granting of independence at the present time would necessitate the separation of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago from the rest of the islands unless the United States were to break faith with the Moros.

The Moros, unconquered by Filipinos or Spaniards, surrendered to the Americans upon receiving what they believed to be a solemn promise on the part of the United States to protect them from Filipino rule. The obligation of this promise should be met. It is inevitable, however, that during the ensuing years the Moros shall come into more intimate contact with western Christian civilization. And while this contact should be made under active American direction and control, the purpose of the Philippine government to induce the Moros to become willing members of a united Filipino people should be respected and, so far as possible, furthered.

At the present time conditions in the Moro Provinces, especially Lanao, are so bad that the control and direction of their governments should be placed in American hands. So far as is necessary and practicable, the Filipino civil officials and military forces in the Moro country should be replaced by Americans and Moros. When peace and order have been restored and passions which at present run high have somewhat subsided, the United States should seek to reach a solution of this very delicate and difficult question which will serve the best interests of all concerned.

ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES OF THE PHILIPPINES

When the way has opened for the solution of the fundamental political problems of the Philippines it may be confidently expected that capital will be forthcoming and development will be rapid. The islands have great possibilities in mining, and industry will probably develop sufficiently to supply many of the needs of the people. This is looking into the far distant future, however, because agricultural development must always precede the growth of an industrial system. Agriculture will be the principal occupation of the Filipinos for many years to come.

After the introduction of capital, the island should carry on a large export business of commodities which the United States can not produce in sufficient quantities for our requirements, or at all. And while the Philippine market should not be limited to the United States, we will be the natural outlet for a large proportion of their products.

Besides the principal items now raised, such as rice, tobacco, sugar, copra, and hemp, the Philippines, within a comparatively short time should be able to supply the United States with a large part of its requirements of rubber, coffee, camphor, pineapples, lumbang, hardwood lumber, and many other tropical commodities.

Camphor, coffee, pineapples, and lumbang are especially desirable as crops for the small farmer. Once the market is established, little capital and no expensive machinery is required. Expert foresters say that the Philippine timber is 100 years overripe and is now deteriorating so that it should be cut and marketed in order to provide an opportunity for a new stand.

The camphor and coffee required by the United States are now monopolies in the hands of foreign governments, but could be grown in sufficient quantities in the Philippines to supply the entire American market, or at least to insure protection against exorbitant prices based upon export duties levied abroad.

RUBBER

Rubber has, perhaps, been the Philippine product uppermost in the minds of the American and the Filipino people for the past two years. The tree from which rubber is obtained grows wild in many parts of the southern islands, but it is only during the last 20 years that efforts have been made to cultivate it. On the largest plantation in the Philippines, that of the American Rubber Co. on the island of Basilan, there are now growing approximately 250,000 trees of which 40,000 are 8 years old and are being tapped. This company operates its own refining plant, which was erected at a cost of approximately $15,000 and which has sufficient capacity to refine the product of the plantation when all of the trees reach maturity. This plantation is now operating at a profit and has been doing so for some years past, which demonstrates that rubber can be produced at a profit in the Philippine Islands under present conditions.

There are also other successful rubber developments on the island of Basilan and in the provinces of Davao and Cotabato. The American Department of Commerce has reported that there are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land on the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, and Jolo suitable for the production of rubber, and that in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula.

When rubber is raised on a very large scale in the Philippine Islands the problem of securing an adequate supply of labor will become a matter for serious consideration. I believe, however, that for some time to come labor will enter the rubber territory from other parts of the islands as it is required, and in sufficient quantity to produce from 75,000 to 80,000 tons of crude rubber annually. This quantity constitutes about one-fourth of the annual requirements of the United States at the present time.

While it is apparent from the experience of the American Rubber Co. and of all other rubber districts in the East that rubber can be and should be raised in the Philippines by small planters, it will probably be necessary to encourage the development of a few larger estates in the beginning. Such estates would establish a market for small producers, aid in solving many of the technical problems which might arise in introducing rubber culture into a new area, and generally create a feeling of confidence in the future of rubber production in the islands. If it should be found necessary to change the land laws of the Philippines to induce large interests to enter the country for the purpose of starting rubber production there, such amendments should be made by the Philippine Legislature. This body is in a position to keep within reasonable limits the amount of land held by large companies, and otherwise to protect the interests of the Philippine planters who may be expected to develop small plots when the market is established.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In accordance with your request I have included in this report a number of suggestions of what might be done to secure a better administration of affairs in the Philippines and a further development of their economic condition. In conclusion, these suggestions are summarized and certain other recommendations made.

I have the honor to recommend—

First. That such steps be taken as may be required to re-establish co-operation between the executive and legislative branches of the Philippine government.

Second. That the granting of absolute independence to the Philippines be postponed for some time to come; that this matter be considered at some future date when the islands are sufficiently developed to maintain an independent government, and that in the meantime there be granted such further autonomy in the management of internal affairs as conditions may from time to time warrant.

Third. That the United States Government establish an independent department for the administration of the Philippine Islands and other overseas territory.

Fourth. That the Governor General be provided with the necessary civil advisers in order to relieve him of the present necessity of selecting such advisers from the United States Army.

Fifth. That Mindanao and Sulu should not be separated from the rest of the islands, but that American control be strengthened in the Moro country.

Sixth. That the Federal reserve system should be extended to the Philippine Islands.

Seventh. That one or more Federal land banks should be established in the Philippines to provide loans at reasonable interest rates for the farmers, who now pay from 12 to 30 per cent interest.

Eighth. That the United States Department of Agriculture establish a sufficient number of experiment stations in the Philippine Islands to properly develop the agricultural resources of the islands.

Ninth. That the fundamental law governing the Philippines, known as the Jones Act, be not amended or changed at this time.

Tenth. That the Philippine Legislature should amend the Philippine land laws (with proper safeguards) so as to bring about such conditions as will attract capital and business experience for the development of the production of rubber, coffee, and other tropical products, some of which are now controlled by monopolies.

Eleventh. That no amendments be made at this time to the Philippine land laws by the American Congress.

Twelfth. That the Philippine government withdraw from private business at the earliest possible date.

The fundamental problems in the Philippines concern the government of the islands and their future relations with the United States. Upon the proper solution of these problems depends the political, social, and economic welfare of the Filipinos.

Respectfully submitted.

CARMI A. THOMPSON.

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